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W. A. V. A. V.

FOX'S

BOOK OF MARTYRS,

Edited by

THE REV. JOHN CUMMINGS, M.A.

President of Ridley Hall, Cambridge

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FOX'S BOOK OF MARTYRS:

THE

ACTS AND MONUMENTS

OF THE CHURCH.

THE 30 YEARS
BY JOHN N. FOX
REVISED BY GEORGE VIRTUE
1844
50: 62

———“ had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover of bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword: they wandered about in sheepskins and goatskins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; of whom the world was not worthy.”—HEB. xi. 36—38.

———“ their blood is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim,
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,
To walk with God, to be divinely free,
To soar, and to anticipate the skies.”—COWPER.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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THE SEVENTH BOOK

OF

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS,

BEGINNING WITH THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH.

S touching the civil state and administration of the commonwealth, and likewise of the state of the church, under the reign of King Henry the Seventh, how he entered first in possession of the crown; how the two

houses of York and Lancaster were in him conjoined, through marriage with Elizabeth the eldest daughter to King Edward the Fourth, by the prudent counsel of John Morton, then bishop of Ely, after archbishop of Canterbury, and cardinal; how long the said king reigned, and what persecution was in his time for lack of search and knowledge of God's word, both in the diocese of Lincoln under Bishop Smith, (who was erecter of the house of Brazen-nose in Oxford,) as also in the diocese of Coventry, and other places more; and further, what punishment and alteration God commonly sendeth upon cities and realms public for neglecting the safety of his flock; sufficiently in the former book hath been already specified; wherein many things more amply might have been added, incident in the reign of this prince, which we have for brevity pretermitted. For he that studieth to comprehend in story all things, which the common course and use of life may offer to the writer, may sooner find matter to occupy himself, than to profit other. Otherwise I might have inferred mention of the seditious tumult of Perkin Warbeck, with his retinue, A. D. 1494. Also of Blackheath field by the blacksmith, A. D. 1496. I might also have recited the glorious commendation of George Lily in his Latin Chronicle, testifying of King Henry the Seventh, how he sent three solemn orators to Pope Julius the Second to yield his obedience to the see of Rome, A. D. 1506. And likewise how Pope Alexander the Ninth, Pius the Third, and Julius the Second, sent to the said King Henry the Seventh, three sundry famous ambassadors with three swords, and three caps of maintenance, electing and admitting him to be the chief defender of the faith. The commendation of which fact, how glorious it is in the eyes of George Lily and Fabian, that I leave to them. This I suppose, that when King Henry sent to Pope Julius three orators with obedience, if he had sent him three thousand arquebusiers to furnish his field against the French king fighting at Ravenna, he had pleased Pope Julius much better. If George Lily had been disposed to illustrate his story with notes, this had been more worthy the noting, how

Louis the Twelfth, French king, calling his parliament, moved this question against Pope Julius. Whether a pope might invade any prince by warlike force, without cause; and whether the prince might withdraw his obedience from that pope, or not? And it was concluded in the same parliament with the king, against the pope. Also it was concluded the same time, (which was in the reign of this King Henry the Seventh,) that the Pragmatical Sanction should be received in full force and effect, through all the realm of France.

And forasmuch as we are fallen into the mention of George Lily, this in him is to be found not unworthy noting, how, after the burning of Thomas Norice, above mentioned, at the city of Norwich, the same year followed such a fire in Norwich, that the whole city, well near, was therewith consumed. Like as also after the burning of the aforesaid good father in Smithfield, the same year (which was 1500) we read in the chronicle of Fabian, a great plague to fall upon the city of London, to the great destruction of the inhabitants thereof. Where again is to be noted, (as is aforesaid,) that according to the state of the church, the disposition of the commonwealth commonly is guided, either to be with adversity afflicted, or else in prosperity to flourish. But after these notes of King Henry the Seventh, now to the story of King Henry the Eighth.

This King Henry the Seventh finishing his course in the year abovesaid, which was 1509, had by Elizabeth his wife abovenamed, four men children, and of women children as many. Of whom three only survived; to wit, Prince Henry, Lady Margaret, and Lady Mary. Of whom King Henry the Eighth after his father succeeded. Lady Margaret was married to James the Fourth, king of Scots. Lady Mary was affianced to Charles, king of Castile.

Not long before the death of King Henry, Prince Arthur, his eldest son, had espoused Lady Katharine, daughter to Ferdinand, being of the age of fifteen years, and she about the age of seventeen; and shortly after his marriage, within five months, departed at Ludlow, and was buried at Worcester. After whose decease the succession of the crown fell next to King Henry the Eighth, being of the age of eighteen years, entered his reign the year of our Lord 1509, and shortly after married with the aforesaid Katharine, his late brother Prince Arthur's wife, to the end that her dowry, being great, should not be transported out of the land. In the which his marriage, being more politic than Scripture-like, he was dispensed with by Pope Julius, at the request of Ferdinand her father. The reign of this king continued with great nobleness and fame the space of thirty-eight years. During whose time and

reign, great alteration of things, as well to the civil state of the realm, as especially to the state ecclesiastical, and matters of the church appertaining. For by him was exiled and abolished out of the realm, the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, idolatry and superstition somewhat repressed, images and pilgrimages defaced, abbeys and monasteries pulled down, sects of religion rooted out, Scriptures reduced to the knowledge of the vulgar tongue, and the state of the church and religion redressed. Concerning all which things, in the process of these volumes here following, we will endeavour (Christ willing) particularly and in order to discourse; after that first we shall comprehend a few matters, which within the beginning of his reign are to be noted and collected. Where, leaving off to write of Empson and Dudley, who in the time of King Henry the Seventh, being great doers in executing the penal laws over the people at that time, and purchasing thereby more malice than lands, with that which they had gotten, were shortly after the entering of this king beheaded, the one a knight, the other an esquire; leaving also to intermeddle with his wars, triumphs, and other temporal affairs, we mean in these volumes principally to bestow our travail in declaration of matters concerning most chiefly the state of the church and of religion, as well in this Church of England, as also of the whole Church of Rome.

Wherein first cometh to our hands a turbulent tragedy, and a fierce contention, which long before had troubled the church, and now this present year, 1509, was renewed afresh between two certain orders of Begging Friars, to wit, the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, about the conception of the Virgin Mary, the mother of Christ.

The Franciscans were they which did hold of St. Francis, and followed the rule of his testament, commonly called Grey Friars, or Minorites. Their opinion was this; that the Virgin Mary, prevented by the grace of the Holy Ghost, was so sanctified, that she was never subject one moment in her conception to original sin. The Dominic Friars were they which, holding of Dominic, were commonly called Black Friars, or Preaching Friars. Their opinion was, that the Virgin Mary was conceived as all other children of Adam be; so that this privilege only belongeth to Christ, to be conceived without original sin: notwithstanding, the said blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, and purged from her original sin, so as was John Baptist, Jeremiah, or any other privileged person. This frivolous question kindling and gendering between these two sects of friars, burst out in such a flame of parts and sides-taking, that it occu-

ried the heads and wits, schools and universities, almost through the whole church, some holding one part with Scotus, some the other part with Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites, holding with Scotus their master, disputed and concluded, that she was conceived without all spot or note of original sin, and thereupon caused the feast and service of the Conception of St. Mary the Virgin to be celebrated and solemnized in the church. Contrary, the Dominic Friars, taking side with Aquinas, preached that it was heresy to affirm that the blessed Virgin was conceived without the guilt of original sin; and that they which did celebrate the feast of her Conception, or said any masses thereof, did sin grievously and mortally.

In the mean time, as this fantasy waxed hot in the church, the one side preaching against the other, came Pope Sixtus the Fourth, A. D. 1476, who, joining side with the Minorites, or Franciscans, first sent forth his decree by authority apostolic, willing, ordaining, and commanding all men to solemnize this new-found feast of the Conception in holy church for evermore; offering to all men and women, which, devoutly frequenting the church, would hear mass and service from the first even-song of the said feast, to the octaves of the same, as many days of pardon, as Pope Urban the Fourth, and Pope Martin the Fifth, did grant for hearing the service of *Corpus Christi* day, &c. And this decree was given and dated at Rome, A. D. 1476.

Moreover, the same pope, to the intent that the devotion of the people might be the more encouraged to the celebration of this conception, added a clause more to the *Ave Maria*, granting great indulgence and release of sins to all such as would invoke the blessed Virgin with the same addition, saying thus: "Hail Mary! full of grace, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ; and blessed is Anna thy mother, of whom thy virgin's flesh hath proceeded without blot of original sin. Amen."

Wherein thou mayest note, gentle reader, for thy learning three things: First, how the pope turneth that improperly into a prayer, which properly was sent of God for a message or tidings. Secondly, how the pope addeth to the words of the Scripture, contrary to the express precept of the Lord. Thirdly, how the pope exempteth Mary, the blessed Virgin, not only from the seed of Abraham and Adam, but also from the condition of a mortal creature. For if there be in her no original sin, then she beareth not the image of Adam, neither doth she descend of that seed, of whose seed evil proceedeth upon all men and women to condemnation, as St. Paul doth teach, Rom. v. Wherefore, if she descend of that

seed, then the infection of original evil must necessarily proceed unto her. If she descend not thereof, then cometh she not of the seed of Abraham, nor of the seed of David, &c. Again, seeing that death is the effect and stipend of sin, by the doctrine of St. Paul, Rom. vi., then had her flesh injury by the law (as Christ himself had) to suffer the malediction and punishment of death, and so should never have died, if original sin had no place in her, &c. But to return unto our story : This constitution of the pope being set forth for the conception of the blessed Virgin, which was A. D. 1476, it was not long after, but the said Pope Sixtus, perceiving that the Dominic Friars with their accomplices would not conform themselves hereunto, directed forth by the authority apostolic a bull in effect as followeth :

“Whereas the holy Church of Rome hath ordained a special and proper service for the public solemnizing of the feast of the Conception of the blessed Virgin Mary ; certain orders of the Black Friars in their public sermons to the people in divers places, have not ceased hitherto to preach, and yet daily do, that all they which hold or affirm the said glorious Virgin to have been conceived without original sin, be heretics ; and they which celebrate the service of the said her conception, or do hear the sermons of them which do so affirm, do sin grievously ; also not contented herewith, do write and set forth books moreover, maintaining their assertions, to the great offence and ruin of godly minds. We, therefore, to prevent and withstand such presumptuous and perverse assertions, which have risen, and more hereafter may arise, by such opinions and preachings aforesaid, in the minds of the faithful ; by the authority apostolical, do condemn and reprove the same, and by the motion, knowledge, and authority aforesaid, decree and ordain, that the preachers of God’s word, and all other persons, of what state, degree, order, or condition soever they be, which shall presume to dare affirm or preach to the people these aforesaid opinions and assertions to be true, or shall read, hold, or maintain any such books for true, having before intelligence hereof, shall incur thereby the sentence of excommunication ; from which they shall not be absolved otherwise than by the bishop of Rome, except only in the time of death.”

This bull, being dated A. D. 1483, gave no little heart and encouragement to the Grey Friars Franciscans, which defended the pure conception of the holy Virgin against the Black Dominic Friars, with their confederates, holding the contrary side. By the vigour of which bull, the Grey order had got such a conquest of the black guard of the Dominics, that the said Dominics were compelled at length, for a perpetual memorial of the triumph, both to

give to the glorious Virgin, every night, an anthem in praise of her conception, and also to subscribe unto their doctrine ; in which doctrine these, with divers other points, be contained :

“1. That blessed Mary the Virgin suffered the griefs and adversities in this life, not for any necessity inflicted for punishment of original sin, but only because she would conform herself to the imitation of Christ.

“2. That the said Virgin, as she was not obliged to any punishment due for sin, as neither was Christ her Son, so she had no need of remission of sins ; but instead thereof, had the Divine preservation of God’s help, keeping her from all sin ; which grace only she needed, and also had it.

“3. Item, That where the body of the Virgin Mary was subject to death, and died ; this is to be understood to come, not for any penalty due for sin, but either for imitation and conformity unto Christ, or else for the natural constitution of her body being elemental, as were the bodies of our first parents ; who, if they had not tasted of the forbidden fruit, should have been preserved from death, not by nature, but by grace and strength of other fruits and meats in Paradise ; which meats, because Mary had not, but did eat our common meats, therefore she died, and not for any necessity of original sin.

“4. The universal proposition of St. Paul, which saith, that the Scripture hath concluded all men under sin, is to be understood thus, as speaking of all them which be not exempted by the special privilege of God, as is the blessed Virgin Mary.

“5. If justification be taken for reconciliation of him that was unrighteous before, and now is made righteous ; then the blessed Virgin is to be taken, not for justified by Christ, but just from her beginning, by preservation.

“6. If a Saviour be taken for him which saveth men fallen into perdition and condemnation, so is not Christ the Saviour of Mary, but is her Saviour only in this respect, for sustaining her from not falling into condemnation, &c.

“7. Neither did the Virgin Mary give thanks to God, nor ought so to do, for expiation of her sins, but for her conservation from case of sinning.

“8. Neither did she pray to God at any time for remission of her sins, but only for remission of other men’s sins she prayed many times, and counted their sins for hers.

“9. If the blessed Virgin had deceased before the passion of her Son, God would have reposed her soul not in the place among the patriarchs, or among the just, but in the same most pleasant place of Paradise, where Adam and Eve were before they transgressed.”

These were the doting dreams and fantasies of the Franciscans, and of other papists, commonly then holden in the schools, written in their books, preached in their sermons, taught in churches, and set forth in pictures. So that the people were taught nothing else almost in the pulpits all this while, but how the Virgin Mary was conceived immaculate and holy, without original sin, and how they ought to call to her for help, whom they with special terms do call, "the way of mercy, the mother of grace, the lover of piety, the comforter of mankind, the continual intercessor for the salvation of the faithful, and an advocate to the King, her Son, which never ceaseth," &c. And although the greatest number of the school doctors were of the contrary faction, as Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Bernard, Bonaventure, and other, yet these new papists shifted off their objections with frivolous distinctions and blind evasions, as thus: "Peter Lombard," they said, "is not received nor holden in the schools, as touching this article, but is rejected."

Bernard, although he seemeth to deny the conception of the blessed Virgin to be void of original sin, saying that she could not be holy when she was not, and lived not; to this they answer, "That albeit she was not yet in essence, yet she was holy in her conception, and before conception in the Divine presence of God, which had chosen and pre-elected her before the worlds, to be the mother of the Lord."

Again, where Bernard doth argue, that she was not without original sin conceived, because she was not conceived by the Holy Ghost, to this they answer, "That the Holy Ghost may work two ways in conception; either without company of man, and so was Christ only conceived; or else with company and help of man, and thus was the blessed Virgin conceived."

"Bonaventure," say they, "was a holy father, but he spake then after the custom and manner of his time, when the solemnity and purity of this conception was not yet decreed nor received by the public consent and authority of the church; now using the authority of the Church of Rome hath established the same, it ought not to be contraried, nor can, without dangerous disobedience. In all men's actions, diligent respect of time must be had, but which bindeth not at one time, afterward the same by law being ratified, may bind at another."

Finally, for the number and multitude on the contrary side, thus they answer for themselves, as is now in these our days likewise in defence of the same may well answer against the pope, and all his wicked friars, turning their own weapons against

themselves: "Multitude," say they, "ought not to move us. Victory consisteth not in number and heaps, but in fortitude and hearts of soldiers; yea, rather fortitude and stomach cometh from heaven, and not of man. Judas Maccabeus with a little handful overthrew the great army of Antioch. Strong Samson with a poor ass's bone slew a thousand Philistines. David had no more but a silly sling, and a few stones, and with these struck down terrible Goliath the giant," &c.

With these and such other like reasons the Grey Franciscans avoided their adversaries, defending the conception of the Virgin Mary to be unblemished, and pure from all contagion of original sin. Contrariwise, the black guard of the Dominic Friars, for their parts were not all mute, but laid lustily from them again, having great authorities, and also the Scripture on their side. But yet the other having the see apostolical with them, had the better hand, and in fine, gat the victory triumphantly over the other, to the high exaltation of their order. For Pope Sixtus, (as I said,) by the authority apostolical, after he had decreed the conception day of the Virgin perpetually to be sanctified, and also with his terrible bull had condemned for heretics all them which withstood the same; the Dominic Friars, with authority oppressed, were driven to two inconveniences; the one was, to keep silence; the other was, to give place to their adversaries the Franciscans. Albeit, where the mouth durst not speak, yet the heart would work; and though the tongue were tied, yet their good will was ready by all means possible to maintain their quarrel and their estimation.

Whereupon it happened the same year of our Lord, 1509, after this dissension between the Dominic Friars and the Franciscans, that certain of the Dominics thinking by subtle sleight to work in the people's heads that which they durst not achieve with open preaching, devised a certain image of the Virgin, so artificially wrought, that the friars by privy gins made it to stir, and to make gestures, to lament, to complain, to weep, to groan, and to give answers to them that asked; insomuch that the people therewith were brought in a marvellous persuasion, till at length the fraud being espied, the friars were taken, condemned, and burned at Berne, the year above mentioned.

In the story of John Stumsius, this story aforesaid doth partly appear; but in the registers and records of the city of Berne, the order and circumstance thereof is more fully expressed and set forth both in metre and prose, and is thus declared:

In the city of Berne there were certain Dominic Friars, to the number chiefly of four principal doers and chieftains of that order, who had inveigled a

certain simple, poor friar, who had newly planted himself in the cloister: whom the aforesaid friars had so infatuated with sundry superstitions, and feigned apparitions of St. Mary, St. Barbara, and St. Katharine, and with their enchantments, and imprinting moreover in him the wounds of St. Francis, that he believed plainly, that the Virgin Mary had appeared to him, and had offered to him a red host consecrated, with the blood also of Christ miraculous; which blessed Virgin also had sent him to the senators of Berne, with instructions, declaring unto them, from the mouth of the Virgin, that she was conceived in sin, and that the Franciscan Friars were not to be credited nor suffered in the city, which were not yet reformed from that erroneous opinion of her conception. He added moreover, that they should resort to a certain image there of the Virgin Mary, (which image the friars by engines had made to sweat,) and should do their worship, and make their oblations to the same, &c.

This feigned device was not so soon forged by the friars, but it was as soon believed of the people; so that a great while the red-coloured host was taken undoubtedly for the true body and blood of Christ, and certain coloured drops thereof sent abroad to divers noble personages and states for a great relic, and that not without great recompence. Thus the deceived people in great number came flocking to the image, and to the red host, and coloured blood, with manifold gifts and oblations. In brief, the Dominic Friars so had wrought the matter, and had so swept all the fat to their own beards, from the order of the Franciscans, that all the alms came to their box. The Franciscans seeing their estimation to decay, and their kitchen to wax cold, and their paunches to be pinched, not able to abide that contumely, and being not ignorant or unacquainted with such counterfeited doings, for as the proverb saith, "It is ill halting before a cripple," eftsoons espied their crafty juggling, and detected their fraudulent miracles. Whereupon the four chief captains abovenamed were apprehended, and put to the fire, of whom the provincial of that order was one.

And thus much touching the beginning and end of this tumultuous and popish tragedy; wherein evidently it may appear to the reader, how neither these turbulent friars could agree among themselves, and yet in what frivolous trifles they wrangled together. But to let these ridiculous friars pass, with their trifling fantasies, most worthy to be derided of all wise men; in the mean time this is to be lamented, to behold the miserable times of the church, in which the devil kept the minds of Christ's people so attentive and occupied in such friarly

toys, that nothing else almost was taught or heard in the church, but only the commendation and exaltation of the Virgin Mary. But of our justification by faith, of grace and the promises of God in Christ, of the strength of the law, of the horror of sin, of difference between the law and the gospel, of the true liberty of conscience, &c., no mention very little was heard. Wherefore in this so blinding time of darkness, it was much needful and requisite, that the Lord of his mercy should look upon his church, and send down his gracious reformation, which also he did. For shortly upon the same year, through the gracious excitation of God, came Martin Luther; of whom the order of story now requireth that we should and will treat, (Christ willing,) after the story of Richard Hunne, and a few other things premised, for the better opening of this story to follow.

Mention was made sufficiently before of the doings of Pope Julius, and of his warlike affairs, for the which he was condemned, and not unjustly, in the council of Tours in France, A. D. 1510, and yet all this could not assuage the furious affection of this pope, but the same year he invaded the city of Modena and Mirandola in Italy, and took them by force of war. Which Pope Julius not long after, in the year of our Lord 1512, refusing peace offered by Maximilian the emperor, was encountered by Louis the French king, about Ravenna, upon Easter day; where he was vanquished, and had of his army slain to the number of sixteen thousand. And the year next following, A. D. 1513, this apostolical warrior, which had resigned his keys unto the river of Tiber before, made an end together both of his fighting and living, after he had reigned and fought ten years. After whom succeeded next in the see of Rome Pope Leo the Tenth, about the compass of which time great mutations and stirs began to work, as well in states temporal, as especially in the state of the church.

Pope Leo the Tenth, in Rome, A. D. 1513, reigned nine years.

Charles the Fifth, emperor in Germany, A. D. 1519, reigned thirty-nine years.

Francis, king of France, A. D. 1515, reigned thirty-two years.

Henry the Eighth, king of England, A. D. 1509, reigned thirty-eight years.

James the Fifth, king of Scotland, A. D. 1514, reigned twenty-nine years.

In the time of which pope, emperor, and kings of England and of France, great alterations, troubles, and turns of religion were wrought in the church, by the mighty operation of God's hand, in Italy, France, Germany, England, and all Europe,

such as have not been seen, although much groaned for, many hundred years before; as in further discourse of this history (Christ willing) shall more manifestly appear.

But before we come to these alterations, taking the time as it lieth before us, we will first speak of Richard Hun, and certain other godly-minded persons here in England, afflicted for the word of Christ's gospel in great multitude, as they be found and taken out of the registers of Fitzjames, bishop of London, by the faithful help and industry of R. Carlet, citizen of London.

The history of divers good men and women, persecuted for religion in the city and diocess of the bishop of London, briefly extracted out of the registers of Richard Fitzjames.

Amongst and beside the great number of the faithful martyrs and professors of Christ, that constantly in the strength of the Holy Ghost gave their lives for the testimony of his truth, I find recorded in the register of London, between the years of our Lord 1509 and 1527, the names of divers other persons both men and women; who, in the fulness of that dark and misty time of ignorance, had also some portion of God's good Spirit, which induced them to the knowledge of his truth and gospel, and were diversely troubled, persecuted, and imprisoned for the same; notwithstanding, by the proud, cruel, and bloody rage of the catholic seat, and through the weakness and frailty of their own nature, (not fully strengthened in God,) it was again in them, for the time, suppressed and kept under, as appeareth by their several abjurations made before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, (in his time a most cruel persecutor of Christ's church,) and also before his vicar-general deputed for the same. And forasmuch as many of the adversaries of God's truth have of late days disdainfully and arrogantly cried out, and made demands in their public assemblies, and yet do, asking where this our church and religion was within these fifty or sixty years, I have thought it not altogether vain, somewhat to stop such lying crakers, both by mentioning their names, and likewise opening some of the chief and principal matters, for which they were so grievously afflicted and molested, thereby to give understanding, as well the continuance and consistency of the true church of Christ in that age, touching the chief points of our faith, though not in like perfection of knowledge and constancy in all; as by the way, something to touch what fond and foolish matters the ignorant prelates shamed not at that time of blindness to object against the poor simple people, accounting them as heinous and

great offences, yea, such as deserved death of both body and soul. But lest I should seem too prolix and tedious herein, I will now briefly proceed with the story, and first begin with their names, which are these:

A. D. Joan Baker.	A. D. Lewis John.
1510. William Pottier.	Joan John.
John Forge.	1512. John Webb, alias Baker.
Thomas Goodred.	1517. John Houshold.
Thomas Walker, alias Talbot.	Robert Rascal.
Thomas Forge.	1518. Elizabeth Stanford.
Alice Forge.	George Browne.
John Forge, their son.	John Wikes.
William Couper.	John Southake.
John Calverton.	Richard Butler.
John Woodrofe.	John Samme.
1511 Richard Woolman.	1521. William King.
Roger Hilliar.	Robert Durdant.
Alice Couper.	Henry Woolman.
Thomas Austy.	Edmund Spilman.
Joan Austy.	1523. John Higgess, alias Noke, alias John-son.
Thomas Graunt.	1526. Henry Chambers.
John Garter.	John Higgins.
Christopher Ravins.	1527. Thomas Egleston.
Dionyse Ravins.	
Thomas Vincent.	

The particular examination of all these here abovenamed, here followeth.

To these were divers and sundry particular articles, (besides the common and general sort accustomedly used in such cases,) privately objected, even such as they were then accused of, either by their curate, or other their neighbours. And because I think it somewhat superfluous to make any large recital of all and every part of their several process, I mind, therefore, briefly only to touch so many of their articles as may be sufficient to induce the Christian reader to judge the sooner of the rest, being (I assure you) of no greater importance than these that follow: except that sometime they were charged most slanderously with horrible and blasphemous lies against the majesty and truth of God, which, as they utterly denied, so do I now for this present keep secret in silence, as well for brevity's sake, as also somewhat to colour and hide the shameless practices of that lying generation. But to our purpose.

The chiefest objection against Joan Baker was, that she would not only herself not reverence the crucifix, but had also persuaded a friend of hers lying at the point of death, not to put any trust or confidence in the crucifix, but in God which is in heaven, who only worketh all the miracles that be

done, and not the dead images, that be but stocks and stones: and therefore she was sorry that ever she had gone so often on pilgrimage to St. Saviour and other idols. Also, that she did hold opinion, that the pope had no power to give pardons, and that the Lady Young (who was not long before that time burned) died a true martyr of God; and therefore she wished of God, that she herself might do no worse than the said Lady Young had done.

Unto William Pottier, besides divers other false and slanderous articles, (as that he should deny the benefit and effect of Christ's passion,) it was also alleged that he should affirm, that there were six Gods. The first three was the holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The fourth was a priest's concubine being kept in his chamber. The fifth was the devil. And the sixth, that thing that a man setteth his mind most upon.

"The first part of this article he utterly denied, confessing most firmly and truly the blessed Trinity to be only one God in one unity of Deity: as to the other three he answered, that a priest delighting in his concubine, made her as his god. Likewise a wicked person persisting in his sin without repentance, made the devil his god. And lastly he granted, that he once hearing of certain men, which by the singing and chattering of birds would seek to know what things were to come, either to themselves or others, said that those men esteemed their birds as gods: and otherwise he spake not."

Amongst the manifold and several articles objected against Thomas Goodred, Thomas Walker, Thomas Forge, Alice Forge his wife, John Forge their son, John Calverton, John Woodrofe, Richard Woolman, and Roger Hilliar, (as that they should speak against pilgrimages, praying unto saints, and such like,) this principally was propounded, that they all denied the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and further, had concealed and consented unto their teachers and instructors of that doctrine, and had not, according unto the laws of the church, accused and presented them unto the bishop or his ordinary. Also great and heinous displeasure was conceived against Richard Woolman, for that he termed the church of Paul's, a house of thieves; affirming that the priests and other ecclesiastical persons there, were not liberal givers unto the poor, (as they ought,) but rather takers away from them, what they could get.

Likewise as Thomas Austy, Joan Austy his wife, Thomas Graunt, John Garters, Christopher Ravins, Dionyse Ravins his sister, Thomas Vincent, Lewis John, Joan John his wife, and John Webb, were of one fellowship and profession of faith with divers

of the last before recited; so were they also almost apprehended about one time, and chiefly burdened with one opinion of the sacrament. Which declareth evidently, that notwithstanding the dark ignorance of those corrupted times, yet God did ever in mercy open the eyes of some, to behold the manifest truth, even in those things whereof the papists make now greatest vaunt and brag of longest continuance. Furthermore, many of them were charged to have spoken against pilgrimages, and to have read and used certain English books, impugning the faith of the Romish Church; as the Four Evangelists, Wickliff's Wicket, a book of the Ten Commandments of Almighty God, the Revelation of St. John, the Epistles of Paul and James, with other like, which those holy ones could never abide; and good cause why for as darkness could never agree with light, nor more can ignorance, the maintainer of that kingdom with the true knowledge of Christ and his gospel.

It was further particularly objected against Joan John, the wife of Lewis John, that (besides the promises) she learned and maintained that God commanded no holy-days to be kept, but only the sabbath day; and therefore she would keep none but it, and no fasting days; affirming, that to fast from sin was the true fast. Moreover, that she had despised the pope, his pardons, and pilgrimages; insomuch that when any poor body asked his alms of her in worship of the Lady of Walsingham, she would straight answer in contempt of the pilgrimage, "The Lady of Walsingham help thee. And if she give any thing unto him, she would then say, Take it in the worship of our Lady in heaven, and let him go. Which declareth for lack of better instruction and knowledge, she yet ignorantly attributed too much honour to the true saints of heaven departed; though otherwise she did abhor the idolatrous worshipping of the dead images. By way of example, as also by many others, (for short sake, at this present omitted,) I have just occasion to condemn the wilful subtlety of those, that in the bright shining light of God's truth would yet, of the colour of godly remembrance, still maintain the keeping of images in the church, craftily excusing idolatrous kneeling and praying unto them, affirming, that they never worshipped the images, but the things that the images did represent. But if that were their only doctrine and cause of having of them, why then would their predecessors so cruelly compel these poor simple people openly in their recantations, to abjure and forbear their speaking against the gross adoration of outward images only, and not against the things presented? Which many of them, (as appears partly by this example,) in their ignorant sim-

confessed might be worshipped. Howbeit, God be thanked, (who ever in his mercy continue it,) their colourable and hypocritical excuses cannot now take such place in the hearts of the elect of God, as they have done heretofore, especially seeing the word of God doth so manifestly forbid as well the worshipping of them, as also the making or having of them, for order of religion.

It was alleged against William Cowper and Alice Cowper his wife, that they had spoken against pilgrimages, and worshipping of images; but chiefly the woman, who having her child on a time hurt by falling into a pit or ditch, and earnestly persuaded by some of her ignorant neighbours, to go on pilgrimage to St. Laurence for help for her child, said, that neither St. Laurence nor any other saint could help her child, and therefore none ought to go on pilgrimage to any image made with man's hand, but only unto Almighty God; for pilgrimages were nothing worth, saving to make the priests rich.

Unto John Houshold, Robert Rascal, and Elizabeth Stamford, as well the article against the sacrament of the altar was objected, as also that they had spoken against praying to saints, and had despised the authority of the bishop of Rome, and others of his clergy. But especially John Houshold was charged to have called them antichrists and fornicators, and the pope himself a strong strumpet, and a common scandal unto the world, who with his pardons had drowned in blindness all Christian realms, and that for money.

Also among divers other ordinary articles propounded against George Brown, these were counted very heinous and heretical: First, that he had said, that he knew no cause why the cross should be worshipped, seeing that the same was a hurt and pain unto our Saviour Christ in the time of his passion, and not any ease or pleasure; alleging for example, that if he had had a friend hanged or drowned, he would ever after have loved that gallows, or water, by which his friend died, rather worse for that than better. Another objection was, that he had erroneously, obstinately, and maliciously said, for so be their words, that the church was too rich. This latter, I may tell you, touched somewhat the quick, and therefore no marvel though they counted it heinous and malicious; for take away their gain, and farewell their religion. They also charged him to have refused holy water to be cast about his chamber, and likewise to have spoken against priests, and other vain matters.

The greatest matter wherewith they burdened the Wilkes, was, that he had often and of long time kept company with divers persons suspected

of heresies, as they termed them, and had received them into his house, and there did suffer and hear them, sundry times, read erroneous and heretical books, contrary to the faith of the Romish Church, and did also himself consent unto their doctrine; and had many times secretly conveyed them from the taking of such as were appointed to apprehend them.

Like as the greatest number of those before mentioned, so were also John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman, especially charged with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. Howbeit, they burdened the last five persons with the reading of certain English heretical books, accounting most blasphemously the Gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four evangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar general, unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler. The very words of which article, for a more declaration of truth, I have thought good here to insert; which are these: "Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's house of Iver Court near unto Stanes, you erroneously and damnably read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant's, all that same night, certain chapters of the evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and divers other suspect persons of heresy then being present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions." To the same effect and purpose tended the tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four. Whereby, as also by others like before specified, we may easily judge what reverence they, which yet will be counted the true and only church of Christ, did bear to the word and Gospel of Christ, who shamed not to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions, and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel thereat, seeing the Holy Ghost in sundry places of the Scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which shall speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us; and let us also pray him, that of his

free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would, if it be to his glory, either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of his church, he would in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About this time Richard Fitzjames ended his life. After whose death, Cutbert Tunstall (afterwards bishop of Durham) succeeded in the see and bishopric of London; who soon upon his first entry into the room, minding to follow rightly the footsteps of his predecessor, caused Edmund Spilman, priest, Henry Chambers, John Higgins, and Thomas Eglestone, to be apprehended, and so to be examined upon sundry like articles, as before are expressed; and in the end, either for fear of his cruelty, and his rigour of death, or else through hope of his flattering promises, (such was their weakness,) he compelled them to abjure and renounce their true professed faith touching the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which was, that Christ's corporal body was not in the sacrament, but in heaven, and that the sacrament was a figure of his body, and not the body itself.

Moreover, about the same time there were certain articles objected against John Higges, alias Noke, alias Johnson, by the said bishop's vicar-general. Amongst which were these: First, that he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also, that he had in his custody a book of the Four Evangelists in English, and did often read therein; and that he favoured the doctrines and opinions of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies; and that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and had said, that while he were alive he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayer and alms-deeds could little help him.

These and such-like matters were they, where-with these poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant; and some of them, in utter shame and reproach, (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the crosses in procession, or else at a sermon,) were enjoined for penance, (as they termed it,) as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during all their lives, or so often and long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint. By which long, rigorous, and open punishing of them,

they meant (as it should seem) utterly to terrify and keep back all others from the true knowledge of Jesus Christ and his gospel. But the Lord be evermore praised, what effect their wicked purposes therein have taken, these our most lightsome days of God's glorious gospel do most joyfully declare.

There were also troubled besides these, certain others more simple and ignorant; who having but a very small smack or taste of the truth, did yet at the first (as it may seem) gladly consent unto the same; but being apprehended, they quickly again yielded, and therefore had only assigned them for their penance, the bearing of a little candle before the cross, without any further open abjuring or recanting. Amongst which I find two especially the one a woman, called Ellen Heyer, to whom it was objected, that she had neither confessed herself unto the priest, nor yet received the sacrament of the altar, by the space of four years, and notwithstanding had yearly eaten flesh at Easter, and after, as well as others that had received the same, contrary to the usual manner and conversation of all other Christian people.

The other was a man, named Robert Berkew, who (besides most wicked blasphemies against God which he utterly denied) was charged to have spoken heinous words against the pope's holy and blessed martyr Thomas Becket, calling him covetous and thief, for that he wrought by crafts and imagination.

Thus have I (as briefly as I could) summarily collected the principal articles objected against the weak, infirm, and earthy vessels. Not mind hereby to excuse or condemn them, in these fearful falls and dangerous defections; but leave them unto the unmeasurable rich mercies of the Lord; I thought only to make manifest the intolerable bloody cruelty of the pope's kingdom, against the gospel and true church of Christ; nothing mitigating their envious rage, no not against the simple idiots, and that sometimes in most frivolous and irreligious cases. But now leaving to say further herein, I will (by God's grace) go forward with other somewhat more serious matters.

The death and martyrdom of William Stretton and John Brewster.

In searching and perusing of the Register, in a collection of the names and articles before me, I find that within the compass of the same there were also some others, who after they once showed themselves as frail and inconsistent, the rest, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred word,) yet again as earnest professors of Christ a

they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of the which number were William Sweeting and John Brewster, who were both hurned together in Smithfield, the eighteenth day of October, A. D. 1511. The chiefest case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Which, because it differed from the absurd, gross, and Capernotaical opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted a most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them; as the reading of certain forbidden books, and accompanying with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their putting and leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at the first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to have them off, upon pain of relapse, until they were dispensed withal for the same. The breach of this injunction was esteemed to be of no small weight, and yet, the matter well and thoroughly considered, it seemeth by their confessions, they were both thereto by necessity enforced. For the one, named Sweeting, being for fear of the bishop's cruelty constrained to wander the countries to get his poor living, came at length unto Colchester, where by the parson of the parish of Mary Magdalene, he was provoked to be the holy-water clerk, and in that consideration had that infamous badge first taken away from him. The other (which was Brewster) left off his at the commandment of the master of the earl of Oxford's house; who hiring the poor man to labour in the earl's household business, would not suffer him, working there, to wear that counterfeited cognizance any longer: so that (as I said) necessity of living seemeth to compel both of them at the first to break that injunction; and therefore, if charity had borne as great sway in the hearts of the pope's clergy as did cruelty, this trifle would not have been so heinously taken, as to be sought against them for an article and cause of condemnation to death. But where tyranny once hath place, as well all godly love, as also all human reason and duties, are quite forgotten. Well, to be short, what for the causes before recited, as to wit that they had once already abjured, and yet (as they term it) fell again into relapse, they were (as you have heard) in the end burned together in Smithfield; although the same parties (as the later recordeth) did again before their death fearfully shew themselves unto the discipline of the

Romish Church, craved absolution from their excommunication. Howbeit, because many of the Register's notes and records in such cases may rightly be doubted of, and so called into question, I refer the certain knowledge hereof unto the Lord, (who is the trier of all truths,) and the external judgment unto the godly and discreet reader; not forgetting yet by the way, (if that the report should be true,) upon so just an occasion, to charge that catholic clergy and their wicked laws, with a more shameless tyranny and uncharitable cruelty than before. For if they nothing stay their bloody malice towards such as so willingly submit themselves unto their mercies, what favour may the faithful and constant professors of Christ look for at their hands? I might here also ask of them, how they follow the pitiful and loving admonition (or rather precept) of our Saviour Christ, (whose true and only church they so stoutly brag to be,) who in the 17th chapter of St. Luke saith, Though thy brother sin against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn to thee, saying, It repenteth me, thou shalt forgive him. But what go I about to allure them unto the following of the rule and counsel of him, unto whose word and gospel they seem most open and utter enemies? Wherefore, not purposing to stay any longer thereupon, but leaving them unto the righteous revengement of the Lord; let us now hereunto adjoin the story of one John Browne, a good martyr of the Lord, burnt at Ashford, about this fourth year of King Henry the Eighth, whose story hereunder followeth.

The occasion of the first trouble of this John Browne was by a priest, sitting in a Gravesend barge. John Browne being the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon after certain communication, the priest asked him, "Dost thou know," said he, "who I am; thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes?" "No, sir," said he, "I know not what you are." "I tell thee I am a priest." "What, sir, are ye a parson, or vicar, or a lady's chaplain?" "No," quoth he again, "I am a soul priest, I sing for a soul," saith he. "Do you so, sir," quoth the other, "that is well done. I pray you, sir," quoth he, "where find you the soul when you go to mass?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "I pray you where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done?" "I cannot tell thee," said the priest. "Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done, how can you then have the soul," said he. "Go thy ways," said the priest, "thou art a heretic, and I will be even with thee." So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More

and William More, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straightways to the Archbishop Warham, whereupon the said John Browne within three days after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury, neither his wife nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went, nor whither he should. And there continuing from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was; he was set in the stocks over night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at Ashford, A. D. 1517. The same night as he was in the stocks at Ashford, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he should be burned; to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, showed and told, how that he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bones, and told her how by the two bishops, Warham and Fisher, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burnt to the bones, "to make me," said he, "to deny my Lord, which I will never do; for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee," said he, "therefore, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously and in the fear of God:" and so the next day, on Whitsunday even, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, this prayer he made, holding up his hands,

"O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,
Grant me mercy for my trespass,
Let never the fiend my soul chase.
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,
Let never my soul come in hell heat.
Into thy hands I commend my spirit, thou hast redeemed
me, O Lord of truth." And so he ended.

At the fire, one Chilton, the baily arrant, bade cast in Browne's children also; for they would spring, said he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr John Browne had borne a faggot seven years before in the days of King Henry the Seventh.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malice the prosperous estate of the saints of God, and true professors of Christ; so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily desireth; if not always openly by colour of tyrannical laws, yet, at the leastwise, by some subtle practice of secret murder; which thing doth most plainly appear not only in a great number of the blessed martyrs of Christ's church, mentioned in this book, but also, and especially, in the discourse

of this lamentable history that now I have in hand concerning the secret and cruel murdering of Richard Hun, whose story here consequently ensue excerpted and collected partly out of the registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the parliament house.

There was in the year of our Lord 1514, a Richard Hun, merchant tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed and taken, not only for a man of true dealing and good substance, but also for a good catholic man. This Richard Hun had a child at nurse in Middlesex in the parish of St. Mary Matsilon, which died; on the occasion whereof, one Thomas Driffield, clerk being parson of the said parish, sued the said Richard Hun in the spiritual court for a bearers' sheet, which the said Thomas Driffield claimed, unjustly, to have of the said Hun, for a mortuary for Stephen Hun, son of the said Richard Hun, which Stephen, being at nurse in the said parish, died being of the age of five weeks, and not above. Hun answered him again, that forasmuch as the child had no property in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with a covetous desire, and loth to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter. Whereupon the said Richard Hunne being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land and pursued a writ of *præmunire* against the said Thomas Driffield, and other, his aiders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the process thereof it yet to be seen; which when the rest of the priestly order heard of, greatly disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them; and fearing also that if they should now suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hun, there would be thereby ever after liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the clergy in such-like cases, they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him, for that he had already done, sought all means they possibly could how to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws; and thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, and seeking all corners they could against him, at length they found a means how to accuse him of heresy, unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and so did; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended and committed unto prison within the Lollard's Tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be suffered

to come to him. This Richard Hun being clapped in the Lollard's Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of one Doctor Horsey the bishop's chancellor, (a man more ready to prefer the clergy's cruel tyranny than the truth of Christ's gospel,) was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the second day of December, in the year before-mentioned; where within his chapel he examined him upon these articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his accomplices.

"1. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God; that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

"2. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended; that bishops and priests be the scribes and Pharisees that did crucify Christ, and damned him to death.

"3. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c. that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God; but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

"4. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and abjured of many great heresies, (as it appeareth by her abjuration,) the said Richard Hun, said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him five hundred marks.

"5. Item, Afterwards (where and when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits) the said Richard Hun said, published, taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God; wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.

"6. Item, That the said Richard Hun hath in his keeping divers English books, prohibited and damned by the law; as the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliff's damnable works, and other books, containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily."

Particular answer unto these several objections, in the Register, I find none, saving that next under them, there is written in his name with a contrary hand these words following: "As touching these articles, I have not spoken them as they be here said: howbeit, unadvisedly I have spoken words somewhat sounding to the same; for the which I

am sorry, and ask God mercy, and submit me unto my lord's charitable and favourable correction." Which they affirm to be written with Hun's own hand: but how likely to truth that is, let the discreet wisdom of the reader indifferently judge by the whole sequel of this process. And further, if it were his own act, what occasion then had they so cruelly to murder him as they did? seeing he had already so willingly confessed his fault, and submitted himself unto the charitable and favourable correction of the bishop, (for the which even by their own law, in cases of most heinous heresy, he ought to be again received and pardoned,) except perhaps they will account horrible murder to be but the bishop's favourable correction. Again, it seemeth they had very few credible witnesses to prove certainly that this was his answer and hand-writing; for the Register, or some other for him (appointed to record the same) hath certified it, as of hearsay from others, and not of his own proper sight and knowledge, as the words noted in the margin of the book, adjoining to the aforesaid answer, plainly do declare, which are these, *Hoc fuit scriptum manu propria Richardi Hunne, ut dicitur*. Now if he had had any sure ground to stablish this certificate, I doubt not but he would (instead of *ut dicitur*) have registered the names of the assistants at the time of his examination, (which he confesseth to be many,) as generally they do in all their acts, especially in cases of heresy, as they term it. But how scrupulous those good fellows that spared not so shamelessly to murder him, would be to make a lie of him that was already dead, let (as I said) the indifferent judgment of the godly wise discern.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day, unto the Lollard's Tower; and then by the appointment of Doctor Horsey, his chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph, the sumner, unto John Spalding, the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness in wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did by his ministers suborned, within two nights then next following accomplish; as is plainly proved hereafter by the diligent inquiry and final verdict of the coroner of London, and his inquest, made by order of the laws in that behalf limited. But when this usual practice of the papists was once accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts nor worldly wiles for the crafty colouring of this mischief; and therefore, the next morning after they had in the night committed this murder, John Spalding (I doubt not but by the counsel of his master chancellor) got himself out of the way, into the city, and leaving the

keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy, which accustomedly did use to carry Hun his meat, and other necessaries that he needed; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead, and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might (by his relation) be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. For the boy, the same morning (being

the fourth day of December) having the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten of the clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner, as he was wont to do and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they (astonished at this sight) gave knowledge thereof immediately unto the chancellor, being then in the church, and watching, I suppose, of purpose, &

A description of the Lollard's Tower, where Master Richard Hun was first murdered, then the said parties hanged, after condemned of heresy, and at last burned in Smithfield.

such news; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, although then he made a fair face to the contrary, blazing abroad among the people, by their officers and servants, that Hun had desperately hanged himself. Howbeit, the people having good experience as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries the priests, judged rather that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London on the one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly

that Hun had hanged himself. The citizens on the other side, vehemently suspecting some murder, caused the coroner of London (according to law) to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the bishop and his clergy were then driven to the extremity of shift, therefore minding by some subtle show of law to stop the mouths of the people, they determined that in the mean while, as the inquest was about their charge, the bishop should, for his proceeding *ex officio*, in case of heresy, against the prisoner; supposing (most like) that if the party were condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not

had him guilty of his own death, and so clearly acquitted them from all the former suspicion of privy murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice, in order as followeth.

First, besides the articles before mentioned, (which they affirm were objected against him in his lifetime,) Doctor Hed did now also after his death, collect certain others out of the prologue of his English Bible, remaining then in the bishop's hands; which he diligently perused, not to learn any good thing therein, but to get thereout such matter, as he thought might best serve their cursed purpose, as appeareth by the tenor of the articles, which are these:

"1. First, The said book damneth all holy canons, calling them ceremonies and statutes of sinful men and uncounting; and calleth the pope Sathanas and antichrist.

"2. Item, It damneth the pope's pardons, saying, they be but leasings.

"3. Item, The said book of Hun saith, that kings and lords, called Christian in name, and heathen in conditions, defile the sanctuary of God, bringing clerks full of covetousness, heresy, and malice, to stop God's law that it cannot be known, kept, and freely preached.

"4. Item, The said book saith, that lords and prelates pursue full cruelly them that would teach truly and freely the law of God; and cherish them that preach sinful men's traditions and statutes, by the which he meaneth the holy canons of Christ's church.

"5. Item, That poor men and idiots have the truth of the Holy Scriptures, more than a thousand prelates and religious men, and clerks of the school.

"6. Item, That Christian kings and lords set idols in God's house, and excite the people to idolatry.

"7. Item, That princes, lords, and prelates, so doing, be worse than Herod that pursued Christ, and worse than Jews and heathen men that crucified Christ.

"8. Item, That every man swearing by our Lady, or any other saint or creature, giveth more honour to the saints, than to the holy Trinity; and so he with they be idolaters.

"9. Item, He saith, that saints ought not to be honoured.

"10. Item, He damneth adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

"11. Item, He saith, that the very body of the Lord is not contained in the sacrament of the altar, but that men, receiving it, shall thereby keep in

mind, that Christ's flesh was wounded and crucified for us.

"12. Item, He damneth the university of Oxford, with all degrees and faculties in it, as art civil, canon, and divinity, saying, that they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the laws of God and Holy Scripture.

"13. Item, He defendeth the translation of the Bible and Holy Scripture into the English tongue, which is prohibited by the laws of our mother holy church."

These articles thus collected, as also the others before specified, they caused for a more show of their pretended justice and innocence, to be openly read the next Sunday following by the preacher at Paul's Cross, with this protestation made before.

"Masters and friends, for certain causes and considerations, I have in commandment to rehearse, show, and publish here unto you, the articles of heresy, upon which Richard Hun was detected and examined; and also other great articles and damnable points and opinions of heresy contained in some of his books, be come to light and knowledge, here ready to be showed."

And therewith he read the articles openly unto the people, concluding with these words:

"And, masters, if there be any man desirous to see the specialty of these articles, or doubt whether they be contained in this book or not, for satisfying of his mind, let him come to my lord of London, and he shall see it with good will. Moreover, here I counsel and admonish, that if there be any persons, that of their simpleness have been familiar and acquainted with the said Richard Hun in these articles, or have heard him read upon this book, or any other sounding to heresy, or have any like books themselves, let them come unto my lord of London betwixt this and Candlemas next, and acknowledge their fault, and they shall be charitably treated and dealt withal, so that both their goods and honesty shall be saved; and if they will not come of their own offer, but abide the process of the law, then at their own peril be it, if the rigour of the law be executed against them."

After which open publication and admonition, the bishop at sundry times examined divers of his priests, and other lay persons, upon the contents of both these articles. Among which examines, there was a man servant and a maid of the said Hun's, who, although they had of long time dwelt with him, were not able to charge him with any great thing worthy reprehension; no, not in such points as the bishop chiefly objected against him. But yet the priests (through whose procurement this mischief was first begun) spared no whit stoutly and maliciously to

accuse him, some in the contents of the first articles, and some in the second. Wherefore, having now (as they thought) sufficient matter against him, they purposed speedily to proceed to his condemnation. And because they would seem to do all things formally, and by prescript order, they first drew out certain short and summary rules, by the which the bishop should be directed in this solemn session; which are these:

"First, Let the bishop sit in his tribunal seat, in our Lady's chapel.

"Secondly, Let him recite the cause of his coming, and take notaries to him, to enact that shall be there done.

"Thirdly, Let him declare, how, upon Sunday last, at Paul's Cross, he caused to be published a general monition, or denunciation, that all abettors and maintainers of Richard Hun, should come in, as by this day, and submit themselves; and let him signify withal, how certain have come in, and have appeared already.

"Fourthly, Let him protest and say, that if there remain any yet behind which have not appeared according to the former monition and denunciation; yet if they will come, and appear, and submit themselves, they shall be heard and received with grace and favour.

"Fifthly, Let the bishop, or some other at his appointment, recite the articles objected against Richard Hun; in the time of his life; and then the other articles likewise, which were out of his great book of the Bible extracted.

"Sixthly, Let the answers and confessions of the said Richard Hun summarily be recited, with the attestations made to the same articles. Also let his books be exhibited, and then Thomas Brook his servant be called for.

"Seventhly, Let it be openly cried at the choir door, that if there be any which will defend the articles, opinions, books, or the memory of the said Richard Hun, let them come and appear, and they shall be heard, as the law in that behalf shall require.

"Eighthly, Let it be openly cried, as in manner before, for such as be receivers, favourers, defenders, or believers of the said Richard Hun, that all such do appear and submit themselves to the bishop, or else he intendeth to proceed to the excommunication of them in general, according to the exigence of the law in that behalf.

"Ninthly, Then the bishop speaking to the standers by, and to them which sat with him upon the bench, of the clergy, demanding of them, what their judgment and opinion is touching the premises, and whether they think it convenient and

agreeable for him to proceed to the sentence against the said Richard Hun, in this part to be awarded

"Tenthly, After their consent and counsel given, let the bishop read out the sentence.

"Finally, After the sentence read, let the bishop appoint the publication and denunciation of the aforesaid sentence to be read at Paul's Cross elsewhere, as to him shall seem expedient, with citation likewise generally against all them that receivers, favourers, and believers of the said Hun, to give to understand why he ought not further to proceed against them," &c.

Now according to the tenor of these prescriptions and rules, the bishop of London, accompanied with the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, sat in judgment the 16th day of December, then next following within the place by the same appointed; adjoining also unto them as witnesses of their proceeding six public notaries, his own register, and about twenty-five doctors, abbots, priors, and priests in name, with a great rabble of their common anointed catholics. Where, after a solemn proclamation made that if there were any that would defend the opinions and books of Richard Hun, they should present appear and be heard according to law, he commanded all the articles and objections against Hun openly to be read before the assembly; and the perceiving that none durst appear in his defence by the advice of his assistants, he pronounced the sentence definitive against the dead carcass, condemning it of heresy, and therewith committed the same unto the secular power, to be by them burned accordingly. Which ridiculous decree was as soon accomplished in Smithfield the 20th day of the same month of December, (being full sixteen days after they had thus horribly murdered him,) to the great grief and disdain of all the people.

Notwithstanding, after all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, with their fair and colourable show of justice, yet the inquest notwithstanding stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause and means of his death. Insomuch that when there had been divers times called both before the king's privy council, (his Majesty himself being sometimes present,) and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being by them thoroughly examined, and perceived to be much bolstered and borne withal by the clergy, was again wholly remitted unto their determination and ending; they found by good proof and sufficient evidence, that Doctor Horsey, the chancellor, Charles Joseph, the sumner, and John Spalding, the bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this murder, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest

put of the bishop of London unto Cardinal Wolsey, (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned,) means was found, that at the next sessions of gaol delivery, the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Doctor Horsey to be false and untrue; and him not to be guilty of the murder. Who being then thereby delivered in body, having yet in himself a guilty conscience, gat him unto Exeter, and shortly after for shame come again unto London. But now, that the truth of all this matter may seem more manifest and plain unto all men's eyes, here shall follow word by word the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them unto the coroner of London, so given up and signed with his own hand.

The verdict of the inquest.

"The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth yeere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord King Henry the Eighth, William Barnewell crowner of London, the day and yeere abovesaid, within the ward of Castelbainard of London assembled a quest, whose names afterward doe appeare, and hath sworne them truly to enquire of the death of one Richard Hun, which lately was found dead in the Lollards Tower within Pauls church of London: whereupon all we of the inquest together went vp into the said Tower, where we found the body of the said Hun hanging vpon a staple of iron in a girdle of silke, with faire countenance, his head faire kemmed, and his bonet right sitting vpon his head, with his eyne and mouth faire closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any drieling or sparging in any place of his body: whereupon by our assent all we agreed to take downe the dead body of the said Hun, and assoon as we began to heane the body, it was loose; whereby, by good minisment we perceiued that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the linkes of an iron chaine which did hang on the same staple, were laid vpon the same girdle whereby hee did hang: also the knot of the girdle that went about his necke, stood vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding there came out of his nostrils two small streames of blood, to the quantity of foure drops. Saue onely these foure drops of blood, the face, lips, chinne, doublet, collar, and shirt of the said Hun, was cleane from any blood. Also we find that the skinne both of his necke and throte beneath the girdle of silke, was fret and fild away, with that thing which the murtherers had broken his necke withall. Also the hands of the said Hun were wrung in the wrists; whereby we perceiued that his hands had bin bound.

Moreouer, we find that within the said prison was no meane whereby a man might hang himselfe, but onely a stoole, which stoole stood vpon a bolster of a bed, so tickle, that any man or beast might not touch it so little, but it was ready to fall. Whereby we perceiued that it was not possible that Hun might hang himselfe, the stoole so standing. Also all the girdle from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should breake his necke or skin beneath the girdle. Also we find in a corner somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcell of blood. Also we find vpon the left side of Hunnes iacket from the brest downeward, two great streames of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his iacket, we find a great cluster of blood, and the iacket folden downe thereupon; which thing the said Hun could neuer fold nor doe after he was hanged. Whereby it appeareth plainely to vs all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find by God and all our consciences; that Richard Hunne was murthered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hun of his own death.

"Also there was an end of a wax candle, which as Iohn Belringer saith, hee left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hun was murthered; which waxe candle we found sticking vpon the stockes faire put out, about seuen or eight foote from the place where Hunne was hanged; which candle after our opinion was neuer put out by him, for many likelihoods which we haue perceiued. Also at the going vp of master chancellor into the Lollard's Tower, we haue good prooffe that there lay on the stockes a gowne either of murrey or crimosin in graine furred with shankes; whose gowne it was wee could neuer proue, neither who bare it away. All we find, that Master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, hath had at his commandement both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreouer, all wee find that the said Master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Ioseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deale and vse the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would haue had him to doe. Notwithstanding, the deliuerance of the keyes to the chancellor by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunnes death, and Charles riding out of the towne on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a conuention made betwixt Charles and the chancellor for to colour the murther. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came againe to the towne at night, and

killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Iulian Littell, Thomas Chicheley, Thomas Simonds, and Peter Turner doth appeare.

"After colouring of the murther betwixt Charles and the chancellour conspired, the chancellour called to him one Iohn Spalding, belringer of Pauls, and deliuered to the same belringer the keyes of the Lollards Tower, giving to the said belringer a great charge, saying: I charge thee to keepe Hun more straitely then hee hath bene kept, and let him haue but one meale a day. Moreouer I charge thee, let no body come to him without any licence, neither to bring him shirt, cappe, kirchiefe, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was carried to Fulham, the chancellor commanded to bee put vpon Huns necke a great collar of iron with a great chaine, which is too heauie for any man or beast to weare, and long to endure.

"Moreouer, it is wel proued, that before Huns death, the said chancellor came vp into the said Lollard's Tower, and kneeled downe before Hun, holding vp his hands to him, praying him of forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must doe to him. And on Sunday following the chancellor commanded the penitensarie of Pauls to goe vp to him and say a gospel, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and giue it to him; which so did; and also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should haue his dinner. And the same dinner time Charles boy was shut in prison with Hun, which was neuer so before: and after dinner when the belringer fet out the boy, the belringer said to the same boy; Come no more hither with meat for him, vntill to morrow at noone; for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should haue but one meale a day: and the same night following Richard Hun was murdered: which murther could not haue bene done without consent and licence of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of Iohn Spalding belringer: for there could no man come into the prison, but by the keyes being in Iohn belringers keeping. Also as by my lord of Londons booke doth appeare, Iohn belringer is a poore innocent man. Wherefore all wee doe perceiue that this murther could not bee done, but by the commandement of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of Iohn belringer.

"Charles Ioseph within the Tower of London of his own free will and vnconstrained said, that master chancellor deuised and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Huns charge, record Iohn God, Iohn True, Iohn Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many other. Also Charles Ioseph saith, that when Richard Hun was slaine, Iohn belringer bare vp the staire into Lollards Tower a waxe

candle, hauing the keies of the dores hanging on his arme, and I Charles went next to him, and master chancellor came vp last: and when all we came vp, wee found Hun lying on his bed, and then master chancellor said; Lay hands on the theefe, and so all wee murdered him: and then I Charles put the girdle about Huns necke, and then Iohn belringer and I Charles did heaue vp Hun, and master chancellor pulled the girdle ouer the staple, and so Hunne was hanged."

The copy of Richard Fitzjames's letter, then bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.

"I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord vnto my poor chancellor now in warde, and indighted by an vntrue quest, for the death of Richard Hun, vpon the onely accusation of Charles Ioseph, made by paine and durance; that by your intercession, it may please the kings grace to haue the matter duely and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet counsell, in the presence of the parties, ere there be any more done in the cause and that vpon the innocencie of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the kings grace to award a plackard vnto his attorney to confesse the said enditement to be vntrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelue men in London, they be so maliciouslie set *In fauorem hereticæ prauitatis* that they will cast and condemne any clerke, though he were as innocent as Abel. *Quare si potes pater adiuua infirmitates nostras, & tibi in perpetuum deuincti erimus.* Ouer this in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may haue the kinges gracious fauour, whom I neuer offended willing and that by your good meanes I might speake with his grace and you, and I with all mine, shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour R. L.

Lastly, now remaineth to infer the sentence the questmen, which followeth in like sort to be seen and expended, after I have first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the parliament house

The words that the bishop of London spake before the lords in the parliament house

"Memorandum, That the bishop of London shewed to the parliament house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hun, true men; and said that he took upon his conscience, that they were false and perjured caitiffs; and said furthermore to all the lords there then being; For the love of God look upon this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keepe

house for heretics : and said, that the said Richard Hun hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was apprehended of heresy, to speak with him, and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man ; which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands, with other words."

The sentence of the inquest, subscribed by the coroner.

The inquisition intended and taken at the city of London in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baimard Castle, in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, before Thomas Barnewell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king, within the city of London, aforesaid, also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hun, late of London, tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollard's Tower; and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner wise, the said Richard Hun came unto his death ; and upon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, John Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howdell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Crafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arunsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim : the which said upon their oaths, that where the said Richard Hun, by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollard's Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul, in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baimard Castle aforesaid, William Horsey of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresy, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London, and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding of London, otherwise called John Bell-ringer, feloniously, as felons to our lord the king, with force and arms, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the fourth day of December, the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hun made a fray, and the same Richard Hun feloniously strangled and smothered, and also

the neck they did break of the said Richard Hun, and there feloniously slew him, and murdered him.

After that the twenty-four had given up their verdict sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament house, where the truth was laid so plain before all men's faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and should, no doubt, have suffered that they deserved, had not the cardinal, by his authority, practised for his catholic children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless, though justice took no place, where favour did save, yet, because the innocent cause of Hun should take no wrong, the parliament became suitors unto the king's Majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hun were confiscated into the king's hands, that it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hun ; upon which motion, the king, of his gracious disposition, did not only give all the aforesaid goods unto the aforesaid children, under his broad seal, yet to be seen, but also did send out his warrants to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to redeliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hun ; all which goods came to the sum of 1500 pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

The tenor of the king's letter in the behalf of Richard Hun.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well : Whereas by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot of our city of London, draper, and Margaret his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hun : And whereas you were indicted by our laws, of and for the death of the said Richard Hun, the said murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our reign ; the same we abhor ; nevertheless, we, of our especial grace, certain science, and mere motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations us moving : for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hun, the administration of them were committed to the said Roger Whapplot, we then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants the children of the said Richard Hun, as well for his death, as for his goods, embezzled, wasted, and

consumed by your tyranny, and cruel act so committed, the same being of no little value; and as hitherto ye have made no recompence, according to our laws, as might stand with equity, justice, right, and good conscience, and for this cause due satisfaction ought to be made by our laws. Wherefore, we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and command you, by the tenor of this our especial letters, that ye satisfy and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret his wife, according to our laws in this cause, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril, so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy afterwards in this behalf, as ye, in the same, tender to avoid our high displeasure; otherwise, that ye, upon the sight hereof, to set all excuses apart, and to repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our mind.

From our manor," &c.

Defence of Richard Hun against Sir Thomas More and Alen Cope.

I doubt not but by these premises thou hast (Christian reader) sufficiently to understand the whole discourse and story of Richard Hun from top to toe. First, how he came in trouble for denying the bearing sheet of this young infant departed; then how he was forced, for succour of himself, to sue a *præmunire*; and thereupon what conspiracy of the clergy was wrought against him, what snares were laid, what fetches were practised, and articles devised, to snarl him in the trap of heresy, and so to imprison him. Furthermore, being in prison, how he was secretly murdered; after his murder, hanged; after his hanging, condemned; after his condemnation, burned; and after his burning, lastly, how his death was inquired by the coroner, and cleared by acquittal of the inquest. Moreover, how the cause was brought into the parliament, and by the parliament the king's precept obtained for restitution of his goods. The debating of which tragical and tumultuous story, with all the branches and particular evidences of the same, taken out as well of the public acts, as of the bishop's registers, and special records, remaining in the custody of Dunstan Whapplot, the son of the daughter of the said Richard Hun, there to be seen, I thought here to unwrap and discover, so much the more, for three special purposes.

First, as is requisite, for testimony and witness of the truth falsely slandered, of innocence wrongfully condemned, and of the party cruelly oppressed.

The second cause moveth me, for Sir Thomas More's Dialogues, wherein he dallieth out the mat-

ter, thinking to jest poor simple truth out of countenance.

The third cause which constraineth me, be Dialogues of Alen Cope; which two, the one in English, the other in Latin, railing and barking against Richard Hun, do doublewise charge him, both be a heretic, and also a desperate homicide of himself. Which, as it is false in the one, so it is to be found as untrue in the other, if simple truth, which hath few friends, and many times cometh in craven handling, might freely come in indifferent hearing. Wherefore, as I have hitherto described the order and manner of his handling, with the circumstances thereof, in plain and naked narration of story, simply laid out before all men's faces; so something here to intermit in the defence, as well of his oppressed cause as also in discharge of myself, I will now compendiously answer to both these aforesaid adversaries, stopping, as it were, with one bush two gaps, and the mouths also, if I can, of them both together. And first, against Sir Thomas More, albeit in degree worshipful, in place superior, in wit and learning singular, (if his judgment in Christ's matters had been correspondent to the same,) otherwise being a man with many worthy ornaments beautified yet, being but a man, and one man, I lay and object against the person of him, the persons and censures of twenty-four questmen, the deposition of many jurors, the judgment of the coroner, the approbation of the parliament, and lastly, the king's bill assigned for restitution of his goods, with his own broad seal confirmed, &c. And thus much to the person and credit of Sir Thomas More.

Now as touching his reasons: whereas he cometh in with a flim-flam of a horse-mill, or a mill horse, (in his own terms I speak,) thinketh it probation good enough, because he could not see him taken by the sleeve which murdered Hun: against these reasons unreasonable of his, I allege all the evidences and demonstrations of the history above prefixed to be considered, and of all indifferent men to be poised.

First, how he was found hanging, with his countenance fair, with his beard and head fair combed, his bonnet set right upon his head, with his eyes and his mouth fair closed, without any drivelling or spurring. His body being taken down, was found loose, (which by hanging could not be,) his neck broken, and the skin thereof, beneath the throat where the girdle went, fret and faced away; his girdle notwithstanding being of silk, and so double cast about the staple, that the space of the girdle between the staple and his neck, with the residue also which went about his neck, was not sufficient for his head to come out at. His hands moreover wrung

his wrists, his face, lips, chin, doublet, and shirt
~~was~~ unstained with any blood: when notwithstanding,
in a manner somewhat beyond the place where
~~he~~ did hang, a great quantity of blood was found.
~~And~~ whereas the staple whereon he hanged was so
~~that~~ he could not climb thereto without some mean,
~~there~~ was a stool set up upon the bolster of a bed,
~~so~~ tickle, that with the least touch in the world it
~~was~~ ready to fall. And how was it possible that
~~he~~ might hang himself upon that staple, the stool
~~standing~~? Besides the confession moreover of
~~Charles~~ Joseph's own mouth to Julian Litten, of
~~Robert~~ Johnson, John Spalding the bell-ringer, Pe-
~~ter~~ Turner, and others. All which testimonies and
~~declarations~~ being so clear and undeniable, may
 ~~suffice~~ (I trust) any indifferent man to see where
the truth of this case doth stand: unless Master
~~More~~, being a gentleman of Utopia, peradventure,
~~in~~ some strange guise of that country, useth to
~~carry~~ his eyes not in his head but in his affection,
~~not~~ seeing but where he liketh, nor believing but
~~what~~ he listeth.

Finally, where Sir Thomas More, speaking of him-
self, so concludeth, that he hearing in the matter,
~~what~~ well might be said, yet could not find contra-
~~ry~~, but Hun to be guilty of his own death; so, in as
~~many~~ words to answer him again, I perusing and
~~searching~~ in the story of Richard Hun, what may
~~will~~ be searched, cannot but marvel with myself,
~~either~~ with what darkness the eyes of Master More
~~be~~ closed, not to see what is so plain; or else with
~~what~~ conscience he would dissemble, that which
~~shame~~ cannot deny. And thus by the way to the
Dialogues of Sir Thomas More.

Thirdly, touching the Dialogues of Alen Cope,
which had rather the bishop's chancellor and officers
to be accounted among thieves and murderers, than
Hun to be numbered among the martyrs; I have
~~herein~~ not much to say, because himself saith but
~~little~~; and if he had said less, unless his ground
~~were~~ better, it had made as little matter. But for-
~~asmuch~~ as he saying not much, sendeth us to seek
~~more~~ in More; so with like brevity again I may
~~send~~ him to William Tindall, to shape him an
~~answer~~. Yet, notwithstanding, lest Cope, in saying
~~something~~, should think Hun's innocent cause to lack
~~some~~ friends, which will not or dare not adventure in
~~defence~~ of truth, somewhat I will answer in this behalf.

And first, touching this murder of Hun, not to be
his own wilful act, but the deed of others; besides
the demonstrations above premised to Sir Thomas
~~More~~, now to Master Cope, if I had no other evi-
~~dences~~ but only these two, I would require no
~~more~~; that is, his cap found so straight standing
upon his head, and the stool so tottering under his

feet. For how is it, I will not say, like, but how
is it possible for a man to hang himself in a silken
girdle double cast about a staple, in such shortness,
that neither the space of the knot could well com-
pass his head about, and yet having his cap so straight
set upon his head, as his was?

Again, how is it possible, or can it be imagined,
for him to hang himself, climbing up by a stool
which had no stay for him to stand upon, but stood
so tickle, that if he had touched the same never so
little, it must needs have fallen?

But Cope, being something more provident in this
matter, seemeth to exceed not altogether so far as
doth Master More. For he understanding the case
to be ambiguous and doubtful, so leave it in sus-
pense, neither determining that Hun did hang him-
self, and yet not admitting that he died a martyr,
no more than they which are quelled by thieves and
murderers in highway-sides. Well, be it so as
Cope doth argue, that they which die by the hands
of felons and murderers in thievish ways, be no marty-
tyrs; yet, notwithstanding, this his own similitude,
comparing the bishop's chancellor and officers to
thieves and murderers, doth grant at least that Hun
died a true man, although no martyr. Now if the
cause be it, and not the pain, that maketh a martyr,
in pondering the cause why Hun was slain, we shall
find it not altogether like to the cause of them which
perish by thieves and robbers. For such common-
ly because of their goods, and for some worldly gain
to be sought by their death, are made away, and
being true men, may peradventure have the reward,
although not the name, of martyrs: whereas this
man's death, being wrought neither for money, nor
any such temporal lucre to redound to his op-
pressors, as it hath another cause, so may it have
another name, and deserve to be called by the name
of martyrdom. Like as Abel being slain by wicked
Cain, albeit he had no opinion of religion articulate
against him, but of spite only and of malice was
made away, yet, notwithstanding, is justly numbered
among the martyrs; so what let to the contrary,
but that Hun also with him may be reckoned in the
same society, seeing the cause wherefore they both
did suffer proceedeth together out of one fountain?
And what, moreover, if a man should call Naboth
(who for holding his right inheritance was slain) a
martyr, what great injury should he do either to the
name or cause of the person, worthy to be carp-
ed at? Against Thomas Becket, ye know, Master
Cope, no special article of faith was laid, wherefore
he died. And why then do you bestow upon him
so devoutly the title of a martyr, for withholding
that from the king which by the law of God and of
the realm did belong unto him; and cannot suffer

Hun to be titled for a martyr, dying in his own right by the hands of spiritual thieves and homicides, as you yourself do term them? But what do I strain my travail any further, to prove Hun a martyr, when Cope's own confession doth import no less, though I said nothing? For what if I should take no more but his own very words, and say that he was known to be a heretic, as Cope doth affirm; what could I say more, seeing he died for their heresy, to prove him to die a martyr? For to die a heretic with the papists, what is it else (to say truth) but to die with God a martyr?

But howsoever it pleaseth either Sir Thomas More to jest, or Alen Cope to scold out the matter, and to style Richard Hun for a known and desperate heretic; yet to all true, godly disposed men, Hun may well be known to be a godly and virtuous person; no heretic, but faithful and sound; save that only he seemed rather half a papist; at least no full protestant, for that he resorted daily to mass, and also had his beads in prison with him, after the catholic manner; albeit he was somewhat inclined (as may appear) toward the gospel. And if the name of a martyr be thought too good for him, yet I trust Master Cope will stand so good master to him, to let him at least to be a martyr's fellow. But what now if I go further with Master Cope, and name Richard Hun not only for a martyr, but also commend him for a double martyr? Certes, as I suppose, in so saying I should affirm nothing less than truth, nor any thing more than truly may be said, and justly proved. But to give and grant this contention unto the adversary, which notwithstanding might be easily proved; let us see now the proofs of Master Cope, how he argueth that Richard Hun is no martyr; "because," saith he, "true men being killed in highways by thieves and murderers, are not therefore to be counted martyrs," &c. And was there nothing else in the cause of Hun, but as in true men killed by thieves and murderers? They that are killed by thieves and murderers, are killed for some prey, or money about them. And what prey or profit was in the death of Hun, let us see, to redound to them which oppressed him? If it were the mortuary or the bearing cloth, that was a small thing, and not worthy his death. If it were the *præmunire*, the danger thereof pertained to the priest, and not to them. If they feared lest the example thereof once begun, should afterward redound to the prejudice of the whole church, then was the cause of his death not private, but public, tending to the whole Church and clergy of Rome; and so is his death not altogether like to the death of them, which for private respects are killed of thieves and murderers.

But he was a heretic, saith Cope. By the same reason that Cope taketh him for a heretic, I take him the more to be accepted for a martyr. For by that way which they call heresy, the living God is served by no way better. And if he were a heretic, why then did they not proceed against him as a heretic while he was alive? When they had him at Fulham before them, if they had been sure to entrap him in that snare, why did they not take their advantage, when they might with least jeopardy? why did they not proceed and condemn him for a heretic? why made they such haste to prevent his death before? why did they not tarry the sentence of the law, having the law in their own hands? But belike they perceived that he could not be proved a heretic while he lived; and therefore thought it best to make him away privily, and to stop the *præmunire*, and afterward to stop the pursuit of his death, by making him a heretic; and therefore were articles devised by the chancellor (as is proved by witness of Charles Joseph and another page 18) against him, and he condemned for a heretic, and his favourers also, whosoever durst stir to take his part, and so thereupon was committed to the secular power, and burned. Wherein they did him double wrong; first, in that they burned him for a heretic, having before submitted himself to their favourable correction, as it appeareth yet in the bishop's registers by his own hand, as it is there pretended; which was against their own law. Again, if he had not submitted himself at that time, yet did they him wrong to burn him, before they knew and heard him speak (as Tindall saith) whether he would recant or no. And yet admit that he was condemned and burned for a heretic, yet to be killed and burned of them for a heretic, that taketh not from him the name of a martyr, but rather giveth him to be a double martyr. But Cope yet proceeding in his choler against Richard Hun, after he hath made him first no martyr, and then a heretic, thirdly, he maketh him also a murderer of himself, and saith that no other man was any part of his death, but only his own hands, and that either for indignation and anger, or for desperation, or for some cause knoweth not what. And in his Epilogue, to make it probable, he allegeth the example of one, nameless, who in Queen Mary's time in like manner went about to hang himself, had he not been taken in the manner, and rescued.

Furthermore, as touching the chancellor, he saith that there was no cause why he should attribute any such violence against him, both for his age, for his dignity, for his learning, and for the greatness of his own peril, which might ensue thereof. Yet he had maligned the man, and had been so dis-

to work his destruction, had means otherwise without danger to bring that about, having him within his danger convict and fast tied for heresy. Whereunto I answer, that to all this matter sufficient hath been answered by the story itself of his death, above specified. Whereby the manner of his death, by circumstances of his handling, and hanging, by his neck broke, by his body loose, by his skin fretted, by his wrists wrung, by his girdle in such shortness double cast about the staple, by his cap right upon his head, by his hair combed, by his eyes closed, by the cake of blood found in the floor, by his shirt collar, doublet, jacket, and other outward parts of his garments without drop of blood unspotted, by the stool so standing upon the bolster, by the chancellor's murrey gown found the day after upon the stocks, the wax candle fair put out; furthermore, by the verdict of the inquest, by the attestation of the witnesses sworn, by the coroner's judgment, by the assent of the parliament, by the king's letters assigned, and broad seal for restitution of his goods; and finally, by the confession of the parties themselves which murdered him, &c.: and yet thinketh Cope to make men such fools, having their five wits, to ween yet that *he* did hang himself, after so many demonstrations and evidences to the contrary, as in every part of *this* story may appear. And though it were, as it was unlike, and hard for a man to believe, that Doctor Horsey, a man of such age, dignity, and learning, would so much forget himself, to attempt such a villany, yet so great is the devil sometimes with man (where God permitteth) that he worketh greater things than this, and more incredible. For who would have thought it like that Cain would ever have killed Abel his own natural brother? which was more than a bishop's chancellor to kill a citizen: yet so he did. And where Cope pretendeth the causes of anger and desperation whereby *he* did hang himself; how is it like, or who did ever hear, a man being in such extremity of desperation, to stand first trimming himself, and combing his head, before he go to hang himself? No less credit is also to be given to that which followeth in the same Cope, where he saith, that Richard *he* being in prison, was convicted of heresy. By which word, convicted, if he mean that Hun was proved a heretic, that is false; for that he, being at Fulham, examined upon certain articles, both denied the articles to be true, as they were proposed; and also if they were true, yet he submitted himself to their favourable correction, and therefore, not standing obstinately in the same, could not be proved a heretic. And if by this term, convicted, he mean that he was by sentence cast; so *he* never cast by any sentence for a heretic,

so long as he lived, but after his death, when he could nothing answer for himself. And because this untruth should not go without his fellow, see how he huddlith up one false narration in the neck of another; affirming, moreover, that Hun was cast into prison before he entered his suit of *præmunire* against the priest. Which is utterly false and untrue, both disagreeing to other stories, and also refuted by the words of Sir Thomas More, his own author, who reporteth that Hun, (in suing his *præmunire* against the priest,) being set upon a glory of victory, made his boast among his friends, that he trusted to have the matter long spoken of, and to be called Hun's case. Whereby it appeareth, that Hun was not then in prison, clapped up for heresy, but was abroad seeking counsel among the lawyers, and boasting among his friends, as writeth More, lib. iii. Dial.

After this heap of untruths above passed, add yet further another copy of Cope's false dealing; who, seeking all corners, and every where, how to pick matter against my former history, chargeth me with arrogancy, as though I took so highly upon me to undo and derogate the king's acts and judgments in the acquittal of Doctor Horsey. If it so pleased the king to acquit Doctor Horsey, by his gracious pardon, I am not against it, neither do I deny but the king so did; neither do I say, nor ever did, but the king of his supereminent prerogative may so do: and wherein then do I unrip or loose the king's acts here done and concluded? But if the question be this, whether Doctor Horsey, with his colleagues, did kill Richard Hun or no, then do I say, that the pardon of the king doth not take away the verity of the crime committed, but removeth away the penalty of the law deserved; and so if the life of them was saved by way of pardon, (as Master More himself seemeth not to deny,) then was it not through their innocency claiming justice that they escaped, but through petition standing in need of mercy. For what needeth pardon, where justice absolveth? yea, who sueth pardon, but in so doing must yield himself guilty? for pardon never cometh lightly either with God or man, except the crime be first confessed. Wherefore, if they escaped by justice, as Cope pretendeth, how then doth Master More say, they were saved by pardon? and if they escaped by pardon, how then doth Cope say, they were not guilty? And be it admitted, that the sentence of the king's attorney in the king's name did absolve them as unguilty, according as the king was then informed by the cardinal and suit of friends; yet, afterward the king, being better informed by the parliament, and the truth better known, detested and abhorred their fact, and yet continued his pardon

unto them, as by the king's own acts and his broad seal appeareth, yet remaining in records to be seen.

And as touching my former histories set forth in Latin and in English, which spake first of the foreman of the inquest, then of the king's attorney, to be laboured with some gifts or money; as Cope hath yet proved no untruth in my saying, so less can he find any repugnance or disagreeing in the same. For he that speaketh of bribing, first of one person, and then afterward of another, where both might be bribed together, is not contrary (I think) to himself, but rather doth comprehend that in the one book, which he before leaveth out in the other, and yet no great repugnance either in the one or in the other, seeing that which is said may be verified in both, as it is no other like but in this matter it was. For, how is it otherwise like or possible, but that there must needs be found some privy packing in this matter, seeing after such evidence found and brought in by the coroner's inquest and jury of twenty-four chosen persons, after so many marks and tokens of the murder so clear and demonstrable, and laid forth so plain to the eyes of all the world, that no man could deny, or not see the same; yet, through the handling of the aforesaid attorney, and of the foreman of the inquest, the murderers were borne out, and confessed to be no murderers? If such bolstering out of matters and partiality were then such a rare case in the realm of England in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, who then under the king and in the king's name did what he list, then let it seem untrue in my former stories, that I have written. And yet the words of my story which Cope carpeth at so much, be not mine, but the words of Edward Hall, his own author. Wherefore, if his disposition be so set, that he must needs be a censurer of other men's writings, let him expostulate with Hall, and not with me.

But I trouble the reader too much in this matter of Richard Hun, being of itself so clear, that no indifferent judge can doubt thereof. As for wranglers and quarrellers, they will never be satisfied. Wherefore, to return again to the purpose of our story intermitted; in the table above, containing the names of them which about this time of Richard Hun were forced to deny and abjure their professed opinions, page 7, mention was made of Elizabeth Stamford, John Houshold, and other more, abjuring about the year of our Lord, 1517. Whose vexation and weakness, although it be pitiful to behold, yet to consider the confession of their doctrine in those ancient days, it is not unprofitable. Wherein we have to see the same form of knowledge and doctrine then taught and planted in the hearts of our fore-elders, which is now publicly re-

ceived, as well touching the Lord's sacrament his body, as also other specialties of sincerity. Although they lacked then public authority to maintain the open preaching and teaching of the gospel which the Lord's merciful grace hath given us no yet in secret knowledge and understanding that seemed then little or nothing inferior to these of times of public reformation; as may appear by the confession of Elizabeth Stamford hereunder written; which only may suffice for example to understand what ripe knowledge of God's word was then abroad, although not in churches publicly preached for danger of the bishops, yet in secret wise taught and received of divers.

In number of whom was this Elizabeth Stamford who being brought and examined before Fitzjame bishop of London, A. D. 1517, confessed that she was taught by one Thomas Beele, sometime dwelling at Henley, these words, eleven years before "That Christ feedeth and fast nourisheth his church with his own precious body, that is, the bread of life coming down from heaven; this is the worthful word that is worthily received, and joined unto man for to be in one body with him. Sooth it is that they be both one, they may not be parted this is the wisely deeming of the holy sacrament Christ's own body: this is not received by chewing of teeth, but by hearing of ears, and understanding with your soul, and wisely working thereafter. Therefore saith St. Paul, I fear me amongst us brethren, that many of us be feeble and sick; therefore I counsel us brethren to rise and watch, that the great day of doom come not suddenly upon us as the thief doth upon the merchant." Also the said Thomas taught and showed her, that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but very bread; and that the sacrament was the very body of Christ, put upon the cross after a divine or mystical manner. And moreover, that the said Thomas Beele did many times and oft teach her this aforesaid lesson, that she should confess her sins to God, and that the pope's pardons and indulgences were nought worth, and profited not; and that worshipping of images and pilgrimages are not to be done.

John Stilman, martyr.

It would ask a long tractation and tedious, to recite in order the great multitude and number of good men and women, besides these above rehearsed, which in those days recanted and abjured about the beginning of King Henry's reign and before; among whom yet, notwithstanding, some there were whom the Lord reduced again, and made strong in the profession of his truth, and constant unto death:

of which number one was John Stilman by name, who about the twenty-fourth day of September, in the year of our Lord, 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration made about eleven years then past, before Edmund, then bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images, as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial; yet, since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse; and further, had highly commended and praised John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book called *The Wicket* was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the *Lollard's Tower* at London, and the twenty-second day of October then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistory at Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop's vicar-general, upon the contents of these articles following:

"1. First I object unto you, that you have confessed before my lord of London, and me, Doctor *Hed* his vicar-general, that about twenty years past, *Mr* Stephen Moone, of the diocese of Winchester, with whom you abode six or seven years after, did teach you to believe that the going on pilgrimage and worshipping of images, as the Lady of Walsingham and others, were not to be used. And also that afterwards one Richard Smart, who was burned at Salisbury about fourteen or fifteen years past, did teach unto you Wickliff's *Wicket*, and likewise instructed you to believe that the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ: all which things you have erroneously believed.

"2. Item, You have divers times read the said book called Wickliffe's *Wicket*, and one other book of the ten commandments, which the said Richard Smart did give you, and at the time of your first apprehension, you did hide them in an old oak, and did not reveal them unto the bishop of Salisbury, before whom you were abjured of heresy about eleven years since; where you promised by oath unto the evangelists, ever after to believe and hold the Christian faith taught and preached, and never to offend again in the said heresies, or any other, upon pain of relapse. And further, you there promised to perform all such penance as the said bishop of Salisbury did enjoin you; who then enjoined you, upon the like pain, not to depart his diocese, without his special licence.

"3. Item, It is evident that you be relapsed, as

well by your own confession, as also by your deeds, in that about two years after your abjuration you went into the said place where you had hidden your books; and then taking them away with you, you departed the aforesaid diocese, without the licence of the bishop, and brought them with you to London, where now being attached and taken with them upon great suspicion of heresy, you are brought unto the bishop of London. By reason of which your demeanour, you have showed both your impenitent and dissembled conversation both your errors, and also your unfaithful abjuration, and disobedience unto the authority of our mother holy church, in that you performed not the penance, in which behalf you be voluntarily perjured and also relapsed, in that you departed the same diocese without licence.

"4. Item, You be not only (as before is said) impenitent, disobedient, voluntarily perjured, and relapsed, by this your aforesaid heretical demeanour, but also, since your last attachment upon suspicion of heresy, you have maliciously spoken erroneous and damnable words, affirming before my lord of London, your ordinary, and me, judicially sitting at Fulham, that you were sorry that ever you did abjure your said opinions, and had not suffered then manfully for them: for they were, and be, good and true; and therefore you will now abide by them, to die for it. And furthermore, you have spoken against our holy father the pope and his authority, damnably saying, that he is antichrist, and not the true successor of Peter, or Christ's vicar on earth: and that his pardons and indulgences which he granteth in the sacrament of penance, are naught, and that you will none of them: and likewise that the college of cardinals be limbs of the said antichrist, and that all other inferior prelates and priests are the synagogue of Satan. And moreover you said, that the doctors of the church have subverted the truth of Holy Scripture, expounding it after their own minds; and therefore their works be naught, and they in hell; but that Wickliff is a saint in heaven, and the book called his *Wicket* is good, for therein he sheweth the truth. Also you did wish that there were twenty thousand of your opinion against us Scribes and Pharisees, to see what you would do for the defence of your faith. All which heresies you did afterwards erroneously affirm before the archbishop of Canterbury, and then said, that you would abide by them to die for it, notwithstanding his earnest persuasions to the contrary; and therefore for these premises you be evidently relapsed, and ought to be committed unto the secular power."

After these articles thus propounded, and his

constant persevering in the truth perceived, Doctor Hed, vicar-general, the twenty-fifth day of October, by his sentence definitive, did condemn him a relapsed heretic, and so delivered him the same present day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Thomas Man, martyr.

Next to John Stilman above mentioned, followeth in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man; who, the twenty-ninth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel about six years before, the fourteenth day of August, A. D. 1511, and being at that time brought before Doctor Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles.

The fifteenth day of February, Doctor Hed, the chancellor, again judicially sitting in the consistory at Paul's, commanded Thomas Man to be brought before him, and there causing the articles objected against him by the bishop of Lincoln, with his order of abjuration and penance, and also his own articles last propounded, to be first read, he called forth a third witness to be sworn and examined upon the same. But because he would seem to do all things by order of justice, and nothing against law, he therefore appointed unto the said Thomas Man certain doctors and advocates of the Arches, as his counsellors to plead in his behalf. Which was even like as if the lamb should be committed to the defence and protection of the wolf, or the hare to the hound. For what good help could he look for at their hands, which were both most wicked haters and abhorers of his Christian profession, and also stout upholders and maintainers of that antichristian law, by the which he was for the same condemned? And that full well appeared by the good advice and profitable counsel which they gave him against his next examinations. For as well upon the twentieth and also the twenty-third days of the same month of February, in their several sessions, he, seeing his own negations to their objections to take no place against their sworn witnesses, had no other thing to allege for himself, but that through his twenty weeks of hard imprisonment under the bishop of Lincoln, he was forced to recant and abjure; which was a poor shift of counsel, God knoweth; and yet Dr. Raynes, being one of his chief assigned advocates, instead of advice, could by his subtle questioning then make him to confess, that certain talk, whereof one of the witnesses had accused him, was spoken about five years before past; which because it was since his

recantation, was rather an accusation of him than an excusing; and therefore it is easy to judge with how favourable and upright hearts they stood upon them to be his advocates and defenders. The chancellor likewise charged him upon the twenty-third day, that since his last imprisonment had said unto Robert Clunie the bishop's sumner and his keeper, that as far forth as he could see perceive for his part in this his matter, the laws of the church were grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas. Which objection he granting to be true, the chancellor did for that time dismiss the court, until the first day of March next following. Upon which day, minding to make quick despatch, he in few words asked Man, what matter he had to allege for himself, why he should not then, considering the premises, be pronounced a relapsed heretic, and receive such punishment by the secular power, as such was due by order of law? But he having other allegations than before which might take place with them, was finally condemned as a heretic. And notwithstanding that, as the register notes, but how truly God only knoweth, he did again for sake his former renewed profession of Christ's gospel, and yielded himself unto the bishop of Rome requiring to be absolved from his curse of excommunication, and contented to do such penance they should enjoin him; he was yet, the twenty-ninth day of March, delivered by Doctor Hed unto the sheriff of London, to be then presently burned with this protestation made before, that he might not consent to the death of any, and therefore he desired the sheriff that he would receive this penance as relapsed and condemned, and yet to punish him otherwise than by rigorous rigor. The words to be marked in their sentence be these: We desire in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that the punishment and execution of due severity of thee, against thee in this part, may so be moderate, that there be no rigorous rigor, nor yet no dissolute mansuetude, but to the health and wealth of thy soul &c. Wherein these catholic churchmen do well declare, according to the words of Thomas Man before expressed, that the laws of their church be grounded upon Pilate and Caiaphas; for like as Caiaphas with his court of Pharisees cried against Christ unto Pilate, It is not lawful for us to put any man to death; but if thou let him go, thou art not Cæsar's friend: even so they, first condemning the saints of God to death, and then delivering them unto the secular magistrate, to be thereupon executed, would yet cover their malignant hearts with the cloak of hypocritical holiness and unwillingness to shed blood. But God be thanked, which bringeth all things to light in his due time, and un-

such hypocrisy at last, that she may be seen and known in her right colours.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London, sitting on horseback, in Paternoster Row, before the bishop's door, A.D. 1518, protesting to the said sheriff

that he had no power to put him to death; and therefore desired the sheriff to take him as a relapse and condemned, to see him punished, *et tamen citra mortem*, that is, without death, as the words stand in the register. The sheriff, receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield,

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of Windsor, where he, hearing of the brethren which were at Amersham, removed thither, where he found a godly and a great company, which had continued in that doctrine and teaching twenty-three years, which was from this present time seventy years ago. And this congregation of Buckinghamshire men remained till the time of John Longham, bishop of Lincoln, whereof we shall, Christ willing, hear more anon. Against these faithful Christians of Amersham, was great trouble and persecution in the time of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, about the year of our Lord 1507, at which time divers and many were abjured, and it was called *abjuratio magna*, the great abjuration, and they which were noted of that doctrine and profession, were called by the name of "known men," or "just-fast men," &c. In this congregation of the faithful brethren, were four principal readers or instructors. Whereof one was Tilsworth, called then Doctor Tilsworth, who was burnt at Amersham, mentioned in our history before, by the name of William Tilseley, whom I suppose rather to be called Tilseworth. Another was Thomas Chase, called amongst them Doctor Chase, whom we declared before to be murdered and hanged in the bishop of Lincoln's prison at Wooburn, called Little Ease. The third was this Thomas Man, called also Doctor Man, burned, as is here mentioned, in Smithfield, A. D. 1518, who, as by his own confession, and no less also by his travail, appeareth, was God's champion, and suffered much trouble by the priests for the cause and law of God. He confesseth himself in the same register, that he had turned seven hundred people to his religion and doctrine, for the which he thanked God. He conveyed also five couples of men and women from Amersham, Uxbridge, Burnham, and Henley upon Thames, where they dwelt, unto Suffolk and Norfolk, that they might be brought, as he then termed it, out of the devil's mouth. The fourth was Robert Cosin, named likewise among them, Doctor Cosin.

Robert Cosin, martyr.

This Robert Cosin seemeth to be the same, which in the former part of our history is before mentioned, being called by the name of Father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin I find in the registers of Lincoln, that he, with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also when she had vowed a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from the same, and that she needed not to confess her

unto a priest, but to be sufficient to lift up her hands to heaven. Moreover, they were charged by the bishop, for teaching the said Joan, that she might as well drink upon the Sunday before mass, as on any other day, &c. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for the which they were in the days abjured and condemned to death.

William Sweeting, alias Clerke, martyr.

William Sweeting, otherwise named Clerke, first dwelt with the Lady Percy at Darlington in the county of Northampton for a certain space, and thence went to Boxted in the county of Essex, where he was the holy-water clerk the space of seven years; after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mistress Margery Wood the term of thirteen years. From Boxted he departed and came to the town of St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Osithe's, named George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more; where he had so turned the prior by his persuasions, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterward compelled to abjure. This William Sweeting coming up to London with the afore-said prior, for suspicion of heresy was committed to the Lollard's Tower, under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there, being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's Cross, and at Colchester; and afterward to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life. While he did two years together upon his left sleeve, till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church, and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy-water clerk. From thence afterward he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rederiffe in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy-water clerk the space of a year; then went to Chelsith, where he was their neatherd, and kept the town beasts. In the which town, upon St. Andrew's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books. This was A. D. 1511.

The crimes whereupon he was examined were these:

"First, For having much conference with one William Man of Boxted, in a book which was called Matthew.

"Item, That he had familiarity, and frequented much the company of James Brewster, who had been before abjured.

"Item, That when his wife would go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, what good she should receive by her going on pilgrimage: adding moreover, that as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but

rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend to her business.

"Item, That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the priests' altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance, received in memorial of Christ.

"Item, That he had propounded and affirmed the same doctrine to James Brewster.

"Item, Because he had reprehended his wife for whipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them."

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting, wherefore he was condemned. Who then being asked what cause he had, why he should not be judged for relapse, said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

James Brewster, martyr.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned James Brewster, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester, who being unlettered, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was A. D. 1505, he had been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London being then vacant; and after other penance done at Colchester, was enjoined to wear a faggot upon his upper garment during his life. Which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the compeller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these: "First, that he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book. At which reading also were present at one time, Woodroffe or Woodbinde, a baker, with his wife; also a brother-in-law of William Sweeting; and another time Thomas Goodred, who heard likewise the said William Sweeting

"Item, Because he used the company and conference of Henry Hert, carpenter, of Westminster, brought with him in his science at Westminster.

"Item, For having a certain little book of Scripture in English, of an old writing almost worn for whose name is not there expressed.

"Item, Because he hearing upon a time one Bartholomew of Colchester thus say, that he that worshipped the Maozim in heart and thought

shall die in fight; he asked afterward of William Man, what that word Maozim should mean; who told him that it signified as much as the mass god, to wit, the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That he had much conference with Henry Hert against oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that that was offered in pilgrimage.

"Item, For that he had communication and conference with Roger Heliar, and one Walker, a thicker of St. Clement's, concerning divers such matters of pilgrimage, offering to images, worshipping of saints, and the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say: Now the Son of the living God help us. Unto whom William Sweeting again should answer, Now Almighty God so do."

And thus have you the causes likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he with William Sweeting was together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for relapse, he, trusting to find favour and grace in submitting himself, said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

But note here the unmerciful and unchristian dealing of these catholic fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release and pardon them from the sentence of the excommunication, whereunto they had incurred: but immediately after upon the same, the bishop, all this notwithstanding, pronounced upon them the sentence of death and condemnation. Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, A. D. 1511.

Christopher Shoomaker, martyr.

To these blessed saints before past, we will also adjoin Christopher Shoomaker; of whom this I find briefly in the register of Sir John Longland; that the said Christopher Shoomaker, a parishioner of Great Missenden, came to the house of John Stay, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book, the words which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus coming to his house about four

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for the name, as in the former times of this history may appear. And if they think this doctrine be so new, that it was not heard of before Luther's time, how then came such great persecution before Luther's time here in England? If these were of the same profession which they were of, then was their cruelty unreasonable, so to persecute their own catholic fraternity. And if they were otherwise, how then is this doctrine of the gospel so new, or the professors thereof so late start up, as they pretend them to be? But this cometh only of ignorance, and for not knowing or considering well the times and antiquities of the church which have been before us; which if they did, they should see and say, that the Church of England hath not lacked great multitudes, which tasted and followed the sweetness of God's holy word almost in as ample manner, for the number of well-disposed hearts, as now. Although public authority then lacked to maintain the open preaching of the gospel, yet the secret multitude of true professors was not much unequal; certes, the fervent zeal of those Christian days seemed much superior to these our days and times; as manifestly may appear by their sitting up all night in reading and hearing, also by their expenses and charges in buying of books in English; of whom some gave five marks, some more, some less, in a book. Some gave a load of hay for a few books of St. James, or of St. Paul, in English. In this plenty of books, and want of teachers, this is that which greatly marvel and muse at, to note in it the word of truth, and to consider how the word of truth, notwithstanding, did multiply so exceedingly, as it did amongst them. Wherein is to be seen, no doubt, the marvellous working of God's mighty power. For so I find and observe in considering the registers, how one neighbour resorting and coming with another, oftsoons, with a few words of his first or second talk, did win and turn their hearts to that wherein they desired to persuade them, teaching the truth of God's word and his sacraments. See their travails, their earnest seeking, their burning zeal, their readings, their watchings, their sweet meditations, their love and concord, their godly living, their faithful marrying with the faithful, may make now in these our days of free profession to blush shame.

Four principal points they stood in against the church of Rome, in pilgrimage, adoration of saints, reading Scripture books in English, and in the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament. After the great abjuration aforesaid, which was by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, they were called and termed among themselves by the name of

"known men," or "just-fast men," as now they are called by the name of Protestants.

As they were simple, and yet not uncircumspect in their doings, so the crafty serpent, being more wily than they, by fraudulent subtlety did so circumvent them, that they caused the wife to detect the husband, the husband the wife; the father the daughter, the daughter the father; the brother to disclose the brother, and neighbour the neighbour. Neither were there any assemblies nor readings kept, but both the persons and also the books were known; neither was any word so closely spoken, nor article mentioned, but it was discovered. So subtly and sleightly these catholic prelates did use their inquisitions and examinations, that nothing was done or said among these "known men," fifteen or twenty years before, so covertly, but it was brought at length to their intelligence. Such captious interrogatories, so many articles and suspicions they had, such espials and privy scouts they sent abroad, such authority and credit they had with the king, and in the king's name; such diligence they showed in that behalf, so violently and impudently they abused the book of the peaceable evangelists, wresting men's consciences upon their oath, swearing them upon the same to detect themselves, their fathers and mothers, and other of their kindred, with their friends and neighbours, and that to death. All which things in the further process of the table ensuing, (Christ willing,) which we have collected out of some part of the registers of Lincoln, shall appear.

For the better declaration whereof, first here is to be premonished by the way, touching the see of Lincoln, that after William Smith, succeeded John Longland. This William Smith, although he was somewhat eager and sharp against the poor simple flock of Christ's servants, under whom some were burned, many abjured, a great number molested, as partly hath been before declared; yet was he nothing so bloody and cruel as was the said Longland, who afterward succeeded in that diocese. For so I find of him, that in the time of the great abjuration and troublesome affliction of Buckinghamshire men, wherein many were abjured, and certain burned; yet divers he sent quietly home without punishment and penance, bidding them go home, and live as good Christian men should do. And many who were enjoined penance before, he did release. This Smith died about the year of our Lord 1515, by whom was builded, as is aforesaid, the college of Brazen-nose in Oxford.

Not long after him followed John Longland, a fierce and cruel vexer of the faithful poor servants of Christ; who, to renew again the old sparkles of

persecution, which were not yet utterly quenched, first began with one or two of those which had been abjured, whom he thought to be most notorious, causing them by force of their oath, to detect and bewray, not only their own opinions touching points of religion, but also to discover all others of their affinity, which were either suspected or abjured before. And them likewise he put to their oath, most violently constraining them to utter and confess both themselves, and whom else soever they knew : by reason whereof, an incredible multitude of men, women, and maidens, were brought forth to examination, and straitly handled. And such as were found in relapse, were burned.

The rest were so burdened with superstitious and idolatrous penance and injunctions, that either through grief of conscience they shortly died, or else with shame they lived.

Captious interrogatories ministered commonly by the bishop of Lincoln, against these ex-aminates here following.

The interrogatories or articles which Longland, bishop of Lincoln, used most commonly to minister to these exminates or “known men,” in number were nine, and are these as followeth :

“1. First, Whether they or any of them did know, that certain of the parish of Amersham had been convented before William Smith, late bishop of Lincoln, for heresy ?

“2. Item, Whether they knew that they, so convented before the said bishop, did err in the sacrament of the altar, or in any other sacrament of the church : and if they did, in what sacraments, and in which of them ? Also whether they knew that the said parties so convented did confess their errors, and receive penance for the same ?

“3. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were of the society of those so convented for heresy : and if they were, what fellowship they had with them, and with whom ?

“4. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with such a one (naming the person whom they knew suspected, as with Thurstan Littlepage) ? And if they were, what conversation they had with him, how long, and when : and whether they knew the said person to have been suspected of heresy ?

“5. Item, Whether they, or any of them, were ever conversant with him ; or with him (naming some other person whom they suspected, as Alexander Mastall) ? and if they were, how, and how long ? and whether they knew the said person to be suspected of heresy ?

“6. Item, Whether they, or any of them, had

been beforetime detected of heresy, to the office of the aforesaid William, bishop of Lincoln : and if they were, by what person or persons they were detected ? or else, whether they only were called by the aforesaid William, bishop, for heresy ?

“7. Item, Whether he or they be noted and holden for heretics ; or be reputed and defamed to be of the sect of those who were convented for heresy ? and whether he or they be named for a ‘known man’ amongst them ?

“8. Item, Whether he or they have been ever at any readings of such as have been so convented for heresy ?

“9. Item, Whether he or they were ever in any secret communication or conventicle with them : whom or which of them he knew to be named and reputed for a ‘known man,’ or holding against the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments and articles of faith ? and if they knew any such, to declare where and when, and what they were, and who were present the same time.”

These articles and interrogatories thus declare now followeth to be shown a certain brief summariously collected out of the registers of John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, of the names first those who by oath were constrained against their wills to detect and accuse others. Secondly, The persons that were accused. Thirdly, The crimes then objected.

And first ; forasmuch as the bishop perceived that Roger Bennet, William Chedwell, Edmund Dorr, Thomas Harding, Robert Andrew, with such others were men especially noted to be of that side, therefore, to work his purpose the better, he began with them ; producing the same as witnesses, to detect first Robert Bartlet of Amersham, and Richard brother ; understanding that these aforementioned witnesses, because they had been abjured before, could now do no other, upon pain of relapse, but confess whatsoever was put unto them. And therefore, because Robert Bartlet and Richard his brother, being called before the bishop, and sworn upon their oath, would confess nothing against themselves ; the bishop, to convict them by witnesses, went first to William Chedwell, lying sick in his bed, causing him upon the evangelist to swear, whether he knew the aforesaid Robert and Richard Bartlet to be “known men.” Which done, the bishop then called before him Robert Andrew, Roger Bennet, John Hill, Edmund Dorr, John Milsent, Thomas Bernard, Thomas Little, John Dosset, (all Amersham men,) who, being abjured before, as is said, durst no otherwise but confess upon their oath that Robert and F

Bartlet were "known men." And yet the bishop, not contented with this, caused also their two wives, wit, Margaret the wife of Robert Bartlet, and Isabel the wife of Richard Bartlet, to depose and give witness against their own natural husbands. Albeit Isabel Bartlet, being somewhat more temperate of her tongue, refused utterly to confess any thing of her husband, and denied her husband's

words to be true; till at last, she, being convicted of perjury, was constrained to utter the truth.

And first, as touching those who, being brought to abjuration, were put to their penance; long it were to recite the names of all. Certain I thought to recite here in a catalogue: first reciting the persons; afterwards the rigorous penance to them enjoined.

The names of those who were abjured in the diocese of Lincoln, A. D. 1521.

William Colins.	John Steventon.	John Frier.	Benet Ward.
John Colins.	Joan Steventon.	Richard Vulford.	John Baker.
Sam Colins.	Robert Bartlet.	Thomas Tredway.	Agnes Wellis.
Robert Colins.	Thomas Clerke.	William Gudgame.	Marian Morden.
John Hacker.	John Clerke.	Roger Heron.	Isabel Morwin.
John Brabant the father.	Richard Bartlet.	Francis Funge.	John Butler.
	William Phip.	Robert Pope.	John Butler the younger.
John Brabant his son.	John Phip.	Roger Dods.	Richard Carder.
John Brabant the younger son.	Thomas Couper.	John Harris.	Richard Bernard.
	William Littlepage.	Robert Bruges.	Joan Bernard.
John Edmonds.	John Littlepage.	John Stampe.	John Grace.
Edward Pope.	Joan Littlepage.	Joan Stampe.	John French.
Henry Phip.	John Say.	Richard White.	John Edings.

The towns, villages, and countries where these aforesaid persons did inhabit, are named chiefly to be these.

Amersham.	Ginge.	Uxbridge.	Windsor.
Cheham.	Betterton.	Woburn.	London.
Richenden.	Charney.	Henley.	Coleman-street in London.
Misenden the Great.	Stanlake.	Wycombe.	Cheapside in London.
Misenden the Less.	Claufield.	West-Wycombe.	Shoreditch by London.
East-hundred.	Walton.	Newbury.	St. Giles in London.
West-hundred.	Marlow.	Burford.	Essex.
Asthall.	Dorney.	Witney.	Suffolk.
Bromsfield.	Iver.	Hungerford.	Norfolk.
Dabam.	Burton.	Upton.	Norwich.

The books and opinions which these were charged withal, and for which they were abjured, partly are before expressed, partly here follow, in a brief summary to be seen.

A brief summary of their opinions.

The opinions of many of these persons were, That he or she never believed in the sacrament of the altar, nor ever would; and that it was not as men did take it.

For that he was known of his neighbours to be a good fellow, meaning, that he was a "known man."

For saying, that he would give forty pence on condition that such a one knew as much as he did know.

Some, for saying that they of Amersham, who had been abjured before by Bishop Smith, were good men, and perfect Christians, and simple folk

who could not answer for themselves, and therefore were oppressed by power of the bishop.

Some, for hiding others in their barns.

Some, for reading the Scriptures, or treatises of Scripture, in English: some, for hearing the same read.

Some, for defending, some for marrying with, them that had been abjured.

Some, for saying that matrimony was not a sacrament.

Some, for saying that worshipping of images was mawmetry; some, for calling images carpenters' chips; some, for calling them stocks and stones; some, for calling them dead things.

Some, for saying that money spent upon pilgrimages, served but to maintain thieves and harlots.

Some, for calling the image in the rood-loft, "Block-almighty."

Others, for saying that nothing graven with man's hand was to be worshipped.

Some, for calling them fools who came from Master John Shorne in pilgrimage.

Another, for calling his vicar a poll-shorn priest.

Another, for calling a certain blind chapel, being in ruin, an old fair milk-house.

Another, for saying that he threshed God Almighty out of the straw.

Another, for saying that alms should not be given before they did sweat in a man's hand.

Some, for saying that those who die, pass straight either to heaven or hell.

Isabel Bartlet was brought before the bishop and abjured, for lamenting her husband, when the bishop's man came for him; and saying, that he was an undone man, and she a dead woman.

For saying, that Christ, departing from his disciples into heaven, said that once he was in sinners' hands, and would come there no more.

Robert Rave, hearing a certain bell in an uplandish steeple, said, "Lo, yonder is a fair bell, an it were to hang about any cow's neck in this town;" and therefore, as for other such-like matters more, he was brought *coram nobis*!

Item, For receiving the sacrament at Easter, and doubting whether it was the very body of Christ, and not confessing their doubt to their ghostly father.

Some, for saying that the pope had no authority to give pardon, or to release man's soul from sin, and so from pain; and that it was nothing but blinding of the people, and to get their money.

The penance to these parties enjoined by this John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was almost uniform, and all after one condition; save only that they were severally committed and divided into several and divers monasteries, there to be kept and found of alms all their life, except they were otherwise dispensed with by the bishop. As for example, I have here adjoined the bishop's letter for one of the said number, sent to the abbey of Ensham, there to be kept in perpetual penance; by which one, an estimation may be taken of the rest, who were bestowed likewise sundrily into sundry abbeys, as to Osney, to Frideswide, to Abingdon, to Thame, to Bicester, to Dorchester, to Netley, to Ashridge, and divers more. The copy of the bishop's letter, sent to the abbot of Ensham, here followeth underwritten.

Copy of the bishop's letter to the abbot of Ensham.

"My loving brother, I recommend me heartily unto you: And whereas I have, according to the law, put this bearer R. T. to perpetual penance

within your monastery of Ensham, there to live a penitent, and not otherwise; I pray you, a nevertheless according unto the law command you to receive him, and see ye order him there according to his injunctions, which he will show you, ye require the same. For his lodging, he will bring it with him; and for his meat and drink, may have such as you give of your alms. And he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink; so may you order him as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precinct of your monastery. And thus fare ye heartily well: From my place," &c.

As touching the residue of the penance and punishment inflicted on these men, they do little or nothing disagree, but had one order in them all; the manner and form whereof in the said bishop's register do proceed in condition as followeth:

Penance enjoined under pain of relapse, by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the 19th day of December, A. D. 1521.

"*In primis*, That every one of them shall, upon a market-day, such as shall be limited unto them in the market-time, go thrice about the market at Burford, and then to stand up upon the highest greece of the cross there, a quarter of an hour, with a faggot of wood every one of them upon his shoulder, and every one of them once to bear a faggot of wood upon their shoulders, before their procession upon a Sunday, which shall be limited unto them at Burford, from the choir-door going out, to the choir-door going in; and all the high mass time to hold the same faggot upon their shoulders, kneeling upon the greece before the high altar there, and every of them to do likewise in their own parish church, upon such a Sunday as shall be limited unto them: and once to bear a faggot at a general procession at Uxbridge, when they shall be assigned thereto; and once to bear a faggot at the burning of a heretic, when they shall be admonished thereto.

"Also every one of them to fast, bread and ale only, every Friday during their life; and every even of Corpus Christi, every one of them to fast bread and water during their life, unless sickness unfeigned let the same.

"Also, to be said by them every Sunday, and every Friday, during their life, once our Lady psalter; and if they forget it one day, to say as much another day for the same.

"Also neither they, nor any of them, shall hide their mark upon their cheek, neither with hat, cap, hood, kerchief, napkin, or none otherwise; nor shall

after their beards to grow past fourteen days ; nor
 to haunt again together with any suspected per-
 sons or persons, unless it be in the open market, fair,
 church, or common inn or alehouse, where other
 people may see their conversation.

"And all these injunctions they and every of
 them to fulfil with their penance, and every part of
 the same, under pain of relapse."

And thus have you the names, with the causes
 and the penance, of those who were at this present
 time abjured. By this word "abjured" is meant,
 that they were constrained by their oath, swearing
 upon the evangelists, and subscribing with their
 hand, and a cross to the same, that they did utterly
 and voluntarily renounce, detest, and forsake, and
 never should hold hereafter these or any other like
 opinions, contrary to the determination of the holy
 mother Church of Rome : And further, that they
 should detect unto their ordinary, whomsoever they
 should see or suspect hereafter to teach, hold, or
 maintain the same.

*The names of them that were condemned for
 relapse, and committed unto the secular
 power.*

Among these aforementioned persons who thus sub-
 mitted themselves, and were put to penance, cer-
 tain there were, who, because they had been abjured
 before, as is above-mentioned, under Bishop Smith,
 were now condemned for relapse, and had sentence
 read against them, and so were committed to the se-
 cular arm to be burned : whose names here follow :
 Thomas Bernard, James Morden, Robert Rave, and
 John Scrivener, martyrs.

Of these mention is made before, both touching
 their abjuration, and also their martyrdom ; unto
 whom we may adjoin, Joan Norman, and Thomas
 Holmes.

This Thomas Holmes, albeit he had disclosed
 and detected many of his brethren, as in the table
 above is expressed ; thinking thereby to please the
 bishop, and to save himself, and was thought to be
 a good man of the bishop for the same : yet, not-
 withstanding, in the said bishop's register appeareth
 the sentence of relapse and condemnation, written
 and drawn out against him ; and most likely he was
 also adjudged and executed with the others.

As touching the burning of John Scrivener, here
 is to be noted, that his children were compelled to
 set fire unto their father ; in like manner as Joan
 Clarke also, daughter of William Tylsworth, was
 constrained to give fire to the burning of her own
 natural father, as is above specified.

The example of which cruelty, as it is contrary

both to God and nature, so it hath not been seen or
 heard of in the memory of the heathen.

Where moreover is to be noted, that at the
 burning of this John Scrivener, one Thomas Dor-
 man, mentioned before, was present, and bare a
 faggot, at Amersham ; whose abjuration was after-
 wards laid against him, at what time he should de-
 pose for recovery of certain lands from the school
 of Berkhamstead. This Thomas Dorman (as I am
 credibly informed of certain about Amersham) was
 then uncle to this our Dorman, and found him to
 school at Berkhamstead, under Master Reeve ; who
 now so uncharitably abuseth his pen in writing
 against the contrary doctrine, and railleth so fiercely
 against the blood of Christ's slain servants, mis-
 calling them to be a dunghill of stinking martyrs.

Well, howsoever the savour of these good mar-
 tyrs do scent in the nose of Master Dorman, I doubt
 not but they give a better odour and sweeter smell
 in the presence of the Lord : *Pretiosa enim in
 conspectu Domini mors sanctorum ejus* ; Precious
 in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.
 And therefore, howsoever it shall please Master
 Dorman with reproachful language to misterm the
 good martyrs of Christ, or rather Christ in his
 martyrs ; his unseemly usage (more cart-like than
 clerk-like) is not greatly to be weighed. For, as
 the danger of his blasphemy hurteth not them that
 are gone, so the contumely and reproach thereof as
 well comprehendeth his own kindred, friends, and
 country, as any others else ; and especially redound-
 eth to himself, and woundeth his own soul, and none
 else, unto the great provoking of God's wrath against
 him, unless he be blessed with better grace, by time
 to repent.

Doctor John Colet, dean of St. Paul's.

Much about this time, or not past two years be-
 fore, died Dr. John Colet, to whose sermons these
 "known men," about Buckinghamshire, had a great
 mind to resort. After he came from Italy and Paris,
 he first began to read the Epistles of St. Paul open-
 ly in Oxford, instead of Scotus and Thomas. From
 thence he was called by the king, and made dean
 of Paul's ; where he accustomed much to preach,
 not without a great auditory, as well of the king's
 court, as of the citizens and others. His diet was
 frugal, his life upright ; in discipline he was severe,
 insomuch that his canons, because of their straiter
 rule, complained that they were made like monks.
 The honest and honourable state of matrimony he
 ever preferred before the unchaste singleness of
 priests. At his dinner commonly was read either
 some chapter of St. Paul, or of Solomon's Proverbs.
 He never used to sup. And although the blindness

of that time carried him away after the common error of popery, yet in ripeness of judgment he seemed something to incline from the vulgar trade of that age. The religious order of monks and friars he fantasied not; as neither he could greatly favour the barbarous divinity of the school-doctors, as of Scotus, but least of all of Thomas Aquinas: insomuch that when Erasmus, speaking in the praise of Thomas Aquinas, did commend him, that he had read many old authors, and had written many new works, as *Catena Aurea*, and such like, to prove and to know his judgment: Colet, first supposing that Erasmus had spoken in jest, but after supposing that he meant good faith, bursteth out in great vehemency, saying, "What tell you me," quoth he, "of the commendation of that man, who, except he had been of an arrogant and presumptuous spirit, would not define and discuss all things so boldly and rashly; and also, except he had been rather worldly-minded than heavenly, would never have so polluted Christ's whole doctrine with man's profane doctrine, in such sort as he hath done?"

The bishop of London at that time was Fitzjames, of age no less than eighty; who, (bearing long grudge and displeasure against Colet,) with other two bishops taking his part, like to himself, entered action of complaint against Colet to the archbishop of Canterbury, being then William Warham. The matter of his complaint was divided into three articles: the first was for speaking against worshiping of images. The second was about hospitality, for that he, treating upon the place of the gospel, "Feed, feed, feed;" when he had expounded the two first, for feeding with example of life, and with doctrine; in the third, which the schoolmen do expound for feeding with hospitality, he left out the outward feeding of the belly, and applied it another way. The third crime wherewith they charged him, was for speaking against such as used to preach only by bosom sermons, declaring nothing else to the people, but as they bring in their prayers with them; which, because the bishop of London used then much to do for his age, he took it as spoken against him, and therefore bare him this displeasure. The archbishop, more wisely weighing the matter, and being well acquainted with Colet, so took his part against his accusers, that he at that time was rid out of trouble.

William Tyndall, in his book answering Master More, addeth moreover, and testifieth, that the bishop of London would have made the said Colet, dean of Paul's, a heretic, for translating the *Pater-noster* into English, had not the bishop of Canterbury holpen the dean.

But yet the malice of Fitzjames the bishop so ceased not; who, being thus repulsed by the arch-

bishop, practised by another train how to accuse him unto the king. The occasion thus fell. It happened the same time, that the king was in preparation of war against France; whereupon the bishop with his coadjutors, taking occasion upon certain words of Colet, wherein he seemed to prefer peace before any kind of war, were it never so just; accused him therefore in their sermons, and also before the king.

Furthermore it so befell at the same time, that upon Good Friday Dr. Colet, preaching before the king, entreated of the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to fight under the standard of Christ, against the devil; adding, moreover, what a hard thing it was to fight under Christ's banner, and that all they which upon private hatred or ambition took weapon against their enemy, (one Christian to slay another,) such did not fight under the banner of Christ, but rather of Satan: and therefore concluding his matter, he exhorted that Christian men, in their wars, would follow Christ their prince and captain, in fighting against their enemies, rather than the examples of Julius or Alexander, &c. The king, hearing Colet thus speak, and fearing lest by his words the hearts of his soldiers might be withdrawn from his wars which he had then in hand, took him aside and talked with him in secret conference, in his garden walking. Bishop Fitzjames, Bricot, and Standish, who were his enemies, though now none other, but that Colet must needs be committed to the Tower; and waited for his coming out. But the king, with great gentleness entertaining Dr. Colet, and bidding him familiarly to sit on his cap, in long courteous talk had with him in the garden, much commended him for his learning and integrity of life; agreeing with him in all points but that only he required him (for that the soldiers should not rashly mistake that which he said) more plainly to explain his words and mind to that behalf; which after he did. And so, by long communication and great promises, the king missed Colet with these words, saying: "Let every man have his doctor as him liketh, this shall be my doctor;" and so departed. Whereby none of his adversaries durst ever trouble him after that time.

Among many other memorable acts left by him, he erected the worthy foundation of the school of Paul's, (I pray God the fruits of the school answer the foundation,) for the cherishing of youth in good letters, providing a sufficient salary as well for the master, as for the usher; who would rather be appointed out of the number of married men, than of single priests with the expected chastity. The first moderator of this school was William Lily, a man no less notable

learning, than was Colet for his foundation. This Colet died the year of our Lord 1519.

Not long before the death of this Colet and Lily, lived William Grocine and William Latimer, both Englishmen also, and famously learned. This Grocine, as he began to read in his open lecture, in the church of St. Paul, the book of Dionysius Areopagita, commonly called *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica*, (for the reading of the Holy Scriptures in Paul's was not in use,) in the first entry of his preface cried out with great vehemency against them, whoever they were, who either denied or stood in doubt of the authority of that book: in the number of whom he noted Laurence Valla, and divers others of the like approved judgment and learning. But afterwards the same Grocine, when he had continued a few weeks in his reading thereof, and did consider further in him, he utterly altered and recanted his former sentence, protesting openly, that the aforesaid book, to his judgment, was never written by that author whom we read in the Acts of the Apostles to be called Dionysius Areopagita.

The tractation of these two couples above rehearsed, do occasion me to adjoin also the remembrance of another couple of like learned men: the names of whom, not unworthy to be remembered, were Thomas Linacre, and Richard Pace; which two followed much upon the time of Colet and William Lily. But of Richard Pace, who was dead next after the aforesaid John Colet, more convenient place shall serve us hereafter to speak, coming to the story of Cardinal Wolesey.

Moreover, to these two I thought it not out of season, to couple also some mention of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower; which, although being much discrepant from these in course of years, yet may seem not unworthy to be matched with these renowned persons, in commendation of their study and learning. Albeit concerning the full certainty of the time and death of these two, we cannot find; yet it appeareth in the prologue of Gower's work, entitled *Confessio Amantis*, that he finished it in the sixteenth year of King Richard the Second. And in the end of the eighth book of his said treatise, he declareth that he was both sick and old when he wrote it; whereby it may appear that he lived not long after. Notwithstanding, by certain verses of said Master Gower, placed in the latter end of Chaucer's works both in Latin and English, it may be seen that he was alive at the beginning of the reign of King Henry the Fourth, and also by a book which he wrote to the same King Henry. By his picture within the chapel of the church of St. Mary Overy's, which was then a monastery, where he and his wife lie buried, it appeareth by his chain

and his garland of laurel, that he was both a knight, and flourishing then in poetry; in the which place of his sepulture were made in his grave-stone three books: the first bearing the title, *Speculum Meditantis*; the second, *Vox Clamantis*; the third, *Confessio Amantis*. Besides these, divers chronicles and other works more he compiled.

Likewise, as touching the time of Chaucer, by his own words in the end of his first book of *Troilus and Cressida*, it is manifest that he and Gower were both of one time, although it seemeth that Gower was a great deal his ancient; both notably learned, as the barbarous rudeness of that time did give; both great friends together, and both in like kind of study together occupied; so endeavouring themselves, and employing their time, that they, excelling many others in study and exercise of good letters, did pass forth their lives here right worshipfully and godly, to the worthy fame and commendation of their name. Chaucer's works be all printed in one volume, and therefore known to all men.

This I marvel, to see the idle life of the priests and clergymen of that time, seeing these lay-persons showed themselves in these kinds of liberal studies so industrious and fruitfully occupied. But much more I marvel to consider this, how that the bishops, condemning and abolishing all manner of English books and treatises which might bring the people to any light of knowledge, did yet authorize the works of Chaucer to remain still and to be occupied; who, no doubt, saw into religion as much almost as even we do now, and uttereth in his works no less, and seemeth to be a right Wicklevian, or else there was never any. And that all his works almost, if they be thoroughly advised, will testify (albeit it be done in mirth, and covertly); and especially the latter end of his third book of the Testament of Love, for there purely he toucheth the highest matter, that is, the communion. Wherein, except a man be altogether blind, he may espy him at the full: although in the same book, (as in all others he useth to do,) under shadows covertly, as under a visor, he suborneth truth in such sort, as both privily she may profit the godly-minded, and yet not be espied of the crafty adversary. And therefore the bishops, belike, taking his works but for jests and toys, in condemning other books, yet permitted his books to be read.

So it pleased God to blind then the eyes of them, for the more commodity of his people, to the intent that through the reading of his treatises, some fruit might redound thereof to his church; as no doubt it did to many. As also I am partly informed, of certain who knew the parties, who to them reported, that by reading of Chaucer's works they were

brought to the true knowledge of religion. And not unlike to be true: for, to omit other parts of his volume, whereof some are more fabulous than other, what tale can be more plainly told than the Tale of the Ploughman? or what finger can point out more directly the pope with his prelates to be anti-christ, than doth the poor pelican reasoning against the greedy griffon? Under which hypotyposis, or poesy, who is so blind that seeth not by the pelican; the doctrine of Christ and of the Lollards to be defended against the Church of Rome? or who is so impudent that can deny that to be true which the pelican there affirmeth, in describing the presumptuous pride of that pretended church? Again, what egg can be more like, or fig, unto another, than the words, properties, and conditions of that ravening griffon resembleth the true image, that is, the nature and qualities, of that which we call the Church of Rome, in every point and degree? And therefore no great marvel if that narration was exempted out of the copies of Chaucer's works; which notwithstanding now is restored again, and is extant for every man to read that is disposed. This Geoffrey Chaucer, being born, as is thought, in Oxfordshire, and dwelling in Woodstock, lieth buried in the church of the minster of St. Peter at Westminster, in an aisle on the south side of the said church, not far from the door leading to the cloister; and upon his grave-stone first were written these two old verses:

Galfridus Chaucer Vates, et fama Poësis
Maternæ, hac sacra sum tumulatus humo.

Afterwards, about A. D. 1556, one Master Brickham, bestowing more cost upon his tomb, did add thereunto these verses following:

Qui fuit Anglorum Vates ter maximus olim,
Galfridus Chaucer conditur hoc tumulo.
Annum si quæras Dotmini, si tempora mortis,
Ecce notæ subsunt, quæ tibi cuncta notent.
25 Octob. Anno 1400.

Here beginneth the Reformation of the church of Christ, in the time of Martin Luther.

Although it cannot be sufficiently expressed with tongue or pen of man, into what miserable ruin and desolation the church of Christ was brought in those latter days; yet partly by the reading of these stories afore past, some intelligence may be given to them

which have judgment to mark, or eyes to see, in what blindness and darkness the world was drowned, during the space of these four hundred years heretofore and more. By the viewing and considering of which times and histories, thou mayest understand, gentle reader, how the religion of Christ, which only consisteth in spirit and verity, was wholly turned into outward observations, ceremonies, and idolatry. So many saints we had, so many gods; so many monasteries, so many pilgrimages; as many churches, as many relics forged and feigned we had: again, so many relics, so many lying miracles we believed. Instead of the only living Lord, we worshipped dead stocks and stones: in place of Christ immortal, we adored mortal bread: instead of his blood, we worshipped the blood of ducks. How the people were led, so that the priests were fed, no care was taken. Instead of God's word, man's word was set up: instead of Christ's Testament, the pope's testament, that is, the canon law: instead of Paul, the Master of Sentences took place, and almost full possession. The law of God was little read, the use and end thereof was less known; and as the end of the law was unknown so the difference between the gospel and the law was not understood, the benefit of Christ not considered, the effect of faith not expended: through the ignorance whereof it cannot be told what infinite errors, sects, and religions crept into the church, overwhelming the world as with a flood of ignorance and seduction. And no marvel; where the foundation is not well laid, what building can stand and prosper? The foundation of our Christianity is only this: The promise of God in the blood of Christ his Son, giving and promising life unto all that believe in him: giving (saith the Scripture) unto us, and not bargaining or dealing with us: and that freely (saith the Scripture) for Christ's sake; and not conditionally for merit's sake.

Furthermore, freely (saith the Scripture) by grace that the promise might be firm and sure; and by the works that we do, which always are doleful. By grace (saith the Scripture) through promise to all and upon all that believe; and not by the law, upon them that do deserve. For if we come by deserving, then is it not of grace: if it be not of grace, then is it not of promise, and contrarywise, if it be of grace and promise, then is it not by works, saith St. Paul. Upon this foundation God's free promise and grace first builded the church, upon which the patriarchs, kings, and prophets: upon this foundation also Christ the Lord builded his church, upon the which foundation the apostles likewise builded the church apostolical or catholical.

This apostolical and catholic foundation so long the church did retain, so long it continued sincere and sound: which endured a long season after the apostles' time. But after, in process of years, through wealth and negligence crept into the church, as soon as this foundation began to be lost, came in new builders, which would build upon a new foundation a new church more glorious, which we call the Church of Rome; who, being not contented with the old foundation, and the Head-corner-stone, which the Lord by his word had laid, in place thereof they laid the groundwork upon the tradition and strength of the law and works. Although it is not to be denied, but that the doctrine of God's holy law, and of good works according to the same, is a thing most necessary to be learned, and followed of all men; yet is it not that foundation whereupon our salvation consisteth: neither is that foundation able to bear up the weight of the kingdom of heaven, but is rather the thing which is builded upon the foundation; which foundation is Jesus Christ, according as we are taught of St. Paul, saying, "No man can lay any other foundation beside that which is laid, Christ Jesus," &c.

But this ancient foundation, with the old ancient church of Christ, as I said, hath been now of long time forsaken; and instead thereof, a new church with a new foundation hath been erected and framed, not upon God's promise, and his free grace in Christ Jesus, nor upon free justification by faith, but upon merits and deserts of men's working. And hereof have they planted all these their new devices, so infinite, that they cannot well be numbered; as masses-trecenaries, dirges, obsequies, matins, and hours-singing-service, vigils, midnight-singing, bare-foot-going, fish-tasting, Lent-fast, ember-fast, stations, rogations, jubilees, advocacy of saints, praying to images, pilgrimage-walking, works of supererogation, application of merits, orders, rules, vows of religion, vows of chastity, wilful poverty, pardons, relations, indulgencies, penance, and satisfaction, with auricular confession, founding of abbeyes, building of chapels, giving to churches: and who is able to recite all their laborious buildings, falsely framed upon a wrong ground; and all for ignorance of the true foundation, which is the free justification by faith in Christ Jesus the Son of God.

Moreover to note, that as this new-found Church of Rome was thus deformed in doctrine, so no less was it corrupted in order of life and deep hypocrisy, doing all things only under pretences and dissembled titles. So, under the pretence of Peter's chair, they exercised a majesty above emperors and kings. Under the visor of their vowed chastity, reigned

adultery; under the yoke of professed poverty, they possessed the goods of the temporality; under the title of being dead unto the world, they not only reigned in the world, but also ruled the world; under the colour of the keys of heaven to hang under their girdle, they brought all the states of the world under their girdle, and crept not only into the purses of men, but also into their consciences. They heard their confessions; they knew their secrets; they dispensed as they were disposed, and loosed what them listed. And finally, when they had brought the whole world under their subjections, yet did their pride neither cease to ascend, neither could their avarice be ever satisfied. And if the example of Cardinal Wolsey and other cardinals and popes cannot satisfy thee, I beseech thee, gentle reader! turn over the aforesaid book of "the Ploughman's Tale" in Chaucer, above-mentioned, where thou shalt understand much more of their demeanour than I have here described.

In these so blind and miserable corrupt days of darkness and ignorance, thou seest, good reader! I doubt not, how necessary it was; and high time, that reformation of the church should come, which now most happily and graciously began to work, through the merciful and no less needful providence of Almighty God; who, although he suffered his church to wander and start aside, through the seduction of pride and prosperity a long time, yet at length it pleased his goodness to respect his people, and to reduce his church into the pristine foundation and frame again, from whence it was piteously decayed. Whereof I have now consequently to treat; intending by the grace of Christ to declare how, and by what means this reformation of the church first began, and how it proceeded, increasing by little and little unto this perfection which now we see, and more I trust shall see.

And herein we have first to behold the admirable work of God's wisdom. For as the first decay and ruin of the church before began of rude ignorance, and lack of knowledge in teachers; so, to restore the church again by doctrine and learning, it pleased God to open to man the art of printing, the time whereof was shortly after the burning of Huss and Jerome. Printing being opened, incontinently ministered unto the church the instruments and tools of learning and knowledge; which were good books and authors which before lay hid and unknown. The science of printing being found, immediately followed the grace of God; which stirred up good wits aptly to conceive the light of knowledge and of judgment: by which light darkness began to be espied, and ignorance to be detected; truth from error, religion from superstition, to be discerned, as

is above more largely discoursed, where was touched the invention of printing.

Furthermore, after these wits stirred up of God, other more, increasing daily more and more in science, in tongues, and perfection of knowledge; who now were able not only to discern in matters of judgment, but also were so armed and furnished with the help of good letters, that they did encounter also with the adversary, sustaining the cause and defence of learning against barbarity; of verity against error; of true religion against superstition. In number of whom, against many other here unnamed, were Picus, and Franciscus Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Franciscus Petrarcha, Doctor de Wesalia, Revelinus, Grocinus, Doctor Colet, Rhenamus, Erasmus, &c. And here began the first push and assault to be given against the ignorant and barbarous faction of the pope's pretended church; who, after that, by their learned writings and laborious travail, they had opened a window of light unto the world, and had made, as it were, a way more ready for others to come after; immediately, according to God's gracious appointment, followed Martin Luther, with other after him; by whose ministry it pleased the Lord to work a more full reformation of his church, as by their acts and proceedings hereafter shall follow (Christ willing) more amply to be declared.

And now coming to the time and story of Martin Luther, whom the Lord did ordain and appoint to be the principal organ and minister under him, to reform religion; to subvert the see of the pope; first, before we enter into the tractation hereof, it shall not be impertinent to the purpose, to infer such prophecies and forewarnings as were sent before of God, by divers and sundry good men, long before the time of Luther, which foretold and prophesied of this reformation of the church to come.

Prophecies going before Martin Luther.

And first to begin with the prophecy of John Huss and Jerome, it is both notable, and also before mentioned, what the said John Huss, at the time of his burning, prophesied unto his enemies, saying: That after "a hundred years come and gone, they should give account to God and to him." Where is to be noted, that counting from the year 1415, (in the which year John Huss was burned,) or from the year 1416, (when Jerome did suffer,) unto the year 1516, (when Martin Luther began first to write,) we shall find the number of a hundred years expired.

Likewise to this may be adjoined the prophetic vision or dream, which chanced to the said John Huss, lying in the dungeon of the Friars in Constance, a little before he was burned. His dream,

as he himself reporteth it in his epistles writing to Master John Clum, and as I have also before recorded the same, so will I now repeat the same again, in like effect of words as he wrote it himself in Latin, the effect of which Latin is this:

"I pray you expound to me the dream which I had this night. I saw that in my church at Bethlehem (whereof I was parson) they desired and laboured to abolish all the images of Christ, and did abolish them. I, the next day following, rose up, and saw many other painters, who painted both the same, and many more images, and more fair, which I was glad to behold. Whereupon the painters, with the great multitude of the people, said, Now let the bishops and priests come, and put us out these images if they can. Which thing done, much people rejoiced in Bethlehem, and I with them. And rising up, I felt myself to laugh."

This dream Master John of Clum first expounded. Then he, in the next epistle after, expounded it himself to this effect:

"The commandment of God standing, that we must observe no dreams, yet, notwithstanding, trust that the life of Christ was painted in Bethlehem by me, through his word, in the hearts of men the which preaching they went about in Bethlehem to destroy, first, in commanding that no preaching should be, neither in the church of Bethlehem, nor in the chapels thereby: secondly, that the church of Bethlehem should be thrown down to the ground. The same life of Christ shall be painted up again by more preachers much better than I, and after much more better sort, so that a great number of people shall rejoice thereat; all such as love the life of Christ: and also I shall rejoice myself, what time I shall awake, that is, when I shall rise again from the dead."

Also in his forty-eighth epistle he seemeth have a like prophetic meaning, where he saith that he trusted that those things, which he spake then within the house, should afterwards be preached above on the house-top, &c.

And because we are here in hand with the prophecies of John Huss, it is not to be omitted what he writeth in a certain treatise, *De Sacerdotum Monachorum carnalium abominatione*, thus prophesying of the reformation of the church.

"The church," he saith, "cannot be reduced to former dignity, and reformed, before all things be made new (the truth whereof appeareth by the temple of Solomon); as well the clergy and priests as also the people and laity. Or else, except such as now be addicted to avarice, from the most, be first converted and renewed, as the people as the clerks and priests, things as

reformed. Albeit, as my mind now giveth me, believe rather the first, that is, that then shall be a new people, formed after the new man, which is created after God. Of the which people, new priests and priests shall come forth and be taken, who all shall hate covetousness and glory of this life, labouring to a heavenly conversation. Notwithstanding, all these things shall be done and wrought in continuance and order of time, dispensed of God for the same purpose. And this God doth, and will do, of his own goodness and mercy, and for the riches of his patience and sufferance, giving time and space of repentance to them that have long lain in their sins, to amend and flee from the face of the Lord's fury, until at length all shall suffer together, and until both the carnal people, and priests, and monks, in process and order of time, shall fall away and be consumed, as is the cloth consumed and eaten of the moth," &c.

With this prophecy of John Huss above-mentioned, speaking of the hundred years, accordeth also the testimony of Jerome, his fellow martyr, in these words: "And I cite you all to answer before the most high and just Judge, after a hundred years."

This Jerome was burnt, A. D. 1416; and Luther began to write, A. D. 1516, which was just a hundred years, according to the right account of Jerome's prophecy.

Philip Melancthon, in his Apology, testifieth of one John Hilton, a monk in Thuringia, who, for speaking against certain abuses of the place and order where he lived, was cast into prison. At length being weak and feeble through imprisonment, he sent for the warden of the convent, desiring and beseeching him to have some respect of his woeful state and pitiful case. The warden rebuking and accusing him for what he had done and spoken; he answered again and said, That he had spoken nothing which might be prejudicial or hurtful to their monastery, or against their religion: but there should come one, (and assigned the year 1516,) who should utterly subvert all monastery, and they should never be able to resist him, &c.

Long it were to induce here all prophecies that be read in histories: certain I mind briefly to touch and pass over. And first to omit the revelations of Briget, (whereunto I do not much attribute,) who, prophesying of the destruction of Rome, Book iv. cap. 17, saith:

"Rome shall be scourged and purged with three things—with sword, fire, and the plough. Resembling, moreover, the said Church of Rome to a plant removed out of the old place into a new: also to a body condemned by a judge to have the skin flayed off; the blood to be drawn from the flesh; the flesh

to be cut out in pieces; and the bones thereof to be broken; and all the marrow to be squeezed out from the same; so that no part thereof remain whole and perfect," &c.

But to these speculations of Briget I give no great respect, as neither I do to the predictions of Katharine de Senis.

And yet, notwithstanding, Antoninus, writing of the same Katharine in his third part, reciteth her words thus (prophesying of the reformation of the church) to Friar Reymund, her ghostly father:

"By these tribulations," saith she "God, after a secret manner unknown to man, shall purge his holy church; and after those things shall follow such a reformation of the holy church of God, and such a renovation of the holy pastors, that only the cogitation and remembrance thereof maketh my spirit to rejoice in the Lord. And, as I have oftentimes told you heretofore, the spouse, which is now all deformed and ragged, shall be adorned and decked with most rich and precious ouches and brooches; and all the faithful shall be glad and rejoiced to see themselves so beautified with so holy pastors. Yea, and also the infidels, then allured by the sweet savour of Christ, shall return to the catholic fold, and be converted to the true Bishop and Shepherd of their souls. Give thanks therefore to God; for after this storm he will give a great calm." &c.

Of the authority of this prophetess I have not to affirm or judge, but rather to hear what the catholic judges will say of this their own saint and prophet. For if they do not credit her spirit of prophecy, why then do they authorize her for a pure saint among the sisters of dear St. Dominic? If they warrant her prophecy, let them say then, When was this glorious reformation of the church ever true, or like to be true, if it be not true now, in this marvellous alteration of the church in these our latter days? or when was there any such conversion of Christian people in all countries ever heard of, since the apostles' time, as hath been since the preaching of Martin Luther?

Of Hieronimus Savonarola I wrote before, showing that he prophesied, that one should pass over the Alps, like to Cyrus, who should subvert and destroy all Italy: which may well be applied to God's word, and the gospel of Christ, spreading now abroad since Luther's time.

Theodoric, bishop of Croatia, lived near about the time when Huss and Jerome were martyred; who, in the end of his prophetic verses, which are extant in print, declareth,

"That the see of Rome, which is so horribly polluted with simony and avarice, shall fall, and no more oppress men with tyranny, as it hath done,

and that it shall be subverted by its own subjects ; and that the church and true piety shall flourish again more than ever it did before."

Noviomagus testifieth, that he, A. D. 1620, heard Ostendorpius, a canon of Daventer, say, that when he was a young man, Doctor Weselus, a Friesian, which was then an old man, told him, that he should live to see this new school divinity of Scotus, Aquinas, and Bonaventure, to be utterly forsaken and exploded of all true Christians.

In a book of Charles Boville, mention is made of a certain vision which one Nicholas, a hermit of Helvetia, had ; in which vision he saw the pope's head crowned with three swords proceeding from his face, and three swords coming towards it. This vision is also printed in the books of Martin Luther, with his preface before it.

Nicholas Medler, being of late superintendent of Brunswick, affirmed and testified,

"That he heard and knew a certain priest in his country, which told the priests there, that they laid aside Paul under their desks and pews ; but the time would come, when Paul should come abroad, and drive them under the desks and dark stalls, where they should not appear," &c.

Matthius Flaccius, in the end of his book entitled, *De Testibus Veritatis*, speaketh of one Michael Stifelius :

This Michael, being an old man, told him, that he heard the priests and monks say many times, by old prophecies, that a violent reformation must needs come against them : and also that the said Michael heard Conrad Stifelius his father many times declare the same : who also, for the great hatred he bare against this filthy sect of monks and priests, told to one Peter Pirer, a friend and neighbour of his, that he should live and see the day ; and therefore desired him, that when the day came, besides those priests which he should kill for himself, he would kill one priest more for his sake.

This Stifelius thought, belike, that this reformation should be wrought by outward violence, and force of sword ; but he was therein deceived ; although the adversary useth all forcible means, and violent tyranny, yet the proceeding of the gospel always beginneth with peace and quietness.

In the table of Amersham men I signified a little before, how one Haggar of London, speaking of this reformation to come, declared, that the priests should make battle, and have the upper hand a while, but shortly they should be vanquished and overthrown for ever.

In the time of Pope Alexander the Sixth, and about A. D. 1500, as is before specified, the high angel which stood on the top of the pope's church

and castle of St. Angelo, was thrown down with terrible thunder into the river Tiber : when might seem to be declared the ruin and fall of popedom.

To this may be adjoined, which in certain chronicles, and in John Bale, is recorded ; which is that in the year of our Lord 1516, (which was same year when Martin Luther began,) Pope the Tenth did create one and thirty cardinals : the which year and day of their creation, there was a tempest of thunder and lightning in Rome, which so struck the church where the cardinals were met, that it removed the little child Jesus out of lap of his mother, and the keys out of St. Peter's hand : which thing many then did interpret to signify and foreshow the subversion and alteration of the see of Rome.

Hitherto pertaineth also a strange portent and prodigious token from heaven, A. D. 1505, in which year, under the reign of Maximilian the emperor, there appeared in Germany, upon the virtues of men, as well of priests as laymen ; upon women's garments also, and upon their rocks, they were spinning, divers prints and tokens of nails, of the sponge, of the spear, of the Lord's cross, and of bloody crosses, &c. : all which were seen upon their caps and gowns, as is most certainly testified and recorded by divers which both did see and also did write upon the same. Of whom first was Maximilian the emperor, who both had also showed the same to Franciscus Mirandula, who wrote thereupon a book in Latin metre called *Strophia rostonica*.

Of this also writeth John Carion, Functius, Phil Melancthon, Flaccius, with divers other more. These marks and tokens, as they were very strange, so they were diversely expounded of many ; some thinking that they portended affliction and persecution of the church to draw near ; some, that God by that token did admonish them, or foreshowed unto them the true doctrine of their justification, which only is to be sought in the cross and passion of Christ, and in no other thing. This I marvel, that Christianus Masseus, and others of that profession do leave it out. Belike they saw something in it that made not to their liking. For, whether it signifieth persecution to come upon the Germans, the cannot be evil that suffer and bear the cross with Christ : or whether it signifieth the true doctrine of Christ coming to the Germans, it cannot otherwise be, but that the doctrine of the bishop of Rome must needs be wrong, which is contrary to that which God hath stirred up in Germany.

By these and such-like prophecies, it is evident to understand, the time not to be far off, when God

of his determinate providence, was disposed to reform and to restore his church. And not only by those prophecies the same might well appear, but also, and much rather, by the hearts of the people at that time; whose minds were so incensed and inflamed with hatred against the pomp and pride of Rome, both through all nations, and especially the people of Germany, that it was easy to perceive the time was near at hand, when the pride of popish preiacy would have a fall. Such disdain there was, such contempt and derision began to rise on every side then, against the pope and the court of Rome, that it might soon appear, by the hearts of the people, that God was not disposed to have it long stand. For neither were their detestable doings so secret, that men did not see them, neither did any man behold them, having any sparkle of godliness, that could abide them. And thereupon grew these proverbs to their derision, in every country, as in Germany it hath been a proverb amongst them.

"What is this, to see the world now round about,
That for these shaveling priests no man that once may rout?"

"As soon as a clerk is shorn into his order, by and by the devil entereth into him."

"In the name of God, beginneth all evil;" alluding to the pope's bulls, which commonly so begin.

"Item, When bulls come from Rome, bind well your purses."

"The nearer Rome, the farther from Christ."

"Item, He that goeth once to Rome, seeth a wicked man:

"He that goeth twice, learneth to know him:

"He that goeth thrice, bringeth him home with him."

"Item, The court of Rome never regardeth the sheep without the wool."

"Once were wooden chalices, and golden priests:

"Now we have golden chalices, and wooden priests."

"Once Christian men had blind churches, and light hearts:

"Now they have blind hearts, and light churches."

"Item, Many are worshipped for saints in heaven, whose souls be burning in hell."

In France, Gallus Senonensis, writeth four hundred years ago, that amongst them it was an old saying, "That Satan was let loose at Rome to destroy the whole church."

Thomas Becket himself, in his time, writing to the college of cardinals, denieth it not but to be a common word both through town and city, "That there is no right in Rome."

To these may be adjoined also the A, B, C, which we find in the margin of a certain old register to be attributed to William Thorpe, whose story we have comprehended before.

"A wake, ye ghostly persons, awake, awake,
Both priest, pope, bishop, and cardinal!
Consider wisely, what ways ye take,
Dangerously being like to have a fall.
Every where the mischief of you all,
Far and near, breaketh out very fast;
God will needs be revenged at the last.

How long have ye the world captived,
In sore bondage of men's traditions?
Kings and emperors ye have deprived,
Lewdly usurping their chief possessions:
Much misery ye make in all regions.
Now your frauds be almost at their latter cast,
Of God sore to be revenged at the last.

Poor people to oppress ye have no shame,
Quaking for fear of your double tyranny.
Rightful justice ye have put out of frame,
Seeking the lust of your god, the belly.
Therefore I dare you boldly certify,
Very little though you be thereof aghast,
Yet God will be revenged at the last."

By these and such-like sayings, which may be collected innumerable, it may soon be seen what hearts and judgments the people had in those days of the Romish clergy; which thing, no doubt, was of God as a secret prophecy, that shortly religion should be restored; according as it came to pass about this present time, when Dr. Martin Luther first began to write; after Picus Mirandula, and Laurentius Valla, and last of all Erasmus of Rotterdam, had somewhat broken the way before, and had shaken the monks' houses. But Luther gave the stroke, and plucked down the foundation, and all by opening one vein, long hid before, wherein lieth the touchstone of all truth and doctrine, as the only principal origin of our salvation, which is, our free justifying by faith only, in Christ the Son of God. The laborious travails, and the whole process, and the constant preachings of this worthy man, because they are sufficiently declared in the history of John Sleiden, I shall the less need to stay long thereupon; but only to run over some principal matters of his life and acts, as they are briefly collected by Philip Melancthon.

MARTIN LUTHER'S BIRTH-PLACE.

The history of Doctor Martin Luther, with his life and doctrine described.

Martin Luther, after he was grown in years, being born at Eisleben in Saxony, A. D. 1483, was sent to the university, first of Magdeburg, then of Erfurt. In this university of Erfurt, there was a certain aged man in the convent of the Augustines (who is thought to be Weselus above mentioned) with whom Luther, being then of the same order, a friar Augustine, had conference upon divers things, especially touching the article of remission of sins; the which article the said aged father opened unto Luther after this sort: declaring, that we must not generally believe only forgiveness of sins to be, or to belong to Peter, to Paul, to David, or such good men alone; but that God's express commandment is, that every man should particularly believe his sins to be forgiven him in Christ: and further said, that this interpretation was confirmed by the testimony of Bernard, and showed him the place, in the ser-

mon of the Annunciation, where it is thus set forth: "But add thou that thou believest this, that by him thy sins are forgiven thee. This is the testimony that the Holy Ghost giveth thee in thy heart, saying, Thy sins are forgiven thee. For this is the opinion of the apostle, that man is freely justified by faith."

By these words Luther was not only strengthened, but was also instructed of the full meaning of St. Paul, who repeateth so many times this sentence, "We are justified by faith." And having read the expositions of many upon this place, he then perceived, as well by the purpose of the old man, as by the comfort he received in his spirit, the vanity of those interpretations, which he had read before of the schoolmen. And so, reading by little and little, with conferring the sayings and examples of the prophets and apostles, and continual invocation of God, and excitation of faith by force of prayer, he perceived that doctrine most evidently. Then began he to read St. Augustine's books, where he

C. Harten Luther.

found many comfortable sentences : among other, in the exposition of the Psalms, and specially in the book of the "Spirit and Letter," which confirmed this doctrine of faith and consolation in his heart not a little. And yet he laid not aside the sententiaries, as Gabriel and Cameracensis. Also he read the books of Ockham, whose subtlety he preferred above Thomas Aquinas and Scotus. He read also and revolved Gerson : but above all the rest, he perused all over St. Augustine's works with attentive cogitation. And thus continued he his study at Erfurt the space of four years in the convent of the Augustine.

About this time one Staupitz, a famous man, who, ministering his help to further the erection of a university in Wittenberg, and endeavouring to have schools of divinity founded in this new university ; when he had considered the spirit and towardness of Luther, recalled him from Erfurt, to place him in Wittenberg, A. D. 1508, and of his age twenty-six. There his towardness appeared in the ordinary exercise, both of his disputations in the schools, and preaching in churches ; where many wise and learned men attentively heard Luther, especially Dr. Mellarstad.

This Mellarstad would oftentimes say, that Luther was of such a marvellous spirit, and so ingenious, that he gave apparent signification, that he would introduce a more compendious, easy, and familiar manner of teaching, and alter and abolish the order that then was used.

There first he expounded the logic and philosophy of Aristotle, and in the mean while intermitted no whit his study in theology. Three years after he went to Rome, about certain contentions of the monks ; and returning the same year, he was graded doctor, at the expense of the elector Frederic, duke of Saxony, according to the solemn manner of schools : for he had heard him preach ; well understood the quietness of his spirit ; diligently considered the vehemency of his words ; and had in singular admiration those profound matters which in his sermons he ripely and exactly explained. This degree Staupitz, against his will, enforced upon him : saying merrily unto him, that God had many things to bring to pass in his church by him. And though these words were spoken merrily, yet it came to pass anon after ; as many predictions or prophecies prove true before a change.

After this, he began to expound the Epistle to the Romans, and, subsequently, the Psalms : where he showed the difference betwixt the law and the gospel. He also confounded the error that reigned in schools and sermons, teaching that men may obtain remission of sins by their proper works, and

that they be just before God by outward discipline ; as the Pharisees taught. Luther diligently reduced the minds of men to the Son of God ; and as John Baptist demonstrated the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world ; even so Luther, shining in the church as a bright star after a long cloudy and obscure sky, expressly showed, that sins are freely remitted for the love of the Son of God, and that we ought faithfully to embrace this bountiful gift.

These happy beginnings of so good matters, got him great authority, considering his life was correspondent to his profession, the consideration whereof allured to him marvellously the hearts of his auditors, and also many notable personages.

All this while Luther yet altered nothing in the ceremonies, but precisely observed his rule among his fellows. He meddled in no doubtful opinions, but taught this only doctrine, as most principal of all others to all men, opening and declaring the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, of true comfort in times of adversity. Every man received good taste of this sweet doctrine, and the learned conceived high pleasure to behold Jesus Christ, the prophets and apostles, to come forth into light out of darkness ; whereby they began to understand the difference betwixt the law and the gospel ; betwixt the promises of the law, and the promise of the gospel ; betwixt spiritual justice, and civil things ; which certainly could not have been found in Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, nor such-like school-clerks.

It happened, moreover, about this time, that many were provoked, by Erasmus's learned works, to study the Greek and Latin tongues ; who perceiving a more gentle and ready order of teaching than before, began to have in contempt the monks' barbarous and sophistical doctrine ; and especially such as were of a liberal nature and good disposition. Luther began to study the Greek and Hebrew tongue, to this end, that after he had learned the phrase and property of the tongues, and drawn the doctrine from the very fountains, he might give more sound judgment.

As Luther was thus occupied in Germany, which was A. D. 1516, Leo the Tenth of that name, succeeding after Julius the Second, was pope of Rome, who, under pretence of war against the Turk, sent a jubilee with his pardons abroad through all Christian realms and dominions, whereby he gathered together innumerable riches and treasure ; the gatherers and collectors whereof persuaded the people, that whosoever would give ten shillings, should at his pleasure deliver one soul from the pains of purgatory. For this they held as a general rule, that God would

do whatsoever they would have him, according to the saying, Whatsoever you shall loose upon earth, the same shall be loosed in heaven; but if it were but one jot less than ten shillings, they preached that it would profit them nothing. This filthy kind of the pope's merchandise, as it spread through all quarters of Christian regions, so it came also to Germany, through the means of a certain Dominic friar named Tetzel, who most impudently caused the pope's indulgences or pardons to be carried and sold about the country. Whereupon Luther, much moved with the blasphemous sermons of this shameless friar, and having his heart earnestly bent with ardent desire to maintain true religion, published certain propositions concerning indulgences, which are to be read in the first tome of his works, and set them openly on the temple that joineth to the castle of Wittenberg, the morrow after the feast of All Saints, A. D. 1517.

This beggarly friar, hoping to obtain the pope's blessing, assembled certain monks, and sophistical divines of his convent, and forthwith commanded them to write something against Luther. And while he would not himself seem to be dumb, he began not only to inveigh in his sermons, but to thunder against Luther; crying, "Luther is a heretic, and worthy to be persecuted with fire." And besides this, he burned openly Luther's propositions, and the sermon which he wrote of indulgences. This rage and furious fury of this friar, enforced Luther to treat more amply of the cause, and to maintain his matter.

And thus rose the beginnings of this controversy; wherein Luther, neither suspecting nor dreaming of any change that might happen in the ceremonies, did not utterly reject the indulgences, but required a moderation in them: and therefore they falsely accuse him, which blaze, that he began with plausible matter, whereby he might get praise, to the end that in process of time he might change the state of the commonweal, and purchase authority either for himself or other.

And certes, he was not suborned or stirred up by them of the court, (as the Duke of Brunswick wrote,) insomuch that the Duke Frederic was sorely offended that such competition and controversy should arise, having regard to the sequel thereof.

And as this good Duke Frederic was one, of all the princes of our time, that loved best quietness and common tranquillity, neither was avaricious, but willingly bent to refer all his counsels to the common utility of all the world, (as it is easy to be conjectured divers ways,) so he neither encouraged nor supported Luther, but often represented sem-

blance of heaviness and sorrow which he bare in his heart, fearing greater dissensions. But being a wise prince, and following the counsel of God's rule, and well deliberating thereupon, he thought with himself, that the glory of God was to be preferred above all things: neither was he ignorant what blasphemy it was, horribly condemned of God, obstinately to repugn the truth. Wherefore he did as a godly prince should do, he obeyed God, committing himself to his holy grace and omnipotent protection. And although Maximilian the emperor, Charles, king of Spain, and Pope Julius, had given commandment to the said Duke Frederic, that he should inhibit Luther from all place and liberty of preaching; yet the duke, considering with himself the preaching and writing of Luther, and weighing diligently the testimonies and places of the Scripture by him alleged, would not withstand the thing which he judged sincere. And yet neither did he this trusting to his own judgment, but was very anxious and inquisitive to hear the judgment of others, which were both aged and learned in the number of whom was Erasmus, whom the duke desired to declare to him his opinion touching the matter of Martin Luther; saying and protesting, that he would rather the ground should open and swallow him, than he would bear with any opinions which he knew to be contrary manifest truth; and therefore he desired him to declare his judgment in the matter to him freely and friendly.

Erasmus, thus being entreated of the duke, began thus jestingly and merrily to answer the duke's request, saying, that in Luther were two great faults; first, that he would touch the bellies of monks; second, that he would touch the pope's crown, which two matters in no case are to be dealt with. Then, opening his mind plainly to the duke, he said, that Luther did well in detecting error, and that reformation was to be wished, and necessary in the church: and added moreover, the effect of his doctrine was true; but only that which he wished in him a more temperate moderation in manner of writing and handling. Whereupon Frederic shortly after wrote to Luther, serious and exhorting him to temper the vehemency of his writing. This was at the city of Cologne, shortly after the coronation of the new emperor, where also Martinus, Aloisius, Marlianus, Ludovicus Vives, Hans, with other learned men, were assembled together waiting upon the emperor.

Furthermore, the same Erasmus, the next year following that, wrote up to the archbishop of Mainz certain epistle touching the cause of Luther. This epistle thus he signifieth to the bishop

"That many things were in the books of Luther condemned of monks and divines for heretical, which in the books of Bernard and Austin are read for sound and godly. That the world is burdened with men's institutions, with school doctrines and opinions, and with the tyranny of Begging Friars; which friars, when they are but the pope's servants and underlings, yet they have so grown in power and multitude, that they are now terrible, both to the pope himself, and to all princes; who, so long as the pope maketh with them, so long they make him more than a God; but if he make any thing against their purpose or commodity, then they weigh his authority no more than a dream or fantasy. Once it was counted a heresy when a man repugned against the gospel, or articles of the faith. Now he that dissenteth from Thomas Aquinas is a heretic: whatsoever doth not like them, whatsoever they understand not, that is heresy. To speak Greek is heresy, or to speak more finely than they do, that is with them heresy."

And thus much by the way concerning the judgment of Erasmus.

Review of Luther's conduct and writings.

It is also apparent, that Luther promised the Cardinal Cajetan to keep silence, provided also his adversaries would do the like. Whereby we may gather, that at that time he determined not to stir any new debates, but rather coveted the common quietness, and that he was provoked by little and little to other matters, through the provoking of unlearned writers.

Then followed disputations of the difference between Divine and human law; also of the horrible profanation of the supper of our Lord, in selling and applying the same for other purposes. Here he was forced to express the cause of the offence, and to declare the use of the sacraments.

Now the godly and faithful Christians, closed in monasteries, understanding that images ought to be removed, began to abandon that wretched thraldom, in which they were detained. Now Luther, to plainer to express the doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins, of faith, and of indulgences, added to these matters, the difference of Divine and human laws, the doctrine of the use of our Lord's supper, of baptism, and of vows; and these were principal conflicts. As touching the question of the Roman bishop's power, Eckius was the author thereof; and for no other respect, than to incite the fiery wrath of the pope and princes against Luther. The symbol of the apostles, also Jerome and Athanasius, he conserved in their integrity.

Further, he sufficiently declareth in divers of his works what innovation is to be required in the ceremonies and traditions of men; and wherefore they ought to be altered. And what form of doctrine and administration of the sacraments he required and approved, is apparent by the confession which the elector, John, duke of Saxony, and Prince Philip, landgrave of Hesse, presented to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, A. D. 1530, in the assembly at Augsburg. It is manifest also by the ceremonies of the church in this city, and the doctrine that is preached in our church, the sum whereof is fully comprised in this confession. I allege this, that the godly may consider not only what errors he hath corrected and reprov'd, but also they may understand that he comprehended also the whole doctrine necessary for the church; he hath set the ceremonies in their purity, and given examples to the faithful to reform the churches, and it is necessary for posterity to know what Luther hath approved.

I will not here rehearse, who were the first that published both parts of the supper of our Lord, who first omitted private masses, and where first the monasteries were abandoned: for Luther disputed very little of these before the assembly which was made in the town of Worms, A. D. 1521: he changed not the ceremonies, but in his absence Carolstadt and others altered them. Then Luther returning, (after Carolstadt had devised and done certain things rather to breed muttering than otherwise,) manifested by evident testimonies, published abroad touching his opinion, what he approved, and what he disliked.

We know that politic men evermore detested all changes: and we must confess, there ensueth some evil upon dissensions, and yet it is our duty evermore in the church, to advance God's ordinance above human constitutions. The eternal Father pronounced this voice of his Son: This is my well beloved Son, hear him! And he menaced eternal wrath to all blasphemers, that is, such as endeavour to abolish the manifest verity. And therefore Luther did as behoved a Christian faithfully to do, considering he was an instructor of the church of God. It was his office, I say, to reprehend pernicious errors, which the rabble of epicures most impudently heaped one upon another, and it was expedient his auditors dissented not from his opinion, since he taught purely. Wherefore, if alteration be hateful, and many perils grow of dissension, as we certainly see many, whereof we be right sorry, they are partly in fault that spread abroad these errors, and partly they that with devilish disdain presently maintain them. I do not recite this to defend Lu-

ther and his auditors, but also that the faithful may consider now, and in time to come, what is the governance of the true church of God, and what it hath always been: how God hath gathered to himself one eternal church, by the voice of the gospel, of this lump of sin, and filthy heap of human corruption; among whom the gospel shineth as a spark in the dark. As in the time of the Pharisees, Zachary, Elizabeth, Mary, and many others, revered and observed the true doctrine; so have many gone before us, who purely invocated God, some understanding more clearly than others the doctrine of the gospel. Such a one was the old man of whom I wrote, that oftentimes comforted Luther, when his astonyings assailed him; and after a sort declared unto him the doctrine of the faith. And that God may preserve henceforth the light of his gospel, shining in many, let us pray with fervent affection, as Isaiah prayeth for his hearers: Seal the law in my disciples. Further, this advertisement sheweth plainly that coloured superstitions are not permanent, but abolished by God: and since this is the cause of changes, we ought diligently to endeavour, that errors be neither taught, nor preached in the church.

But I return to Luther. Even as at the beginning he treated of this matter, without any particular affection, so, though he was of a fiery nature, and subject to wrath, yet he always remembered his office, and prohibited wars to be attempted, and distinguished wisely offices wherein was any difference; as the bishop, to feed the flock of God; and the magistrates, by authority of the sword committed unto them, to repress the people subject unto them. Wherefore when Satan contendeth by slanders to dissipate the church of God, and contumeliously to rage against him, and delighteth to do evil, and rejoiceth to behold us wallow in the puddle of error and blindness, smiling at our destruction; he laboureth all he can to inflame and stir up mischievous instruments and seditious spirits to sow sedition; as Monetarius and his like. Luther repelled boldly these rages, and not only adorned, but also ratified, the dignity and bands of politic order and civil government. Therefore, when I consider in my mind how many worthy men have been in the church, that in this erred, and were abused, I believe assuredly that Luther's heart was not only governed by human diligence, but with a heavenly light; considering how constantly he abode within the limits of his office.

Luther held not only in contempt the seditious doctors of that time, as Monetarius and the Anabaptists; but especially these horned bishops of Rome, who, arrogantly and impudently, by their

devised decrees, affirmed, that St. Peter had not the charge alone to teach the gospel, but also to govern commonweals, and exercise civil jurisdiction. Moreover, he exhorted every man to render unto God that which appertained unto God, and to Cæsar that which belonged unto Cæsar; and said, that all should serve God with true repentance, knowledge, and maintaining of his true doctrine, invocation, and works, wrought with a pure conscience: and as touching civil policy, that every one should obey the magistrates under whom he liveth, in all civil duties and reverences, for God's sake. And such a one was Luther. He gave unto God what belonged unto God: he taught God; he invocated God; and had other virtues necessary for a man that pleaseth God. Further, in politic conversation he constantly avoided all seditious counsels. I judge these virtues to be such excellent ornaments, that greater and more divine cannot be required in this mortal life. And albeit that the virtue of this man is worthy of commendation, and the rather for that he used the gifts of God in all reverence; yet our duty is to render condign thanks unto God, that by him he hath given us the light of the gospel, and to conserve and enlarge the remembrance of his doctrine. I weigh little the slander of the epicures and hypocrites, who scoff and condemn the manifest truths; but I stay wholly hereupon, that the universal church hath consented perpetually to this very doctrine, which is preached in our church, whereunto we must frame our lives and devotion conformably. And I believe that this is the doctrine whereof the Son of God speaks. If any love me, he will keep my commandments, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and plant our dwelling with him. I speak of the sum of the doctrine, as it is understood and explained in our churches, by the faithful and learned ministers. For albeit that some one oftentimes expoundeth the same more aptly and elegantly than some other; yet, as touching the effect, the learned and faithful do agree in all points.

Then weighing and perpending with myself time, the doctrine that hath been of all times seemeth unto me, that since the apostles there have been four notable alterations after the first purging of the gospel. Origen had his time; albeit there were some of a sound and sacred opinion, as Methuselah, who reproved certain suspected doctrines of Origen; that he converted the gospel into philosophy, to the hearts of many; that is to say, he advanced the persuasion, that the moral discipline deserveth the remission of sins, and that this is that justice, whereof the just shall live by faith. That almost the whole difference of the law and the

pel, and forgot the words of the apostles; for they understood not the natural signification of these words: Letter, Spirit, Justice, Faith. Now when the propriety of words was lost, which be notes of the very things, it was necessary that other things should be contrived.

Out of this seed sprang the error of Pelagius, which wandered largely abroad: and therefore, albeit the apostles had given unto the church a pure doctrine, as clear and wholesome fountains, yet Origen intermixed the same with some corruption in that part. Then, to correct the errors of that time, at least some part of them, God raised up St. Austin, who purged in some part the fountains; and I doubt not, if he were judge of dissensions at this day, but he would speak for us, and defend our cause. Certainly, as concerning free remission, justification by faith, the use of the sacraments and indifferent things, he consenteth wholly with us. And, albeit that in some places he expoundeth more eloquently and aptly what he will say than in others, yet if in reading any do carry with them a godly spirit and quick understanding, all evil judgment ceaseth; they shall soon perceive that he is of our opinion. And whereas our adversaries sometimes do cite sentences selected out of his books against us, and with clamour provoke us to the ancient fathers, they do it not for any affection they bear unto the truth or antiquity, but maliciously to cloak them with the authority of the ancient fathers, which antiquity never knew of any of these horned beasts and dumb idols, as we have known in these days. Nevertheless it is certain, there were seeds of superstition in the time of the fathers and ancient doctors; and therefore St. Austin ordained something of vows, although he wrote not thereof so strangely as others: for the best sometimes shall be spotted with the blemish of such follies as reign in their age. For as naturally we love our country, so fondly we favour the present fashions, wherein we be trained and educated. And very well alluded Euripides to this effect:

“What customs we in tender youth
By nature’s love receive;
The same we love and like always,
And loath our lust to leave.”

But would to God, that such as vaunt they follow St. Austin, would always represent one like opinion and mind, as St. Austin: certainly they would not so clip his sentences, to serve their purposes. The light restored by St. Austin’s works hath much profited posterity; for Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, and some other like writers, that governed studies to St. Bernard’s time, have for the most part imitated the rule of St. Austin. And this, while the

regiment and riches of the bishops still increased: and thereof ensued a monstrous regiment; profane and ignorant men governed the church, among whom, certain were instructed in sciences and practices of the Roman court, and some others exercised in pleadings.

Then the orders of Dominican and Franciscan friars began; who, beholding the excess and riches of the bishops, and contemning their ungodly manners, determined to live in more modest order, or, as I might say, to enclose them in the prisons of discipline: but first ignorance increased the superstitions. Then after, when they considered men’s minds wholly addicted to the study of the civil laws, (for pleading at Rome advanced many to great authority, and enriched them,) they endeavoured to revoke men to the study of divinity, but they missed of their purpose, and their counsel failed them. Albert, and such like, that were given to Aristotle’s doctrine, began to convert the doctrine of the church into profane philosophy.

The fourth age not only corrupted the fountains of the gospel, but also gave out poison, that is to say, opinions manifestly approving all idolatries. Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and their like, have brought in so many labyrinths and false opinions, that the godly and sound sort of divines have always desired a more plain and purer kind of doctrine: neither can we deny without great impudency but it was expedient to alter this kind of doctrine, when it is manifest that such as employed their whole age in this manner of teaching, understood not a great part of the sophisms in their disputations. Further, it is plainly idolatry confirmed, when they teach the application of sacrifice by work wrought; when they allow the invocation of saints; when they deny that sins be freely remitted by faith; when of ceremonies they make a slaughter of consciences. Finally, there are many other horrible and pernicious devices, that when I think on them, Lord! how I tremble and quake for fear.

Now to return, and to treat something orderly of the acts and conflicts of Luther with his adversaries. After that Tetzels, the aforesaid friar, with his fellow monks and friarly fellows, had cried out with open mouth against Luther, in maintaining the pope’s indulgences; and that Luther again, in defence of his cause, had set up propositions against the open abuses of the same, marvel it was to see how soon these propositions were sparkled abroad in sundry and far places, and how greedily they were caught up in the hands of divers both far and near. And thus the contention of this matter increasing between them, Luther was compelled to write thereof

more largely and fully than otherwise he thought ; which was A. D. 1517.

Yet all this while Luther never thought of any alteration to come of any ceremony, much less such a reformation of doctrine and ceremonies as afterwards did follow ; but only hearing that he was accused to the bishop of Rome, he did write humbly unto him : in the beginning of which writing he declareth the inordinate outrage of those his pardon-mongers, who so excessively did pill and poll the simple people, to the great slander of the church, and shame to his Holiness. And so proceeding, in the end of the said his writing thus he submitteth himself :

“ Wherefore, most holy father, I offer myself prostrate under the feet of your Holiness, with all that I am, and that I have. Save me, kill me, call me, recall me, approve me, reprove me, as you shall please. Your voice, the voice of Christ in you speaking, I will acknowledge. If I have deserved death, I shall be contented to die : for the earth is the Lord's, and all the fulness thereof, who is to be blessed for ever. Amen.”

This was A. D. 1518.

After that Martin Luther, provoked thus by Tetzel, had declared his mind in writing lowly and humbly, and had set up certain propositions to be disputed ; not long after, among other monks and friars steppeth up one Silvester de Priero, a Dominican friar, who first began to publish abroad a certain impudent and railing dialogue against him. Unto whom Luther answered again, first alleging the place of the apostle in 1 Thess. v., that we must prove all things. Also the place in Gal. ii., that if an angel from heaven do bring any other gospel than that we have received, he ought to be accursed. Item, he alleged the place of Austin unto Jerome, where the said Austin saith, That he was wont to give this honour only to the books of canonical Scripture, that whosoever were the writers thereof, he believeth them verily not to have erred. But as touching all other men's writings, were they never so holy men, or learned, he doth not believe them therefore, because they so say ; but in that respect as they do agree with the canonical Scripture, which cannot err. Item, he alleged the place of the canon law ; wherein he proved, that these pardon-sellers, in their setting forth of the pope's indulgences, ought to go no further by the law, than is enjoined them within the letters of their commission. And in the latter part of his answer, thus Luther writeth to the reader, “ Let opinions remain opinions, so they be not yokes to the Christians. Let us not make men's opinions equal with the articles of faith, and to the decrees of Christ and Paul.” “ More-

over, I am ashamed,” quoth he, “ to hear the common saying of these divine school-doctors, holding one thing in schools, and thinking other in their own judgment, thus are wont secret among themselves, and with their privy friends talking together, to say, ‘ Thus we do hold,’ thus would we say being in the schools ; but (be it spoken here amongst us) it cannot be proved by the Holy Scriptures,” &c.

Next after this Silvester, stepped forth Eck and impugned the conclusions of Luther. Against whom encountered Dr. Andreas Bedenstein, a deacon of Wittenberg, making his apology in defence of Luther.

Then was Martin Luther cited, the seventh of August, by one Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, to appear at Rome. About which time Thomas Cajetan, cardinal, the pope's legate, was then lieger at the city of Augsburg, who before had been sent deputed in commission, with certain mandates from Pope Leo, unto that city. The university of Wittenberg, understanding of Luther's citation, eftsoons directed up their letters with their public seal to the pope, in Luther's behalf. Also another letter they sent to Carolus Militius, the pope's chamberlain, being German born. Furthermore, good Frederic ceased not for his part to solicit the matter with his letters and earnest suit with Cardinal Cajetan, that because of Luther might be freed from Rome, and removed to Augsburg, in the hearing of the cardinal. Cajetan, at the suit of the duke, wrote unto the pope ; from whom he received this answer again the three and twentieth of the aforesaid month of August.

“ That he had cited Luther to appear personally before him at Rome, by Hierome, bishop of Ascalon, auditor of the chamber ; which bishop diligently had done what was commanded him : but Luther, abusing and contemning the gentleness offered, did refuse not only to come, but also became more bold and stubborn, continuing, or rather increasing, his former heresy, as by his writings did appear. Wherefore he would, that the cardinal should cite and call up the said Luther to appear at the city of Augsburg before him ; adjoining withal, the aid of the princes of Germany, and of the emperor, if necessary required ; so that when the said Luther should appear, he should lay hand upon him, and commit him to safe custody ; and after, he should be brought up to Rome. And if he perceived him to come to any knowledge or amendment of his fault, he should release him and restore him to the church again ; or else he should be interdicted, with all other his adherents, abettors, and maintainers, of whatsoever state or condition they were, whether they were

dukes, marquises, earls, barons, &c. Against all which persons and degrees, he willed him to extend the same curse and malediction (only the person of the emperor excepted); interdicting, by the censure of the church, all such lands, lordships, towns, tene-ments, and villages, as should minister any harbour to the said Luther, and were not obedient unto the see of Rome. Contrariwise, to all such as showed themselves obedient, he should promise full remis-sion of all their sins.



likewise the pope di-recteth other letters also at the same time to Duke Fre-deric, complaining, with many grievous words, against Luther.

The cardinal, thus being charged with injunctions

from Rome, according to his commission, sendeth with all speed for Luther to appear at Augsburg before him.

About the beginning of October, Martin Luther, yielding his obedience to the Church of Rome, came to Augsburg at the cardinal's sending, (at the charges of the noble prince elector, and also with his letters of commendation,) where he remained three days before he came to his speech; for so it was pro-vided by his friends, that he should not enter talk with the cardinal before a sufficient warrant or safe-conduct was obtained of the Emperor Maximilian. Which being obtained, eftsoons he entered, offer-ing himself to the speech of the cardinal, and was here received of the cardinal very gently; who, according to the pope's commandment, propounded unto Martin Luther three things, or, as Sleiden saith, as two: to wit,

- I. That he should repent and revoke his errors.
- II. That he should promise, from that time for-ward, to refrain from the same.
- III. That he should refrain from all things that give by any means trouble the church.

When Martin Luther required to be informed wherein he had erred, the legate brought forth the extravagant of Clement, which beginneth, *Univer-sitas*, &c., because that he, contrary to that ca-bal had held and taught in his fifty-eighth propo-sition, that the merits of Christ are not the cause of indulgences or pardons. Secondly, the legate, contrary to the seventh proposition of Lu-ther, affirmed, that faith is not necessary to him to receiveth the sacrament.

Furthermore, another day, in the presence of four

of the emperor's council, having there a notary and witnesses present, Luther protested for himself, and personally, in this manner following:

"Imprimis, I Martin Luther, a Friar Augustine, protest, that I do reverence and follow the Church of Rome in all my sayings and doings, present, past, and to come; and if any thing hath been, or shall be, said by me to the contrary, I count it, and will that it be counted and taken, as though it had never been spoken.

"But because the cardinal hath required, at the commandment of the pope, three things of me to be observed: First, That I should return again to the knowledge of myself: Secondly, That I should be-ware of falling into the same again hereafter: Thirdly, That I should promise to abstain from all things which might disquiet the church of God: I protest here this day, that whatsoever I have said, seemeth unto me to be sound, true, and catholic: yet for the further proof thereof, I do offer myself person-ally, either here or elsewhere, publicly to give a reason of my sayings. And if this please not the legate, I am ready also in writing to answer his ob-jections, if he have any against me; and touching these things, to hear the sentence and judgment of the university of the empire, Basil, Friburg, and Louvain."

Hereto when they had received an answer in writing, they departed.

After this, Luther by and by prepareth an an-swer to the legate, teaching, that the merits of Christ are not committed unto men: That the pope's voice is to be heard when he speaketh agreeable to the Scriptures: That the pope may err: That he ought to be reprehended. [Acts xv.] Moreover he showed, that in the matter of faith, not only the ge-neral council, but also every faithful Christian, is above the pope, if he lean to better authority and reason: That the Extravagant containeth untruths: That it is an infallible verity, that none is just: That it is necessary, for him that cometh to the re-ceiving of the sacrament, to believe: That faith in the absolution and remission of sins, is necessary: That he ought not, nor might not, decline from the verity of the Scripture; That he sought nothing but the light of the truth, &c.

But the cardinal would hear no Scriptures; he disputed without Scriptures; devised glosses and expositions of his own head; and by distinctions, (wherewith the divinity of the Thomists is full,) like a very Proteus, he avoided all things. After this, Luther, being commanded to come no more into the presence of the legate except he would recant, not-withstanding abode there still, and would not de-part. Then the cardinal sent for Johannes Staupitz.

secret letters also to certain noblemen of the duke's council, to solicit the pope's cause, and to remove the duke's mind, if it might be, from Luther. But before Militius approached into Germany, Maximilian the emperor deceased in the month of January, A. D. 1519. At that time two there were who stood for the election; to wit, Francis, the French king, and Charles, king of Spain, who was also duke

of Austria, and duke of Burgundy. To make this matter short, through the means of Frederic, prince elector, (who, having the offer of the preferment, refused the same,) the election fell to Charles, called Charles the Fifth, surnamed Prudence: which was about the end of August.

In the month of June before, there was a public disputation ordained at Leipsic, which is a city in

— kius, a friar, and Andreas Carolostadt, doctor of Wittenberg. This Eckius had impugned certain propositions or conclusions of Martin Luther, which he had written the year before touching the pope's pardons. Against him Carolostadt wrote in defence of Luther. Eckius again, to answer Carolostadt, set forth an apology, which apology Carolostadt confuted by writing. Upon this began the disputation, with safe-conduct grant-

agreed, that the acts should be penned by notary and after to be divulged abroad. But Eckius afterwards went back from that, pretending that penning of the notaries would be a hinderance a stay unto them, whereby the heat of them in reasoning should the more languish, and their vehemency abate. But Carolostadt without notice would not dispute. The sum of their disputation was reduced to certain conclusions; amongst which first came in question to dispute of free-will, w

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the Greeks call *ἀπορίαν*: that is, "Whether a man have of himself any election or purpose to do that is good:" or, (to use the terms of the school,) "Whether a man of congruence may deserve grace, being that which in him doth lie?" Herein when the question was to be discussed, what the will of man may do of itself without grace, they, through heat of contention, (as the manner is,) fell into other by-matters and ambages little or nothing appertaining to that which Carolostadt proposed. Eckius affirmed, that the pure strength to do good is not in man's will, but is given of God to man, to take interest and increase of man again, which first he seemed to deny. Then, being asked of Carolostadt, whether the whole and full good work that is in man proceedeth of God; to this he answered, "the whole good work, but not wholly:" granting, that the will is moved of God; but to consent, to be in man's power. Against this reasoning Carolostadt alleged certain places of Austin, and especially of St. Paul, who saith, that God worketh in us both to will and to perform. And this sentence of Carolostadt seemed to overcome. Eckius, for his assertion, inferred certain extracts out of Bernard, which seemed little to the purpose. And thus was a whole week lost about this contentious and sophistical altercation between Eckius and Carolostadt.

Luther (as was said) came, not thinking at all to dispute; but, having free liberty granted by the duke, and under the pope's authority, was provoked, and forced against his will, to dispute with Eckius. The matter of their controversy was about the authority of the bishop of Rome. Here is first to be remembered, that Luther before had set forth in writing this doctrine: That they that do attribute the pre-eminency to the Church of Rome, have no foundation for them, but out of the pope's decrees, set forth not much past four hundred years heretofore; which decrees he affirmed to be contrary to all ancient histories, above a thousand years past; contrary also to the Holy Scriptures, and unto the Nicene council.

Against this assertion Eckius set up a contrary conclusion; saying, that those who hold that the supremacy and pre-eminency of the Church of Rome above all other churches was not before the time of Pope Silvester the First, do err, forasmuch as they that succeeded in the see and faith of Peter, were always received for the successors of Peter, and vicars of Christ on earth.

This being the last of all the other themes of Eckius, yet thought he chiefly to begin with this against Luther, to bring him into more displeasure with the bishop of Rome; wherein Luther himself much refused to dispute, alleging that matter to be

more odious than necessary for that present time, and that also, for the bishop of Rome's sake, he had much rather keep silence in the same. Whereunto, if he must needs be urged, he would the fault should be understood of all men to be where it was; namely, in his adversaries who provoked him thereunto, and not in himself. Eckius again, clearing himself, translateth all the fault unto Luther, who first, in his treatise *De Indulgentiis Papæ* defended, that before Pope Silvester's time the Church of Rome had no place of majority or pre-eminence above other churches: and also before, the Cardinal Cajetan affirmed, that Pope Pelagius wrested many places of the Scripture out of their sense, unto his own affection and purpose: "Wherefore the fault hereof," said he, "to him rather is to be imputed, who ministered the first occasion."

Thus Luther being egged and constrained to dispute, whether he would or no, the question began to be propounded touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome; which supremacy Eckius did contend to be founded and grounded upon God's law. Martin Luther, on the other side, denied not the supremacy of the bishop of Rome above other churches, nor denied the same, moreover, to be universal over all churches; but only he affirmed it not to be instituted by God's law. Upon this question the disputation did continue the space of five days; during all which season, Eckius very dishonestly and uncourtously demeaned himself, studying by all means how to bring his adversary into the hatred of the auditors, and into danger of the pope. The reasons of Eckius were these: "Forasmuch as the church, being a civil body, cannot be without a head, therefore, as it standeth with God's law that other civil regiments should not be destitute of their head, so is it by God's law requisite, that the pope should be the head of the universal church of Christ." To this Martin Luther answered, that he confesseth and granteth the church not to be headless, so long as Christ is alive, who is the only Head of the church; neither doth the church require any other head beside him, forasmuch as it is a spiritual kingdom, not earthly: and he alleged for him the place of Colossians i. Eckius again produceth certain places out of Jerome and Cyprian, which made very little to prove the primacy of the pope to hold by God's law. As touching the testimony of Bernard, neither was the authority of that author of any great force in this case, nor was the place alleged so greatly to the purpose.

Then came he to the place of St. Matthew, chap. xvi., Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock will I build my church, &c. To this was answered, that

this was a confirmation of faith, and that Peter there representeth the person of the whole universal church; as Austin doth expound it. Also that Christ in that place meaneth himself to be the Rock, as is manifest to collect, both by his words, and the order of the sentence, and many other conjectures. Likewise to the place of St. John, Feed my sheep; which words Eckius alleged properly and peculiarly to be spoken to Peter alone. Martin answered, that after these words spoken, equal authority was given to all the apostles, where Christ saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever ye remit, they are remitted, &c. "By these words," saith he, "Christ, assigning to them their office, doth teach what it is to feed; and what he ought to be, that feedeth.

After this, Eckius came to the authority of the council of Constance, alleging this amongst other articles: That it standeth upon necessity of our salvation, to believe the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the church; alleging moreover, that in the same council it was debated and discussed, that the general council could not err. Whereunto Martin Luther again did answer discreetly, saying, that all the articles which John Huss did hold in that council, were not condemned for heretical; with much other matter more. Again, of what authority that council of Constance is to be esteemed, that he left to other men's judgments. "This is most certain," said he, "that no council hath such authority to make new articles of faith." Here Martin Luther began to be cried out of by Eckius and his complices, for diminishing the authority of general councils: although indeed he meant nothing less, but ever laboured to confirm the authority of the same, yet was he called heretic and schismatic, and one of the Bohemians' faction, with many other terms besides of reproachful contumely. Eckius then granted the authority of the apostles to be equal; and yet not to follow thereby, the authority of all bishops therefore to be equal; "for between apostleship and ministry," said he, "there is great difference."

To conclude, Eckius in no case could abide, that any authority should decline from any word or sentence of the pope's decrees, or the constitutions of the forefathers. To this again Luther answered, grounding himself upon the place in Galatians ii., where St. Paul, speaking of the principal apostles, saith, And of them which seemed to be great, what they were before, it maketh no matter to me; for God accepteth no man's person. Nevertheless they that were of some reputation did avail nothing at all, &c. Eckius to this said, that as touching the authority of the apostles, they were all chosen of

Christ, but were ordained bishops by St. Peter. And whereas Luther brought in the constitution of the decree, which saith, Yea, let not the bishop of Rome be called universal bishop, &c. To this Eckius answered in this sort: that the bishop of Rome ought not to be called universal bishop; yet he may be called (saith he) bishop of the universal church. And thus much touching the question of the pope's supremacy.

From this matter they entered next to purgatory, wherein Eckius kept no order; for when they should have disputed what power the pope hath in purgatory, Eckius turned the scope of the question and proved that there is purgatory; and alleged for him the place of Maccabees. Luther, leaning upon the judgment of Jerome, affirmed the book of Maccabees not to be canonical. Eckius again replied, the book of Maccabees to be of no less authority than the Gospels. Also he alleged the place 1 Cor. iii., He shall be saved, yet so as it were by fire. Moreover, he inferred the place of Matthew v., Agree thou with thine adversary while thou art in the way with him, lest he commit thee to prison, from whence thou shalt not escape till thou have paid the uttermost farthing, &c. To this he added also the place of the Psalms, We have passed through the fire and water, &c. How these places be wrested to purgatory, let the reader discern at judge.

Then was inferred the question of indulgence, whereof Eckius seemed to make but a toy, and a matter of nothing, and so passed it over.

At last they came to the question of penance, touching which matter, the reasons of Eckius pressed much from the purpose, which went on to prove, that there be some manner of paid satisfaction: which thing Luther did never admit. But that for every particular offence such particular penance is exacted of God's justice upon the penitent sinner, as is in man's power to remit or leave, as pleaseth him; such penance neither Luther, nor any other true Christian, did admit.

And thus have ye the chief effect of this dispute between Luther and Eckius at Leipsic, which was in the month of July, A. D. 1519.

About the beginning of the same year, Ulrich Zuinglius came first to Zurich, and there began to teach; who, in the sixteenth article in his book of articles, recordeth, that Luther and he, both at that time, one not knowing nor hearing of another, wrote against the pope's pardons and indulgences. Albeit, if the time be rightly counted, I suppose shall find that Luther began a year or two before Zuinglius. Notwithstanding, this doth sufficiently testify, that in this present year, when Sam-

Franciscan, came with the pope's pardons to Zurich, *Elder* Zuinglius did withstand him, and declared the chaffer and pardons to be but a vain seducing of the people to inveigle away their money.

The next year ensuing, which was 1520, the friars and doctors of Louvain, and also of Cologne, condemned the books of Luther as heretical; against whom Luther again effectually defended himself, and charged them with obstinate violence and manifest impiety. After this, within few days flashed out from Rome the thunderbolt of Pope Leo against the said Luther, notwithstanding he so humbly and obediently before had revered both the person of the pope, and recognised the authority of his see, and also had dedicated unto him the book entitled *Of Christian Liberty*; in which book these two points principally he discusseth and proveth:

"I. That a Christian man is free, and lord of all things, and subject to none.

"II. That a Christian man is a diligent underling and servant of all men, and to every man subject."

Moreover, in the same year he set out a defence of all his articles, which the pope's bull had before condemned.

Another book also he wrote, to the nobility of Germany, in the which book he impugneth and doth the three principal walls of the papists: the first whereof is this:

"I. Whereas the papists say, that no temporal or prime magistrate hath any power upon the spirituality, but they have power over the other.

"II. Where any place of Scripture, being in controversy, is to be decided, they say, No man may expound the Scripture, or be judge thereof, but only the pope.

"III. When any council is brought against them, they say, that no man hath authority to call a council, but only the pope."

Moreover, in the aforesaid book divers other matters he handleth and discourseth: That the pope can stop no free council; also what things ought to be handled in councils; that the pride of the pope is not to be suffered; what money goeth out of Germany yearly to the pope, amounting to the sum of three millions of florins. The true meaning of this verse he expoundeth: *Tu supplicis ora, tu proteges, tuque laboras*; wherein the three estates, with their offices and duties, are described; to wit, the minister, the magistrate, and the subjects. Furthermore, in the said book he proveth and discuteth, that the emperor is not under the pope; but contrariwise, that the donation of Constantine is not true, but forged: that priests may have wives: that the voices of the people ought not to be separate

from the election of ecclesiastical persons: that interdicting and suspending of matrimony at certain times is brought in by avarice: what is the right use of excommunication: that there ought to be fewer holidays: that liberty ought not to be restrained in meats: that wilful poverty and begging ought to be abolished: what damage and inconvenience have grown by the council of Constance; and what misfortunes Sigismund the emperor sustained, for not keeping faith and promise with John Huss and Jerome: that heretics should be convinced not by fire and faggot, but by evidence of Scripture, and God's word: how schools and universities ought to be reformed: what is to be said and judged of the pope's decretals: that the first teaching of children ought to begin with the gospel: Item, he writeth in the same book against excessive apparel among the Germans: also against their excess in spices, &c.

In this year, moreover, followed, not long after, the coronation of the new emperor Charles the Fifth, which was in the month of October, at Aix-la-Chapelle. After which coronation, being solemnized about the month of November, Pope Leo sent again to Duke Frederic, two cardinals his legates, of whom the one was Hierome Aleander, who, after a few words of high commendation first premised to the duke touching his noble progeny, and other his famous virtues, they made two requests unto him in the pope's name: first, that he would cause all books of Luther to be burned; secondly, that he would either see the said Luther there to be executed, or else would make him sure, and send him up to Rome, unto the pope's presence.

These two requests seemed very strange unto the duke; who, answering again to the cardinals, said, that he, being long absent from thence about other public affairs, could not tell what there was done, neither did he communicate with the doings of Luther. Notwithstanding this, he heard that Eckius was a great perturber not only of Luther, but of other learned and good men of his university. As for himself, he was always ready to do his duty; first, in sending Luther to Cajetan the cardinal at the city of Augsburg; and afterwards, at the pope's commandment, would have sent him away out of his dominion, had not Meltitius, the pope's own chamberlain, given contrary counsel to retain him still in his own country, fearing lest that in other countries he might do more harm, where he was less known: and so now was as ready to do his duty, wheresoever right and equity did so require. But soasmuch as in this cause he seeth much hatred and violence showed on the one part, and no error yet convicted on the other part, but that it had rather

the approbation of divers well learned and sound men of judgment; and forasmuch as also the cause of Luther was not yet heard before the emperor, therefore he desired the said legates to be a mean to the pope's Holiness, that certain learned persons of gravity and upright judgment might be assigned to have the hearing and determination of this matter, and that his error first might be known, before he were made a heretic, or his books burned: which being done, when he should see his error by manifest and sound testimonies of Scripture reproved, Luther should find no favour at his hands. Otherwise he trusted that the pope's Holiness would exact no such thing of him, which he might not with equity, and honour of his place and estate, reasonably perform, &c.

Then the cardinals (declaring to the duke again, that they could no otherwise do, but according to the form of their prescript commission they must proceed) took the books of Luther, and shortly after set fire upon them, and openly burnt them. Luther, hearing this, in like manner called all the multitude of students and learned men in Wittenberg, and there, taking the pope's decrees, and the bull lately sent down against him, openly and solemnly, accompanied with a great number of people following him, set them likewise on fire, and burnt them; which was the tenth of December, A. D. 1520.

A little before these things thus passed between the pope and Martin Luther, the emperor had commanded and ordained a sitting or assembly of the states of all the empire to be holden at the city of Worms, against the sixth day of January next ensuing; in the which assembly, through the means of Duke Frederic, the emperor gave forth, that he would have the cause of Luther there brought before him; and so it was. For at what time the assembly was commenced in the city of Worms, the day and month aforesaid, which was the sixth of January; afterwards, upon the sixth of March following, the emperor, through the instigation of Duke Frederic, directed his letters unto Luther; signifying, that forasmuch as he had set abroad certain books, he therefore, by the advice of his peers and princes about him, had ordained to have the cause brought before him in his own hearing; and therefore he granted him licence to come, and return home again. And that he might safely and quietly so do, and be thereof assured, he promised unto him, by public faith and credit, in the name of the whole empire, his passport and safe-conduct; as by the instrument which he sent unto him, he might more fully be certified. Wherefore, without all doubt or distrust, he willed him eftsoons to make his repair unto him, and to be there present the twenty-first day after

the receipt thereof: and because he should not doubt any fraud or injury herein, he assured to him his warrant and promise.

Martin Luther being thus provided for his conduct by the emperor, after he had been first cursed at Rome upon Maundy Thursday by the pope's censure, shortly after Easter speedeth his journey toward the emperor at Worms, where said Luther, appearing before the emperor and the states of Germany, how constantly he stuck to the truth, and defended himself, and answered his adversaries, and what adversaries he had, here followeth in full history, with the acts and doings which there happened; according as in our former edition partly was before described.

In the year of our salvation 1521, about seventeen days after Easter, Martin Luther entered into Worms, being sent for by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, who, the first year of his empire, made an assembly of princes in the aforesaid city. And when as Martin Luther had pub-

lished three years before, certain propositions to be disputed in the town of Wittenberg, in Saxony, against the tyranny of the pope, (which, notwithstanding, were torn to pieces, condemned, and burnt by the papists, and yet by no manifest Scriptures, nor probable reason, convinced,) the matter began to grow to a tumult and uproar; and yet Luther maintained all this while openly his cause against the clergy. Whereupon it seemed good to certain, that Luther should be called; assigning unto him a herald-at-arms, with a letter of safe-conduct by the emperor and princes. Being sent for, he came, and was brought to the knights of the Rhodes' place, where he was lodged, well entertained, and visited of many earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, and the commonalty, who frequented his lodging till night.

To conclude, he came, contrary to the expectation of many, as well adversaries as others. For albeit he was sent for by the emperor's messenger, and had letters of safe-conduct; yet for that a few days before his access, his books were condemned by public proclamation, it was much doubted of by many that he would not come: and the rather, for that his friends deliberated together in a village nigh hand, called Oppenheim (where Luther was first advertised of these occurrents); and many persuaded him not to adventure himself to such a present danger, considering how these beginnings answered not to the

hith of promise made. Who, when he had heard their whole persuasion and advice, he answered in his wise: "As touching me, since I am sent for, I am resolved and certainly determined to enter Worms, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; yea, although I knew there were as many devils to resist me, as there are tiles to cover the houses in Worms."

The fourth day after his repair, a gentleman named Ulrick, of Pappenheim, lieutenant-general of the men-at-arms of the empire, was commanded by the emperor before dinner to repair to Luther, and to enjoin him at four o'clock in the afternoon to appear before the imperial Majesty, the princes electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, to understand the cause of his sending for; whereunto he willingly agreed, as his duty was. And after four o'clock, Ulrick of Pappenheim, and Caspar Sturm, the emperor's herald, (who conducted Martin Luther from Wittenberg to Worms,) came for Luther, and accompanied him through the garden of the knights of the Rhodes' place, to the earl Palatine's palace; and, lest the people should molest him, that thronged in, he was led by secret stairs to the place where he was appointed to have audience. Yet many, who perceived the pretence, secretly rushed in, and were resisted, albeit in vain: many ascended the galleries, because they desired to behold Luther.

Thus standing before the emperor, the electors, dukes, earls, and all the estates of empire assembled there, he was first advertised by Ulrick of Pappenheim to keep silence, until such time as he was required to speak. Then John Eckius above mentioned, who then was the bishop of Treves' general official, with a loud and intelligible voice, first in Latin, then in Dutch, according to the emperor's commandment, said and proponed this sentence in manner as ensueth, or like in effect:

"Martin Luther! the sacred and invincible imperial Majesty hath enjoined, by the consent of all the estates of the holy empire, that thou shouldest be appealed before the throne of his Majesty, to the end I might demand of thee these two points.

"First, Whether thou confess these books here, [for he showed a heap of Luther's books written in the Latin and Dutch tongues,] and which are in all places dispersed, entitled with thy name, be thine, and thou dost affirm them to be thine, or not?

"Secondly, Whether thou wilt recant and revoke them, and all that is contained in them, or rather maintain to stand to that thou hast written?"

Then, before Luther prepared to answer, Master Jerome Scurffe, a lawyer at Wittenberg, required that the titles of the books should be read. Forth-

with the aforesaid Eckius named certain of the books, and those principally which were imprinted at Basil; among which he nominated his Commentaries upon the Psalter, his book of Good Works, his Commentary upon the Lord's Prayer, and divers other which were not contentious.

After this Luther answered thus in Latin and in Dutch:

"Two things are proponed unto me by the imperial Majesty: First, whether I will avouch for mine all those books that bear my name. Secondly, whether I will maintain or revoke any thing that hitherto I have devised and published: whereunto I will answer as briefly as I can.

"In the first, I can do none other than recognise those books to be mine which lastly were named, and certainly I will never recant any clause thereof. In the second, to declare whether I will wholly defend, or call back any thing comprised in them: forasmuch as there be questions of faith, and the salvation of the soul, (and this concerneth the word of God, which is the greatest and most excellent matter that can be in heaven or earth, and the which we ought duly evermore to reverence,) this might be accounted in me a rashness of judgment, and even a most dangerous attempt, if I would pronounce any thing before I were better advised; considering I might recite something less than the matter importeth, and more than the truth requireth, if I did not premeditate that which I would speak. The which two things well considered, doth set before mine eyes this sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein it is said, Whosoever shall deny me before men, I will deny him before my Father. I require then for this cause, and humbly beseech the imperial Majesty to grant me, liberty and leisure to deliberate; so that I may satisfy the interrogation made unto me, without prejudice of the word of God, and peril of mine own soul."

Whereupon the princes began to deliberate. This done, Eckius, the prolocutor, pronounced what was their resolution, saying,

"Albeit, Master Luther! thou hast sufficiently understood by the emperor's commandment the cause of thy appearance here, and therefore dost not deserve to have any further respite given thee to determine; yet the emperor's Majesty, of his mere clemency, granteth thee one day to meditate for thine answer, so that to-morrow, at this instant hour, thou shalt repair to exhibit thine opinion, not in writing, but to pronounce the same with lively voice."

This done, Luther was led to his lodging by the herald. But herein I may not be oblivious, that in the way going to the emperor, and when he was in the assembly of princes, he was exhorted by

others to be courageous, and manly to demean himself, and not to fear them that kill the body, but not the soul; but rather to dread Him, that is able to send both body and soul to everlasting fire.

Furthermore, he was encouraged with this sentence; When thou art before kings, think not what thou shalt speak, for it shall be given thee in that hour, Matt. x.

The next day, after four o'clock, the herald came and brought Luther from his lodging to the emperor's court, where he abode till six o'clock, for that the princes were occupied in grave consultations; abiding there, and being environed with a great number of people, and almost smothered for the press that was there. Then after, when the princes were set, and Luther entered, Eckius, the official, began to speak in this manner:

"Yesterday, at this hour, the emperor's Majesty assigned thee to be here, Master Luther! for that thou didst affirm those books that we named yesterday to be thine. Further, to the interrogation by us made, whether thou wouldest approve all that is contained in them, or abolish and make void any part thereof, thou didst require time of deliberation, which was granted, and is now expired; albeit thou oughtest not to have opportunity granted to deliberate, considering it was not unknown to thee wherefore we cited thee. And as concerning the matter of faith, every man ought to be so prepared, that at all times, whensoever he shall be required, he may give certain and constant reason thereof; and thou especially, being counted a man of such learning, and so long time exercised in theology. Then go to; answer even now to the emperor's demand, whose bounty thou hast proved in giving thee leisure to deliberate. Wilt thou now maintain all thy books which thou hast acknowledged, or revoke any part of them, and submit thyself?"

The official made this interrogation in Latin and in Dutch. Martin Luther answered in Latin and in Dutch in this wise, modestly and lowly, and yet not without some stoutness of stomach, and Christian constancy; so that his adversaries would gladly have had his courage more humbled and abased, but yet more earnestly desired his recantation; whereof they were in some good hope, when they heard him desire respite of time to make his answer.

His answer was this:

"Most magnificent emperor, and you most noble princes, and my most gentle lords! I appear before you here at this hour prescribed unto me yesterday, yielding the obedience that I owe; humbly beseeching, for God's mercy, your most renowned Majesty, and your Graces and Honours, that ye will minister to me this courtesy, to attend this cause

benignly, which is the cause (as I trust) of just and verity; and if by ignorance I have not given unto every one of you your just titles, or if I have not observed the ceremonies and countenances of court, offending against them; it may please you pardon me of your benignities, as one that only is frequented cloisters, and not courtly civilities. At first, as touching myself, I can affirm or promise other thing but only this: that I have taught hitherto, in simplicity of mind, that which I have thought to tend to God's glory, and to the salvation of men's souls.

"Now, as concerning the two articles objected your most excellent Majesty, Whether I would acknowledge those books which were named, and published in my name; or whether I would maintain and not revoke them: I have given ready answer to the first, in the which I persist, and shall persevere for evermore, that these books be mine and published by me in my name; unless it has since happened, by some fraudulent misdealing mine enemies, there be any thing foisted into them or corruptly corrected. For I will acknowledge nothing but that I have written, and that which have written I will not deny.

"Now to answer to the second article; I beseech your most excellent Majesty, and your Graces, vouchsafe to give ear. All my books are not of one sort: there be some in which I have so simply and soundly declared and opened the religion of Christian faith, and of good works, that my very enemies are compelled to confess them to be profitable and worthy to be read of all Christians. As truly the pope's bull (how cruel and tyrannous soever it be) judgeth certain of my books inculpable; albeit the same, with severe sentence, thundered against me, and with monstrous cruelty condemned my books: which books if I should revoke, I might worthily be thought to neglect and transgress the office of a true Christian, and to be one alone that repugneth the public confession of all people. There is another sort of my books which containeth invectives against the papacy, and others of the pope's retinue, as have, with their pestiferous doctrine, and pernicious examples, corrupted the whole state of our Christianity; neither can any deny or dissemble this, (whereunto universal experience and common complaint of all bear witness,) that the consciences of all faithful men be most miserably entrapped, vexed, and cruelly tormented by the pope's laws and doctrines of men; also that the goods and substance of Christian people are devoured, especially in this noble and famous country of Germany; and yet, without order, and in most detestable manner, are suffered still to be devoured without all measure,

by incredible tyranny; notwithstanding that they themselves have ordained to the contrary in their proper laws, as in the 9th and 25th distinctions, and in the 1st and 2nd questions; where they themselves have decreed, that all such laws of popes which be repugnant to the doctrines of the gospel, and the opinions of the ancient fathers, are to be judged erroneous, and reprov'd. If then I shall revoke these, I can do none other but add more force to their tyranny, and open not only windows, but with gates to their impiety, which is like to extend more wide, and more licentious, than ever it durst breathe. And by the testimony of this my retraction, their insolent kingdom shall be made more glorious, and less subject to punishment, intolerable to the common people, and also more confirmed and established; especially if this be bruited, that I, Luther, have done this by the authority of your most excellent Majesty, and the sacred Roman Empire. O Lord! what a cover or shadow shall I be then, to cloak their naughtiness and tyranny. The rest, or third sort of my books, are such as I have written against certain private and singular persons; to wit, against such as with tooth and nail labour to maintain the Romish tyranny, and to destroy the true doctrine and religion which I have taught and professed. As touching these, I plainly declare, I have been more vehement than my religion and profession required. For I make myself no saint, and I dispute not of my life, but of the doctrine of Christ. And these I cannot without prejudice call back. For by this recantation it will come to pass, that tyranny and impiety shall reign, supported by my means; and so shall they exercise cruelty against God's people more violently and arrogantly than before. Nevertheless, for that I am man, and not God, I can none otherwise enterprise to defend my books, than did my very Lord Jesus Christ defend his doctrine; who, being examined of his learning before Annas, and having received a buffet of the minister, said, If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil, John xviii. If the Lord, who was perfect and could not err, refused not to have testimony given against his doctrine, yea, of a most vile servant, how much the more then I, that am but vile corruption, and can of myself do nothing but err, ought earnestly to see and require if any will bear witness against my doctrine. Therefore I require, for God's mercy, your most excellent Majesty, your Graces and right honourable Lordships, or whatsoever he be of high or low degree, here to lay in his testimony, to convict my errors, and confute me by the Scriptures, either out of the prophets, or the apostles; and I will be most ready, if I be so instructed, to revoke any manner of error;

yea, and will be the first that shall consume mine own books and burn them.

"I suppose hereby it may appear, that I have perpended and well weighed before the perils and dangers, the divisions and dissensions, which have arisen throughout the whole world by reason of my doctrine, whereof I was vehemently and sharply yesterday admonished: concerning which divisions of men's minds what other men do judge I know not; as touching myself, I conceive no greater delectation in any thing, than when I behold discords and dissensions stirred up for the word of God; for such is the course and proceeding of the gospel: Jesus Christ saith, I came not to send peace but a sword; I came to set a man at variance with his father, Matt. x.

"And further, we must think, that our God is marvellous and terrible in his counsels; lest perhaps that which we endeavour with earnest study to achieve and bring to pass, (if we begin first with condemning of his word,) the same rebound again to a huge sea of evil; and lest the new reign of this young and bounteous Prince Charles, (in whom, next after God, we all conceive singular hope,) be lamentably, unfortunately, and miserably begun. I could exemplify this with authorities of the Scriptures more effectually, as by Pharaoh, the king of Babylon, and the kings of Israel, who then most obscured the bright sun of their glory, and procured their own ruin, when by sage counsels they attempted to pacify and establish their governments and realms, and not by God's counsels; for it is he that entrappeth the wily in their wiliness, and subverteth mountains before they be aware. Wherefore it is good, and God's work, to dread the Lord.

"I speak not this, supposing that such politic and prudent heads have need of my doctrine and admonition, but because I would not omit to profit my country, and offer my duty or service, that may tend to the advancement of the same. And thus I humbly commend me to your most excellent Majesty, and your honourable Lordships; beseeching you that I may not incur your displeasures, neither be condemned of you, through the pursuit of my adversaries. I have spoken."

These words pronounced, then Eckius, the emperor's prolocutor, with a stern countenance, began and said, that Luther had not answered to any purpose; neither it behoved him to call in question things in time past, concluded and defined by general councils; and therefore they required of him a plain and direct answer, whether he would revoke or no?—Then Luther said:

"Considering your sovereign Majesty, and your Honours, require a plain answer; this I say and

profess as resolutely as I may, without doubting or sophistication, that if I be not convinced by testimonies of the Scriptures, and by probable reasons, (for I believe not the pope, neither his general councils, which have erred many times, and have been contrary to themselves,) my conscience is so bound and captivated in these Scriptures and word of God which I have alleged, that I will not, nor may not, revoke any manner of thing; considering it is not godly or lawful to do any thing against conscience. Hereupon I stand and rest: I have not what else to say. God have mercy upon me!"

The princes consulted together upon this answer given by Luther; and when they had diligently examined the same, the prolocutor began to reply to him thus:

"Martin, thou hast more immodestly answered than becomed thy person, and also little to the purpose. Thou dividest thy books into three sorts, in such order as all that thou hast said maketh nothing to the interrogation proponed: and therefore, if thou hadst revoked those wherein the greatest part of thine errors is contained, the emperor's Majesty, and the noble clemency of others, would have suffered the rest that be sound, to sustain no injury. But thou dost revive, and bringest to light again, all that the general council of Constance hath condemned, the which was assembled of all the nation of Germany, and now dost require to be convinced with Scriptures; wherein thou erreth greatly. For what availeth it to renew disputation of things so long time past condemned by the church and councils, unless it should be necessary to give a reason to every man of every thing that is concluded? Now were it so, that this should be permitted to every one that gainstandeth the determination of the church and councils, that he may once get this advantage, to be convinced by the Scriptures, we shall have nothing certain and established in Christendom. And this is the cause wherefore the emperor's Majesty requireth of thee a simple answer, either negative or affirmative, whether thou mindest to defend all thy works as Christian, or no?"

Then Luther, turning to the emperor and the nobles, besought them not to force or compel him to yield against his conscience, confirmed with the Holy Scriptures, without manifest arguments alleged to the contrary by his adversaries.

"I have declared and rendered," said he, "mine answer simply and directly, neither have I any more to say, unless mine adversaries, with true and sufficient probations grounded upon the Scripture, can reduce and resolve my mind, and refel mine errors which they lay to my charge. I am tied, as

I said, by the Scriptures; neither may I, or can, w a safe conscience assent unto them. For, as touching general councils, with whose authority o they press me, I am able to prove, that they ha both erred, and have defined many times thi contrary to themselves. And therefore the authority of them," he said, "not to be sufficient, the which he should call back those things, i verity whereof standeth so firm and manifest in t Holy Scripture, that neither of him it ought to required, neither could he so do without impiety.

Whereunto the official again answered, denyi that any man could prove the councils to ha erred. But Luther alleged that he could, and promised to prove it; and now night approaching, t lords rose and departed. And after Luther h taken his leave of the emperor, divers Spaniards scorned and scoffed the good man in the way goi toward his lodging, hallooing and whooping aft him a long while.

Upon the Friday following, when the prince electors, dukes, and other estates were assembled the emperor sent to the whole body of the council certain letter, containing in effect as followeth:

"Our predecessors, who were truly Christian princes, were obedient to the Romish Church, whic Martin Luther presently impugneth. And therefore, inasmuch as he is not determined to call back his errors in any one point, we cannot, without great infamy and stain of honour, degenerate from the examples of our elders, but will maintain the ancient faith, and give aid to the see of Rome. And further, we be resolved to pursue Martin Luther and his adherents, by excommunications, and other means that may be devised, to extinguish his doctrine. Nevertheless we will not violate our faith, which we have promised him, but mean to give order for safe return to the place whence he came."

he prince electors, dukes, and other estates of the empire, sat and consulted upon this sentence, on Friday all the afternoon, and Saturday the whole day, so that Luther yet had no answer of the emperor.

During this time, divers princes, earls, barons, knights of the order, gentlemen, priests, monks, with other the laity and common sort, visited him. All these were present at all hours in the emperor's court, and could not be satisfied with the sight of him. Also there were bills set up, some against Luther, and some, as it seemed, with him. Notwithstanding many sup-

passed, and especially such as well conceived the matter, that this was subtilly done by his enemies, that thereby occasion might be offered to infringe the safe-conduct given him; the which the Roman ambassadors with all diligence endeavoured to bring to pass.

The Monday following, before supper, the archbishop of Treves advertised Luther, that on Wednesday next he should appear before him, at nine o'clock before dinner, and assigned him the place. On St. George's day, a certain chaplain of the archbishop of Treves, about supper-time, came to Luther by the commandment of the bishop, signifying, that at that hour and place prescribed, he must, the morrow after, have access to his master.

The morrow after St. George's day, Luther, obeying the archbishop's commandment, entered his palace, being accompanied thither with his said chaplain, and one of the emperor's heralds, and such as came in his company out of Saxony to Worms, with other his chief friends.

Whereat Dr. Vœus, the marquis of Baden's chaplain, began to declare and protest, in the presence of the archbishop of Treves, Joachim, marquis of Brandenburg, George, duke of Saxony, the electors of Angsburg and Brandenburg, the earl of Hesse, John Bock of Strasburg, Verdeheymer and other doctors,

that Luther was not called to be conferred with, in a disputation, but only that the princes had provided licence of the emperor's Majesty, through his charity, to have liberty granted unto them to hear Luther benignly and brotherly.—He said also, that albeit the councils had ordained divers things, yet they had not determined contrary matters. And albeit they had greatly erred, yet their authority was not therefore abased; or at the least, he added, that it was lawful for every man to give their opinions; inferring moreover many things of Zaccheus and the centurion, also of the Pharisees, and of constitutions, and of ceremonies of men: affirming that all these were ordained to repress vices, according to the quality of men; and that the church could not be destitute of such constitutions. It is true, said he, that by the fruit the tree may be known; yet of these laws and decrees of men, many good fruits have been produced; and St. Martin, St. Nicholas, and many other saints have been present at the councils.

However, that Luther's book would breed a tumult and incredible troubles; and that he had the common sort with his book of Christianity, encouraging them to shake off their yoke, to confirm in them a disobedience: that the emperor was at another stay, than when the be-

lievers were all of one heart and soul, and therefore it was requisite and behoveful to have laws. It was to be considered, said he, albeit he had written many good things, and no doubt of a good mind, as De triplice Justitia, and other matters, yet how the devil now, by crafty means, goeth about to bring to pass, that all his works for ever should be condemned. For by these books which he wrote last, men, said he, would judge and esteem him, as the tree is known, not by the blossom, but by the fruit.

Here he added something of the noon devil, and of the spirit coming in the dark, and of the flying arrow. All his oration was exhortatory, full of rhetorical places of honesty, of utility of laws, of the dangers of conscience, and of the common and particular wealth; repeating oft this sentence in the proem, middle, and epilogue of his oration: That this admonition was given him of a singular good will, and great clemency. In the shutting up of his oration he added menacings, saying, that if he would abide in his purposed intent, the emperor would proceed further, and banish him from the empire; persuading him deliberately to ponder, and to advise these and other things. Martin Luther answered:

"Most noble princes, and my most gracious lords! I render most humble thanks for your benignities and singular good wills, whence proceedeth this admonition; for I know myself to be so base, as by no means I can deserve to be admonished of so mighty estates." Then he frankly pronounced that he had not reprov'd all councils, but only the council of Constance; and for this principal cause, for that the same had condemned the word of God, which appeared in the condemnation of this article proponed by John Huss: "The church of Christ is the communion of the predestinate." "It is evident," said he, "that the council of Constance abolished this article, and consequently the article of our faith: I believe the holy church universal." And said, that he was ready to spend life and blood, so he were not compelled to revoke the manifest word of God; for in defence thereof we ought rather to obey God than men: and that in this he could not avoid the scandal or offence of faith; for there be two manner of offences, to wit, of charity, and of faith. The slander of charity consisteth in manners and in life: the offences of faith or doctrine rest in the word of God: and as touching this last, he could escape it no manner of ways; for it lay not in his power to make Christ not to be a stone of offence. If Christ's sheep were fed with pure pasture of the gospel; if the faith of Christ were sincerely preached, and if there were good ecclesiastical magistrates, who duly would execute

their office; we should not need, said he, to charge the church with men's traditions. Further, that he knew well we ought to obey the magistrates and higher powers, how unjustly and perversely soever they lived: we ought also to be obedient to their laws and judgment: all which he had taught, said he, in all his works; adding further, that he was ready to obey them in all points, so that they enforced him not to deny the word of God.

These words finished, Luther was bade to stand aside, and the princes consulted what answer they might give him. This done, they called him into a parlour, where the aforesaid Doctor Vœus repeated his former matters, admonishing Luther to submit his writings to the emperor, and to the princes' judgment. Luther answered humbly and modestly,

That he could not, neither would, permit that men should say he would shun the judgment of the emperor, princes, and superior powers of the empire. So far was it off that he would refuse to stand their trial, that he was contented to suffer his writings to be discussed, considered, and judged of the simplest, so that it were done with the authority of the word of God, and the Holy Scripture: and that the word of God made so much for him, and was so manifest unto him, that he could not give place, unless they could confound his doctrine by the word of God. This lesson, said he, he learned of St. Augustine, who writeth, that he gave this honour only to those books which are called canonical; that he believed the same only to be true. As touching other doctors, albeit in holiness and excellency of learning they passed, yet he would not credit them further than they agreed with the touchstone of God's word. Further, said he, St. Paul giveth us a lesson, writing to the Thessalonians: Prove all things, follow that is good. And to the Galatians: Though an angel should descend from heaven, if he preach any other doctrine, let him be accursed, and therefore not to be believed!

Finally, he meekly besought them not to urge his conscience, captived in the bands of the word of God and Holy Scripture, to deny the same excellent word. And thus he commended his cause and himself to them, and especially to the emperor's Majesty, requiring their favour, that he might not be compelled to do any thing in this matter against his conscience: in all other causes he would submit himself, with all kind of obedience and due subjection.

As Luther had thus ended his talk, Joachim, elector, marquis of Brandenburg, demanded if his meaning was this, that he would not yield, unless he were convinced by the Scripture? "Yea, truly,

right noble lord!" quoth Luther, "or else by ancient and evident reasons." And so the assembly brake, and the princes repaired to the emperor's court.

After their departure the archbishop of Treves, accompanied with a few his familiars, namely, John Eckius his official, and Cochleus, commanded Luther to repair into his parlour. With Luther was Jerome Scurffe, and Nicholas Ambdorff, for his assistants. Then the official began to frame an argument, like a sophist and canonist, defending the pope's cause; that for the most part at all times Holy Scriptures have engendered errors, as the error of Helvidius the heretic, out of that place in the gospel, where is expressed, Joseph knew not his wife till she was delivered of her first child. Further, he went about to overthrow this proposition: that the catholic church is the communion of saints.

Martin Luther and Jerome Scurffe reproved (but modestly) these follies, and other vain and ridiculous matters, which Eckius brought forth, as things not serving to the purpose. Sometime Cochleus would come in with his five eggs, and laboured to persuade Luther to desist from his purpose, and utterly refrain thenceforth to write or teach; and so they departed.

About evening the archbishop of Treves advised Luther by Ambdorff, that the emperor's promise made unto him was prolonged two days, and in the mean season he would confer with him the next day, and for that cause he would send Peutingger, and the doctor of Baden, (which was Vœus) the morrow after to him; and he himself would also talk with him.

The Friday after, which was St. Mark's day, Peutingger, and the doctor of Baden, travailed in forenoon to persuade Luther simply and absolutely to submit the judgment of his writings to the emperor and empire. He answered, he would do so, and submit any thing they would have him, so grounded with authority of Holy Scripture; or else he would not consent to do any thing against God said by his prophet, (saith he,) Trust ye not in princes, nor in the children of men, in whom is no health. Also, Cursed be he that trusteth in man. And seeing that they did urge him vehemently, he answered, "We ought to yield more to the judgment of men, than the word of God doth suffer." So they departed, and prayed to advise for better answer; and said, they would turn after dinner. And after dinner they returned, exhorting him as before, but in vain. They told him, that at least he would submit his writings to the judgment of the next general council. He agreed thereunto, but with this condition, that

themselves should present the articles collected out of his books to be submitted to the council, in such sort, as, notwithstanding the sentence awarded by the council, should be authorized by the Scripture, and confirmed with the testimonies of the same.

They then, leaving Luther, departed, and reported to the archbishop of Treves, that he had promised to submit his writings in certain articles to the next council, and in the mean space he would keep silence; which Luther never thought: who neither with admonitions, nor yet menaces, could be induced to deny or submit his books to the judgments of men, (he had so fortified his cause with clear and manifest authorities of the Scripture,) unless they could prove by sacred Scripture and apostolical reasons to the contrary.

It chanced then by the special grace of God, that the archbishop of Treves sent for Luther, thinking presently to hear him. And when he perceived otherwise than Pentinger and the doctor of Baden had told him, he said that he would for no good, but that he had heard himself speak; for else he never now going to the emperor, to declare what the doctors had reported.

Then the archbishop entreated Luther, and conferred with him very gently, first removing such as were present, as well of the one side as of the other. In this conference Luther concealed nothing from the archbishop; affirming, that it was dangerous to treat a matter of so great importance to them, but, after they had called him under safe-conduct, supplying him with new commandments, had listened his opinion and approved the pope's.

Moreover the archbishop, bidding a friend of his to be present, required Luther to declare what remedy should be ministered to help this. Luther answered, that there was no better remedy than such as was alleged in the fifth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, as witnesseth St. Luke, saying, If counsel, or this work, proceed of men, it shall be brought to nought; but if it be of God, ye cannot deny it. And so he desired that the emperor might be entreated to write the same to the pope, that he was certainly, if this his enterprise proceeded not, it would be abolished within three, yea, in two years.

The archbishop inquired of him what he would have certain articles were taken out of his books, and submitted to the general council. Luther answered, "So that they be not those which the council of Constance condemned." The archbishop said, "I fear they will be the very same; but what?" Luther replied, "I will not, nor I cannot, give peace of such, for I am sure by their de-

crees the word of God was condemned; therefore I will rather lose head and life, than abandon the manifest word of my Lord God."

Then the archbishop, seeing Luther would in no wise give over the word of God to the judgment of men, gently bade Luther farewell; who at that instant prayed the archbishop to entreat the emperor's Majesty to grant him gracious leave to depart. He answered, he would take order for him, and speedily advertise him of the emperor's pleasure.

Within a small while after, John Eckius, the archbishop's official, in the presence of the emperor's secretary, who had been Maximilian's chancellor, said unto Luther in his lodging, by the commandment of the emperor: that since he had been admonished diversely of the imperial Majesty, the electors, princes, and estates of the empire, and that, notwithstanding, he would not return to unity and concord, there remained that the emperor, as advocate of the catholic faith, should proceed further: and it was the emperor's ordinance, that he should in twenty-one days return boldly under safe-conduct, and be safely guarded to the place whence he came; so that in the mean while he stirred no commotion among the people in his journey, either in conference, or by preaching.

Luther, hearing this, answered very modestly and Christianly, "Even as it hath pleased God, so is it come to pass; the name of the Lord be blessed!" He said further, he thanked most humbly the emperor's Majesty, and all the princes and estates of the empire, that they had given to him benign and gracious audience, and granted safe-conduct to come and return. Finally, he said, he desired none other of them, than a reformation according to the sacred word of God, and consonancy of Holy Scriptures, which effectually in his heart he desired: otherwise he was pressed to suffer all chances for the imperial Majesty, as life, and death, goods, fame, and reproach; reserving nothing to himself, but the only word of God, which he would constantly confess to the latter end; humbly recommending him to the emperor's Majesty, and to all the princes and other estates of the sacred empire.

The morrow after, which was the six and twentieth day of April, after he had taken his leave of such as supported him, and other, his benevolent friends that oftentimes visited him, and had broken his fast, at ten of the clock he departed from Worms, accompanied with such as repaired thither with him; having space of time limited unto him, as is said, for one and twenty days, and no more. The emperor's herald, Casper Sturm, followed and overtook him at Oppenheim, being commanded by the emperor to conduct him safely home.

The usual prayer of Martin Luther.

"Confirm, O God ! in us that thou hast wrought, and perfect the work that thou hast begun in us, to thy glory : so be it."

Martin Luther, thus being dismissed of the emperor, according to the promise of his safe-conduct made, as you have heard, departed from Worms toward his country, the six and twentieth of April, accompanied with the emperor's herald, and the rest of his company, having only one and twenty days to him granted for his return, and no more. In the which mean space of his return he writeth to the emperor, and to other nobles of the empire, repeating briefly to them the whole action and order of things there done, desiring of them their lawful good will and favour ; which, as he hath always stood in need of, so now he most earnestly craveth, especially in this, that his cause, which is not his, but the cause of the whole church universal, may be heard with indifferency and equity, and may be decided by the rule and authority of Holy Scripture : signifying moreover, that whensoever they shall please to send for him, he shall be ready at their commandment, at any time or place, upon their promise of safety, to appear, &c.

During the time of these doings, the doctors and schoolmen of Paris were not behind with their parts, but, to show their cunning, condemned the books of Luther, extracting out of the same, especially out of the book *De Captivitate Babylonica*, certain articles as touching the sacraments, laws, and decrees of the church, equality of works, vows, contrition, absolution, satisfaction, purgatory, free-will, privileges of holy church, councils, punishment of heretics, philosophy, school-divinity, with other more. Unto whom Philip Melancthon maketh answer, and also Luther himself, albeit pleasantly and jestingly.

It was not long after this, but Charles, the new emperor, to purchase favour with the pope, (because he was not yet confirmed in his empire,) provideth and directeth out a solemn writ of outlawry against Luther, and all them that take his part ; commanding the said Luther, wheresoever he might be gotten, to be apprehended, and his books burned. By which decree, proclaimed against Luther, the emperor procured no small thank with the pope ; insomuch that the pope, ceasing to take part with the French king, joined himself wholly to the emperor. In the mean time Duke Frederic, to give some place for the time to the emperor's proclamation, conveyed Luther a little out of sight secretly, by the help of certain noblemen whom he well

knew to be faithful and trusty unto him in that half. There Luther, being close and out of company, wrote divers epistles, and certain books unto his friends ; among which he dedicated to his company of Augustine friars, entitled, *abroganda Missa* : which friars the same time being encouraged by him, began first to lay down their private masses. Duke Frederic, fearing that would breed some great stir or tumult, caused the censure and judgment of the whole university of Wittenberg to be asked in the matter ; committing the doing thereof to four ; Justus Jonas, Philip Melancthon, Nicholas Ambadorff, Johan Dulcius.

The minds of the whole university being cleared, it was showed to the duke, that he should well and godly, by the whole advice of the learned there, to command the use of the mass to be abrogated through his dominion : and though it could not be done without tumult, yet that was no let to the course of true doctrine should be stayed for multitude, which commonly overcometh the better part ; neither ought such disturbance to be imputed to the doctrine taught, but to the adversaries which willingly and wickedly kick against the truth, whereof Christ also giveth us forewarning before. For fear of such tumults therefore, ought not to surcease from that which we know to be done, but constantly must go forward in defence of God's truth, howsoever the world do esteem us, or rage against it. Thus showed they their judgment to Duke Frederic.

It happened moreover about the same year and time, that King Henry also, pretending an occasion to impugn the book *De Captivitate Babylonica* wrote against Luther. In which book, first, reproveth Luther's opinion about the pope's pardons ; secondly, he defended the supremacy of the bishop of Rome ; thirdly, he laboureth to refute his doctrine of the sacraments of the church.

This book, albeit it carried the king's name in the title, yet it was another that ministered the motion, another that framed the style. But whosoever had the labour of this book, the king had the thank and also the reward ; for consequently upon the same, the bishop of Rome gave to the said King Henry, for the style against Luther, the style in title of " Defender of the Christian Faith ; " and his successors for ever.

Shortly after this, within the compass of the same year, Pope Leo, after he had warred against the Frenchmen, and had gotten from them, through the emperor's aid, the cities of Parma, Placentia and Milan, &c., he, sitting at supper, and rejoicing at three great gifts that God had bestowed upon

him: first, that he, being banished out of his country, was restored to Florence again with glory; secondly, that he had deserved to be called apostolic; thirdly, that he had driven the Frenchmen out of Italy: after he had spoken these words, he was stricken with a sudden fever, and died shortly after, being of the age of forty-seven years; albeit some suspect that he died of poison. Successor to whom was Pope Adrian the Sixth, schoolmaster some time to Charles the emperor, who lived not much above one year and a half in his papacy; during whose small time these three especial things were incident: a great pestilence in Rome, wherein above a hundred thousand people were consumed; the loss of Rhodes by the Turk; and thirdly, the capital war which the said Pope Adrian, with the emperor, and the Venetians, and the king of England, did hold against Francis the French king. This Pope Adrian was a German born, brought up at Louvain, and as in learning he exceeded the common sort of popes, so in moderation of life and manners he seemed not altogether so intemperate as some other popes have been: and yet, like a right pope, nothing separating from his see, he was a mortal enemy against Martin Luther and his partakers. In his time, shortly after the council of Worms was broken up, another meeting or assembly was appointed by the emperor at Nuremberg, of the princes, nobles, and states of Germany, A. D. 1522.

Unto this assembly the said Adrian sent his letters in manner of a brief, with an instruction also unto his legate Cheregatus, to inform him how to proceed, and what causes to allege against Luther, before the princes there assembled. His letter, with the instruction sent, because they are so hypocritically beloved over with a fair show and colour of painting and religion, and beareth resemblance of the truth and care of the church, able to deceive the outward ears of them which are not inwardly in the religion instructed: I thought therefore to give the reader a sight thereof, to the intent that by the experience of them he may learn hereafter, in the like, to be prudent and circumspect in not being over-rashly the smooth talk or pretended persuasions of men, especially in church matters, but that they carry with them the simplicity of plain dealing; going not upon terms, but grounded upon the word and revealed will of God, with particular illustrations, proving that by the Scripture which they pretend to persuade. First, the letter of this is conceived and directed against Luther, principally in this effect:

Right honourable brethren, and dear children, the health and apostolic benediction. After that we have promoted (through God's divine provi-

dence) to the office of the see apostolic, he which hath so advanced us is our witness, how we, both day and night revolving in our minds, did cogitate nothing more than how to satisfy the parts of a good pastor, in attending to the health and cure of the flock, both universally and singularly committed unto us: so that there is no one particular sheep through the whole universal flock so infected, so sick, or so far gone astray, whom our desire is not to recover, to seek out, and to reduce into the Lord's fold again. And chiefly, from the first beginning of our pastoral function, our care hath always been, as well by our messengers, as our daily letters, how to reclaim the minds of Christian princes from these intestine wars and dissensions among themselves to peace and concord; or at least, if they would needs fight, that they would convert their strength and armour against the common enemies of our faith. And to declare this not only in word, but rather in deed, God doth know with what charges and expenses we have burdened ourselves, to extend our subsidy and relief to the soldiers of Rhodes for defence of themselves, and of the Christian faith, against the Turkish tyranny, by whom they were besieged.

"And now, to bend our care from these foreign matters, and to consider our inward troubles at home, we hear, to the great grief of our heart, that Martin Luther, a new raiser-up of old and damnable heresies, first after the fatherly advisements of the see apostolic; then after the sentence also of condemnation awarded against him, and that by the assent and consent of the best learned, and of sundry universities also; and lastly, after the imperial decree of our well-beloved son Charles, emperor of the Romans, and catholic king of Spain, being divulged through the whole nation of Germany; yet hath neither been by order restrained, nor of himself hath refrained from his madness begun, but daily more and more, forgetting and contemning all Christian charity and godliness, ceaseth not to disturb and replenish the world with new books, fraught full of errors, heresies, contumelies, and sedition, (whether upon his own head, or by the help of other,) and to infect the country of Germany, and other regions about, with this pestilence; and endeavoureth still to corrupt simple souls and manners of men, with the poison of his pestiferous tongue. And (which is worst of all) hath for his favourers and supporters, not of the vulgar sort only, but also divers personages of the nobility; insomuch that they have begun also to invade the goods of priests (which perhaps is the chief ground of this stir begun) contrary to their obedience which they owe to ecclesiastical and tem-

poral persons, and now also at last have grown unto civil war and dissension among themselves. Which thing how unfortunately it falleth out now, at this present season, especially amongst us Christians, you may soon repute with yourselves, and consider. For although the apostle hath told us before, That heresies must needs be, that they which be tried may be made manifest, &c., yet was there never time either so convenient to raise up heresies, or so necessary for the repressing thereof when any such are raised, as now: For whereas the devil, the perpetual enemy of mankind, roaring in the shape of a lion, by the power of the Turks doth continually invade the flock of Christ; how can we then resist the violent invasions of him oppressing us without, so long as we nourish at home the same devil, under the colour of a wily dragon, sowing such heresies, discords, and seditions among ourselves? And albeit it were in our power easily to vanquish these foreign adversaries, yet were that but labour lost, serving to no profit, to subdue our enemies without, and at home with heresies and schisms to be divided.

"We remember, before the time of our papacy, when we were in Spain, many things we heard then of Luther, and of his perverse doctrine; which rumours and tidings, although of themselves they were grievous to be heard, yet more grievous they were for this, because they proceeded out of that country, where we ourself, after the flesh, took our first beginning. But yet this comfort we had, supposing that either for the iniquity, or else for the foolishness thereof being so manifest, this doctrine would not long hold; reputed thus with ourself, that such pestiferous plants, translated from other countries into Germany, would never grow up to any proof in that ground, which was ever wont to be a weeder out of all heresies and infidelity. But now, since this evil tree (whether by God's judgment correcting the sins of the people, or by the negligence of such as first should have resisted such beginnings) hath so enlarged, and spread his branches so far; you therefore, both princes and people of Germany, must this consider and provide, lest you, which, at the first springing up of this evil, might peradventure be excused, as no doers thereof, now, through this your over-much sufferance, might be found inexcusable, and seem to consent to that which you do not resist.

"Here we omit and pass over, what enormity, and more than enormity, that is, that such a great and so devout a nation should by one friar (who, relinquishing the catholic faith and Christian religion, which he before professed, playeth the apostate, and hath lied to God) be now seduced from that way, which

first Christ our Redeemer and his blessed apostles have opened unto us; which so many martyrs, many holy fathers, so many great, learned men, also your own fore-elders, and old ancestors, always hitherto walked in; as though only Luther had all wit and cunning; as though he only first had received the Holy Ghost (as the heretic Montanus used to boast of himself); or as though the church (from which Christ our Saviour promysed himself never to depart) hath erred hitherto always in dark shadows of ignorance and perdition, till it should be illuminate with new resplendent beams of Luther. All which things there is no doubt to such as have judgment will seem ridiculous, yet may be pernicious to simple and ignorant minds, and to other, which being weary of all good order, and gape still for new changes, may breed matter and occasion of such mischiefs, as partly yourselves have experience already. And therefore do you consider, O princes and people of Germany! that these be but prefaces and preambles to those evils and mischiefs which Luther, with the sect of Lutherans, do intend and purpose hereafter?

Do you not see plainly, and perceive with your eyes, that this defending of the verity of the Gospel, which begun by the Lutherans to be pretended, is now manifest to be but an invention to spoil your goods, which they have long intended? or do you think that these sons of iniquity do tend to any other thing, than under the name of liberty to suppress obedience, and so to open a general licence to every man to do what him listeth? And suppose you think they will any thing regard your commandments, esteem your laws, which so contemptuously vilipend the holy canons and decrees of the fathers, yea, and the most holy councils also, (to whose authority the emperor's laws have always given room and place, and not only vilipend them, but also, with a diabolical audacity, have not feared to rend them in pieces, and set them on a lighted fire? They which refuse to render due obedience to priests, to bishops, yea, to the high bishop of all, and which daily before your own faces make their booties of church goods, and of things consecrated to God; think ye that they will refrain their sacrilegious hands from the spoil of laymen's goods? yea, that they will not pluck from you whatsoever they can rap or reave? Finally, to conclude, how can you hope that they will molest spare you, or hold their murdering hands from your throats, which have been so bold to vex, to kill, to slay the Lord's anointed, which are not to be touched? Nay, think you not contrary, but this miserable calamity will at length redound upon your goods, your houses, wives, children, dominions, possessions, and these your temples which you hallow

and reverence; except you provide some speedy remedy against the same.

"Wherefore we exhort your fraternities, nobilities, and devotions of all and singular in the Lord, and beseech you for Christian charity and religion, (for which religion your forefathers oftentimes have given their blood to uphold and increase the same,) and notwithstanding require you also, in virtue of that obedience which all Christians owe to God, and blessed St. Peter, and to his vicar here in earth, setting aside all other quarrels and dissensions among yourselves, you confer your helping hands to quench this public fire, and endeavour to study, the best way ye can, how to reduce the same to Martin Luther, and all other favourers of these sects and errors, to better conformity and trade of life and faith. And if they which be infected shall refuse to hear your admonitions, yet provide that the other part, which yet remaineth sound, be not by the same contagion be not corrupted. He, to whom all secrets of men are open, doth know how both for our nature, and also for our pastoral charge, whereto we are called, are much more prone to wrath, than to revenge. But when this pestiferous cancer cannot with supple and gentle medicine be cured, more sharp salves must be proved, and fiery scarrings. The putrefied members must be cut off from the body, lest the sound parts also be infected. So God did cast down into hell the rebellious brethren, Dathan and Abiram; and those that would not obey the authority of the priest, were commanded to be punished with death. So St. Paul, prince of the apostles, denounced sudden death unto Ananias and Sapphira, who lied unto God. The old and godly emperors commanded Jovinian and Priscillian, as heretics, to be beheaded. St. Jerome wished Vigilant, as a heretic, to be cast into the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. So also our predecessors in the council of Constance sent to death John Huss and his fellow Jerome, who now appeareth to revive again in Luther. worthy acts and examples of which forefathers, as in these doings (seeing otherwise ye cannot) imitate, we do not doubt but God's merciful hand shall ere long relieve his church; which, now sore vexed of infidels, hath her eyes principally directed upon you, as being the most puissant and most populous nation that we see in Christendom.

Wherefore, upon the blessing of Almighty God and of blessed St. Peter, which here we send you, take courage unto you, as well against the dragon, as the strong lion, that both these, as well the inward heresies, as the foreign

enemies, by you being overcome, you may purchase to your honours an immortal victory, both here and in the world to come. This we give you to understand, that whatsoever the Lord hath given us to aid you withal, either in money or authority, we will not fail to support you herein, yea, and to bestow our life also in this holy quarrel, and for the health of our sheep to us committed. Other things as touching the matter of Luther, we have committed to this Cheregatus our legate, whom we have directed purposely for the same unto your assembly, whom we wish you to credit, as being our trusty legate.

"Given at St. Peter's at Rome, under the ring of the fisher, the 25th day of November, A. D. 1522, in the first year of our pontificate."

y this letter above prefixed, thou hast, gentle reader! to note and understand, what either wily persuasions or strength of authority could devise against Luther, here not to have lacked. If plausible terms, or glosing sentences, or outward facing and bracing, could have served, where

no ground of Scripture is brought, this might seem apparently a pithy epistle. But if a man should require the particulars or the specialties of this doctrine which he here reprehendeth, to be examined and tried by God's word, there is no substance in it, but only words of office, which may seem well to serve for waste paper. And yet I thought to exhibit the said letter unto thee, to the intent that the more thou seest man's strength with all his policy bent against Luther, the more thou mayest consider the almighty power of God, in defending the cause of this poor man against so mighty enemies.

Now hear further what instructions the said Pope Adrian sent to his legate Cheregatus, how and by what reasons to move and inflame the princes of Germany to the destruction of Luther and his cause, and yet was not able to bring it to pass.

Instructions given by Pope Adrian to Cheregatus his legate, touching his proceedings in the diet of Nuremberg, how and by what persuasions to incense the princes against Luther.

"Imprimis, you shall declare to them the great grief of our heart for the prospering of Luther's sect, to see the innumerable souls, redeemed with Christ's blood, and committed to our pastoral government, to be turned away from the true faith and religion into perdition by this occasion; and

that especially in the nation of Germany, being our native country, which hath been ever heretofore, till these few years past, most faithful and devout in religion; and therefore our desire to be the greater that this pestilence should be stopped betimes, lest the same happen to that country of Germany, which happened of late to Bohemia. And as for our part, there shall be no lack to help forward what we may; as likewise we desire them to endeavour themselves to the uttermost of their power, whom these causes ought to move, which here we direct unto you to be declared unto them.

"First, the honour of God, which, before all other things, ought to be preferred, whose honour by these heresies is greatly defaced, and his worship not only diminished, but rather wholly corrupted. Also the charity toward our neighbour, by which charity every man is bound to reduce his neighbour out of error; otherwise God will require at their hands all such as by their negligence do perish.

"The second cause to move them against Luther, is the infamy of their nations; which, being counted beforetime always most Christian, now by these sectaries of Luther, is evil spoken of in all other quarters.

"The third cause is the respect of their own honour, which notoriously will be distained, if they which most excel in nobility and authority among the Germans, shall not bend all their power to expel these heresies: first, for that they shall appear to be degenerate from their progenitors, who, being present at the condemnation of John Huss and of other heretics, are said, some of them, with their own hands to have led John Huss to the fire. Secondly, for that they, or the greater part of them, approving with their authority the imperial edict set forth of late in condemnation of Martin Luther, now, except they shall follow the execution of the same, shall be noted inconstant, or may be thought to favour the same; seeing it is manifest, that they may easily exterminate him if they were disposed.

"The fourth cause is the injury wrought by Luther to them, their parents, and progenitors, forasmuch as their fathers, progenitors, and themselves also, have always holden the same faith which the catholic Church of Rome hath appointed; contrary to which faith Luther, with his sectaries, now doth hold, saying, that many things are not to be believed which their aforesaid ancestors have holden to be of faith. It is manifest, therefore, that they be condemned of Luther for infidels and heretics; and so consequently, by Luther's doctrine, all their forefathers and progenitors which have deceased in this our faith, be in hell; for error in faith importeth damnation.

"The fifth cause to move them is, that they should well advise and consider the end whereunto all these Lutherans do tend; which is, that under the shadow of evangelical liberty, they may abolish all superiority and power. For although, at the first beginning, they pretended only to annul and repress our power ecclesiastical, as being falsely and tyrannously usurped against the gospel; yet, forasmuch as liberty is all their foundation and pretence (by the which liberty, the secular power and magistrates cannot bind men by any commandments, if they never so just or so reasonable, to obey the under pain of mortal sin,) it is manifest that the scope is to enfeeble and infringe, as much or more the secular state also, although covertly they pretend to save it; to the end, that when the secular prince shall believe this their working not to be directed against them, but only against the usurped domination of the church and churchmen, then the laity (which commonly hath been always against men of the church,) holding with them, shall suffer churchmen to be devoured; which done, no doubt but they will afterward practise the like upon secular princes and potentates, which now they tempt against our ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

"The sixth clause to move and persuade them against Luther is this, for them to consider fruits which follow of that sect; as slanders, offences, disturbance, robberies, murders, seditions, divisions, which this sect hath, and daily doth stir through whole Germany: also blasphemies, slanderous words, scoffings, jests, and bitter taunts, which are ever in their mouths; against which, unless they shall find a present remedy, it is to be feared lest the desolation of God's wrath will fall upon Germany, being so divided; or rather upon the princes of Germany, who, having the sword of God into their hands for the suppression of such factors, suffer such enormities among their subjects. Cursed is he, (saith the prophet,) which doth work of the Lord negligently, and holdeth back the sword from the blood of wicked doers, Jer. xx.

"The seventh reason is, that the princes consider how Luther useth the same way of seeking the people of Christ, as hath the venomous Mahomet practised in deceiving so many thousands of souls, in permitting to them the liberty of things which flesh desireth, and afterward emptying them from such things as be more spiritual than the law; but that Luther a little more temporarily handleth the matter, whereby he may deceive effectually; for Mahomet giveth licence to have wives, and to divorce and marry others at the pleasure. This Luther, to draw unto him the faithful, nuns, monks, and priests, such as be lascivious

let, preacheth that vows of perpetual continency be lawful, and much less to be obligatory; and therefore permitteth unto them that they may marry; forgetting, by the way, what the apostle writeth of young widows, saying, That when they wax old against Christ, then will they marry; having condemnation, because they have made void their first faith, 1 Tim. v. 12.

These and other such-like reasons being opened and laid before them, you shall then in our name charge the aforesaid princes, prelates, and people, to use and employ their diligence how to gainstand, first, the injury of these Lutherans toward God, and toward his holy religion; secondly, their

been received and ratified by the consent, not of one, nor of a few, but of so many ages, so many wise heads, and of the catholic church, which God never permitteth to err in matters unto faith appertaining? And how can it otherwise be chosen, but that all must be full of disturbance, offences, and confusion, unless the things which have been once, yea, many times, by ripe judgment constituted, be observed of all men as inviolable? Wherefore, seeing Luther and his fellows do condemn the councils of holy fathers, do burn the holy canons, do confound all things at their pleasure, and do disquiet the whole world, what remaineth, but that they are to be rejected and exploded, as enemies and perturbors of public peace?

“Further, this you shall say unto them, that we confess ourselves, and deny not, but that God suffereth this persecution to be inflicted upon his church for the sins of men, especially of priests and prelates of the clergy. For certain it is, that the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that he cannot save; but our sins have divided between God and us; and therefore he hideth his face from us that he will not hear us. The Scripture testifieth, that the sins of the people do issue out from the sins of the priests. ‘And therefore,’ saith Chrysostom, ‘Christ, going about to cure the sick city of Jerusalem, first entered into the temple, to correct the sins of the priests, like a good physician, which first beginneth to cure the disease from the very root.’ We know that in this holy see there have been many abominable things of long time wrought and practised; as abuses in matters spiritual, and also excesses in life and manners, and all things turned clean contrary. And no marvel if the sickness, first beginning at the head, that is, at the high bishops, have descended afterwards to inferior prelates. All we (that is, prelates of the church) have declined every one after his own way; neither hath there been one that hath done good, no not one. Wherefore need it is, that all we give glory to God, and that we humble our souls to him, considering every one of us from whence he hath fallen; and that every one do judge himself, before he be judged of God in the rod of his fury. For the redress whereof you shall insinuate unto them, and promise in our behalf, that in us shall be lacking no diligence of a better reformation, first beginning with our own court: that like as this contagion first from thence descended into all the inferior parts, so reformation and amendment of all that is amiss, from the same place again, shall take his beginning; whereunto they shall find us so much the more ready, for that we see the whole world so desirous of the same. We ourselves, as you know,

never sought this dignity, but rather coveted, if we otherwise might, to lead a private life, and in a quiet state to serve God; and also would utterly have refused the same, had not the fear of God, and the manner of our election, and misdoubting of some schism to follow after, have urged us to take it. And thus took we the burden upon us, not for any ambition of dignity, or to enrich our friends and kinsfolks, but only to be obedient to the will of God, and for reformation of the catholic church, and for relief of the poor, and especially for the advancement of learning and learned men, with such other things more as appertaineth to the charge of a good bishop and lawful heir of St. Peter. And though all errors, corruptions, and abuses be not straightways amended by us, men ought not thereat to marvel. The sore is great, and far grown, and is not single, but of manifold maladies together compacted; and therefore to the curing thereof we must proceed by little and little, first beginning to cure the greater and the most dangerous, lest, while we intend to amend all, we destroy all. 'All sudden mutations,' saith Aristotle, 'in a commonwealth, are perilous;' and, He that wringeth too hard, straineth out blood, Prov. xxx.

"And whereas in your last letters you wrote, that the princes complain, how this see hath been, and is, prejudicial to their ordinances and agreements, hereunto you shall thus answer: that such excesses, which have been done before our time, ought not to be imputed to us, who always have misliked these derogations; and therefore bid them so assure themselves, that though they had required no such matter, we of our own accord would have refrained the same; partly for that it is good, right, and reason, that every one have that which is due unto him; and partly also that the said noble nation of Germany shall have by us no hinderance, but furtherance rather, so much as in us shall lie to do for them.

"And as touching the processes which they desired to have removed away *a rota*, and to be referred down to the parties, you shall signify unto them, that we will gratify them herein as much as honestly we may. But because our auditors are now presently absent from the city, by reason of the plague, we cannot be informed as yet touching the quality of those processes. As soon as they shall return, (which we hope will be shortly,) we shall do in the princes' favour what reasonably we may.

"Further: whereas we understand, that there be many fresh, flourishing wits in Germany, and many well-learned men, which are not seen unto, but be rejected and unlooked to, while in the mean time, through the apostolical provisions, dignities and promotions are bestowed upon tapsters and

dancers, and unfit persons; we will, therefore, you inquire out what those learned men are, what be their names, to the intent that when such vacation of benefices in Germany doth fall, of our voluntary motion, may provide for them cordingly. For why? we consider how much against God's glory, and against the health and edification of souls, that benefices and dignities the church have now so long time been bestowed upon unworthy and unable persons.

"As touching the subsidy for the Hungarians, send no other information to you, but that which gave you at your departure; save only that we you to extend your diligence therein, as we also do the like, in soliciting the matter with the princes and cities of Italy, that every one may help at his ability."

These popish suggestions and instructions of pope himself against Luther, I thought, Christian reader! to set before thine eyes, to the intent thou mayst see here (as in a pattern, and go no further) all the crimes, objections, exclamations, suspicions, accusations, slanders, offenses, contumelies, rebukes, untruths, cavillations, railings, whatsoever they have devised, or can devise, invent, articulate, denounce, infer, or surmise, against Luther and his teaching. They cry, Heresy, heresy! but thou prove no heresy. They cry, Councils, councils, and yet none transgresseth councils more than themselves. If councils go always with Scripture, then Luther goeth with them; if councils do sometimes from the Scripture, what heresy is Luther in standing with Scripture against the councils? And yet neither hath he hitherto spoken against any councils, save only the council of Constance. They inflame kings and princes against Luther, and yet they have no cause whereof. They accuse him for teaching liberty. If they mean the liberty of the flesh, they accuse him falsely; they mean the liberty of the spirit, they teach wickedly which teach contrary: and yet when thou have all said, none live so licentiously as themselves. They pretend the zeal of the church, but under the church lieth their own private welfare and belly-charges. They charge Luther with disobedience, and none are so disobedient to magistrates and civil laws as they. They lay to his charge oppression and spoiling of laymen's goods; and who spoileth the laymen's livings so much as the pope? For probation hereof, let the pope's accounts be cast, what he raketh out of every Christian realm. Briefly, touching only the names of the persons, and instead of Luther's name, place the name of the pope, and the effect of this letter above prefixed shall agree upon

more aptly than upon the pope himself and his
secularia.

Now to proceed further in the process of this
said matter, let us see what the princes again
in their parts answer to these aforesaid suggestions
and instructions of Pope Adrian, sent unto them in
the diet of Nuremberg, in the cause of Luther: the
sum of whom here followeth underwritten:

The noble and renowned prince Lord Ferdinand,
lieutenant to the emperor's Majesty, with other
honoured peers in Christ, and mighty princes elect-
ors, and other states and orders of this present
assembly of the Roman empire in Nuremberg con-
gred, have gratefully received, and diligently
perused, the letters sent in form of a brief, with the
contents also of the most holy father in Christ
our lord, Lord Adrian, the high bishop of the holy
and universal Church of Rome, presented unto them
in the cause of Luther's faction. By the which
aforesaid letters and writings, first, whereas they un-
derstand his Holiness to have been born, and to have
his native origin and parentage out of this noble
realm of Germany, they do not a little rejoice.
Of whose egregious virtues and ornaments, both of
soul and body, they have heard great fame and
celebration, even from his tender years: by rea-
son whereof they are so much the more joyous of
his advancement and preferment. by such consent
and election, to the high top of the apostolical dignity,
and yield to God most hearty thanks for the same:
praising also, from the bottom of their hearts, for his
excellent clemency, and perpetual glory of his name,
and for health of souls, and purity of the uni-
versal church, that God will give his Holiness long
continuance of felicity: having no misdoubt but that
by such a full and consenting election of such a
prince of the universal catholic church, great profit
and commoditie will ensue. Which thing to hope
and thank for, his Holiness openeth to them an evident
dedication in his own letters, testifying and pro-
fessing what a care it is to him both day and night,
how to discharge his pastoral function, in studying
for the health of the flock to him committed; and
especially in converting the minds of Christian
princes from war to peace. Declaring moreover
what subsidy and relief his Holiness hath sent to the
city of Rhodes, &c. All which things they, per-
ceiving with themselves, conceive exceeding hope
and comfort in their minds, thus reputing and trust-
ing that this concord of Christian princes will be a
great help and stay to the better quieting of things
now out of frame; without which neither the state
of the commonwealth nor of Christian religion can
be rightly redressed, and much less the tyranny of
the barbarous Turks repressed.

"Wherefore the excellent prince, lord lieutenant
to the emperor's Majesty, with the other princes
electors, and orders of this present assembly, most
heartily do pray, that his Holiness will persist in this
his purpose and diligence, as he hath virtuously be-
gun, leaving no stone unremoved, how the disagre-
ing hearts of Christian princes may be reduced to
quiet and peace; or if that will not be, yet at least
some truce and intermission of domestical dissen-
sions may be obtained for the necessity of the time
now present, whereby all Christians may join their
powers together, with the help of God, to go against
the Turk, and to deliver the people of Christ from
his barbarous tyranny and bondage; whereunto
both the noble prince lord lieutenant, and other
princes of Germany, will put to their helping hands,
to the best of their ability.

"And whereas by the letters of his Holiness, with
his instruction also exhibited unto them by his le-
gate, they understand that his Holiness is afflicted
with great sorrow for the prospering of Luther's
sect, whereby innumerable souls committed to his
charge are in danger of perdition, and therefore his
Holiness vehemently desireth some speedy remedy
against the same to be provided, with an explication
of certain necessary reasons and causes, whereby to
move the German princes thereunto; and that they
will tender the execution of the apostolic sentence,
and also of the emperor's edict set forth touching
the suppressing of Luther: To these the lord lieu-
tenant, and other princes and states, do answer, that
it is to them no less grief and sorrow than to his
Holiness; and also do lament as much for these im-
pieties and perils of souls, and inconveniences which
grow in the religion of Christ, either by the sect of
Luther, or any otherwise. Further, what help or
counsel shall lie in them for the extirpating of errors,
and decay of souls' health, what their moderation
can do, they are willing and ready to perform; con-
sidering how they stand bound and subject, as well to
the pope's Holiness, as also to the emperor's Majesty.
But why the sentence of the apostolic see, and the
emperor's edict against Luther, hath not been put
in execution hitherto, there have been (said they)
causes great and urgent, which have led them
thereto: as first, in weighing and considering with
themselves, that great evils and inconveniences would
thereupon ensue. For the greatest part of the peo-
ple of Germany have always had this persuasion,
and now, by reading of Luther's books, are more
therein confirmed, that great grievances and incon-
veniences have come to this nation of Germany by
the court of Rome: and therefore, if they should
have proceeded with any rigour in executing the
pope's sentence, and the emperor's edict, the mul-

itude would conceive and suspect in their minds, this to be done for subverting the verity of the gospel, and for supporting and confirming the former abuses and grievances, whereupon great wars and tumults, no doubt, would have ensued: which thing unto the princes and states there hath been well perceived by many arguments; for the avoiding whereof, they thought to use more gentle remedies, serving more opportunely for the time.

"Again, whereas the reverend lord legate (said they) in the name of the pope's Holiness, hath been instructed, to declare unto them, that God suffereth this persecution to rise in the church for the sins of men, and that his Holiness doth promise therefore to begin the reformation with his own court, that as the corruption first sprang from thence to the inferior parts, so the redress of all again should first begin with the same. Also, whereas his Holiness, of a good and fatherly heart, doth testify in his letters, that he himself did always mislike that the court of Rome should intermeddle so much, and derogate from the concordats of the princes, and that his Holiness doth fully purpose in that behalf, during his papacy, never to practise the like, but so to endeavour, that every one, and especially the nation of the Germans, may have their proper due and right, granting especially to the said nation his peculiar favour: who seeth not by these premises, but that this most holy bishop omitteth nothing which a good father, or a devout pastor, may or ought to do to his sheep? or who will not be moved hereby to a loving reverence, and to amendment of his defaults, namely, seeing his Holiness so intendeth to accomplish the same in deed, which in word he promiseth, according as he hath begun?

"And thus undoubtedly both the noble lord lieutenant, and all other princes and states of the empire, well hope that he will, and pray most heartily that he may do, to the glory of our eternal God, to the health of souls, and to the tranquillity of the public state. For unless such abuses and grievances, with certain other articles also, which the secular princes (assigned purposely for the same) shall draw out in writing, shall be faithfully reformed, there is no true peace and concord between the ecclesiastical and secular estates, nor any true extirpation of this tumult and errors in Germany, that can be hoped. For partly by long wars, partly by reason of other grievances and hinderances, this nation of Germany hath been so wasted and consumed in money, that scarcely it is able to sustain itself in private affairs, and necessary upholding of justice within itself; much less then to minister aid and succour to the kingdom of Hungary, and to the Croatians, against the Turk. And whereas all the

states of the sacred Roman empire do not doubt, but the pope's Holiness doth right well understand how the German princes did grant and condescend for the money of annats to be levied to the use of Rome for term of certain years, upon condition that the said money should be converted to maintain war against the Turkish infidels, and for defence of the catholic faith: and whereas the term of these year is now expired long since, when the said annat should be gathered, and yet that money hath not been so bestowed to that use, whereto it was first granted; therefore if any such necessity should now come, that any public helps or contributions against the Turk should be demanded of the German people they would answer again, Why is not that money of annats, reserved many years before to that use now to be bestowed and applied? and so would they refuse to receive any more such burdens of that cause to be laid upon them.

"Wherefore the said lord lieutenant, and other princes and degrees of the empire, make earnest petition, that the pope's Holiness will with a fatherly consideration expend the premises, and surcease hereafter to require such annats, which are accustomed after the death of bishops and other prelates or ecclesiastical persons, to be paid to the court of Rome, and suffer them to remain to the chambers of the empire, whereby justice and peace may be more commodiously administered, the tranquillity of the public state of Germany maintained; and also the same, due helps may be ordained and dispensed to other Christian potentates in Germany, against the Turk, which otherwise without the same it to be hoped for.

"Item, Whereas the pope's Holiness desired to be informed, what way were best to take in removing these errors of the Lutherans: to this the lord lieutenant, with other princes and nobles, do answer that whatsoever help or counsel they can devise with willing hearts they will be ready to give. Seeing therefore the state, as well ecclesiastical as temporal, is far out of frame, and have so corrupted their ways; and seeing not only the emperor's part, and of his sect, but also by divers occasions besides, so many errors, abuses, and corruptions have crept in; much requisite and necessary it is, that some effectual remedy be provided as well for redress of the church, as also for removing the Turk's tyranny. Now what more proper effectual remedy can be had, the lord lieutenant, other estates and princes, do not see, than that the pope's Holiness, by the consent of the emperor's Majesty, do summon a free Christian council in some convenient place of Germany, as at Strasburg, at Mentz, or at Cologne, or at Metz; and that

such speed as conveniently may be, so that the congregating of the said council be not deferred above one year: in the which council it may be useful for every person that there shall have interest, either temporal or ecclesiastical, freely to speak and speak, to the glory of God, and health of souls, to the public wealth of Christendom, without impeachment or restraint; whatsoever oath or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding: yea, and it shall be every good man's part there to speak, not only freely, but to speak that which is true, to the purpose; and to edifying, and not to pleasing or flattering; but simply and uprightly to declare his judgment, without all fraud or guile. And as touching the best ways these errors and tumults of the German people may best be stayed and pacified in the mean time, until the council be set, the aforesaid lord lieutenant, with the other princes, thereupon have consulted and deliberated; that forasmuch as Luther, and certain of his fellows, be within the territory and dominion of the noble Duke Frederic, the said duke's lieutenant and other states of the empire shall advise the matter with the aforesaid prince, Duke of Saxony, that Luther and his followers shall not write, set forth, or print any thing during the said space; neither do they doubt but that the said noble prince of Saxony, for his Christian duty, and obedience to the Roman empire, as becometh a prince of such excellent virtue, will effectually condescend to the same.

Item, The said lord lieutenant and princes shall labour so with the preachers of Germany, that they shall not in their sermons teach or blow into the people's ears such matter, whereby the multitude may be moved to rebellion or uproar, or be induced into error; and that they shall preach and teach nothing but the true, pure, sincere, and holy gospel, and approved Scripture, godly, mildly, and Christianly, according to the doctrine and exposition of the Scripture; being approved and received of Christ's church, abstaining from all such things which are better unknown than learned of the people, and which to be subtilly searched, or deeply discussed, it is not expedient. Also, that they shall move no contention of disputation among the vulgar sort; but whatsoever hangeth in controversy, the same they shall reserve to the determination of the council to come.

Item, The archbishops, bishops, and other prelates within their diocesses, shall assign godly and learned men, having good judgment in the Scriptures, which shall diligently and faithfully attend upon such preachers: and if they shall perceive the said preachers either to have erred, or to have uttered any thing inconveniently, they shall godly, mild-

ly, and modestly advertise and inform them thereof, in such sort as no man shall justly complain the truth of the gospel to be impeached. But if the preachers, continuing still in their stubbornness, shall refuse to be admonished, and will not desist from their lewdness, then shall they be restrained and punished by the ordinaries of the place, with punishment for the same convenient.

"Furthermore, the said princes and nobles shall provide and undertake, so much as shall be possible, that, from henceforth, during the aforesaid time, no new book shall be imprinted, especially none of these famous libels, neither shall they privily or apertly be sold. Also, order shall be taken amongst all potentates, that if any shall set out, sell, or imprint any new work, it shall first be seen and perused of certain godly, learned, and discreet men appointed for the same; so that if it be not admitted and approved by them, it shall not be permitted to be published in print, or to come abroad. Thus, by these means, they hope well, that the tumults, errors, and offences among the people shall cease; especially if the pope's Holiness himself shall begin with an orderly and due reformation, in the aforesaid grievances above mentioned, and will procure such a free and Christian council as hath been said; and so shall the people be well contented and satisfied. Or if the tumult shall not so fully be calmed as they desire, yet the greater part thus will be quieted; for all such as be honest and good men, no doubt, will be in great expectation of that general council, so shortly, and now ready at hand, to come. Finally, as concerning priests which contract matrimony, and religious men leaving their cloisters, whereof intimation was also made by the apostolical legate, the aforesaid princes do consider, that forasmuch as in the civil law there is no penalty for them ordained, they shall be referred to the canonical constitutions, to be punished thereafter accordingly; that is, by the loss of their benefices and privileges, or other condign censures: and that the said ordinaries shall in no case be stopped or inhibited by the secular powers, from the correction of such: but that they shall add their help and favour to the maintenance of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and shall direct out their public edicts and precepts, that none shall impeach or prohibit the said ordinaries in their ecclesiastical castigation, upon such transgressors to be administered.

"To conclude; the redoubted prince, lord lieutenant, and other princes, estates, and orders of the public empire, vehemently and most heartily do pray and beseech, that the pope's Holiness, and the reverend lord his legate, will accept and take all the premises to be no otherwise spoken and meant,

than of a good, free, sincere, and a Christian mind : neither is there any thing that all the aforesaid princes, estates, and nobles, do more wish and desire, than the furtherance and prosperous estate of the holy catholic Church of Rome, and of his Holiness ; to whose wishes, desires, and obedience, they offer and commend themselves most ready and obsequious, as faithful children."

Thus hast thou, loving reader ! the full discourse both of the pope's letter, and of his legate's instructions, with the answer also of the states of Germany to the said letter and instructions to them exhibited in the diet of Nuremberg : in the which diet what was concluded, and what order and consultation was taken, first touching the grievances of Germany, which they exhibited to the pope, then concerning a general council to be called in Germany, also for printing, and preaching, and for priests' marriage, hath been likewise declared, &c.

The occasion of this matter, moved against priests' marriage, came first by the ministers of Strasburg, which about this time began to take wives, and therefore were cited by the bishop of Strasburg to appear before him at a certain day, as violators of the laws of holy church, the holy fathers, the bishops of Rome, and of the emperor's Majesty, to the prejudice both of their own order of priesthood, and majesty of Almighty God : but they referred their cause to the hearing of the magistrates of the same city ; who, being suitors for them unto the bishops, laboured to have the matter either released, or at least to be delayed for a time.

Long it were to recite all the circumstances following upon this diet or assembly of Nuremberg, how their decree was received of some, of some neglected, of divers diversely wrested and expounded. Luther, writing his letters upon the same decree to the princes, thus made his exposition of the meaning thereof : that whereas the preachers were commanded to preach the pure gospel, after the doctrine of the church received, he expounded the meaning thereof to be, not after the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas, or Scotus, or such other late school writers, but after the doctrine of Hilary, Cyprian, and Austin, and other ancient doctors ; and yet the doctrine of the said ancestors no further to be received, but as they should agree with the Scripture.

Secondly, As concerning new books not to be sold nor printed, he expounded the meaning thereof to extend no further, but that the text of the Bible and books of the Holy Scripture might be printed notwithstanding, and published to all men.

And as for the prohibition of priests' marriage, he writeth to the princes, and desireth them to bear

with the weakness of men ; declaring that brand of their decree to be very hard, which though it standeth with the pope's law, yet it accordeth not with the gospel, neither conduceth to good manner nor to honesty of life, &c.

Furthermore, Whereas in the same session at Nuremberg, mention was made before of certain grievances collected to the number of a hundred and exhibited to the bishop of Rome, it were tedious likewise to insert them all ; yet to give some taste of a few I judge it not unprofitable, to the intent that the world may see and judge, not on what abuses and corruptions, most monstrous and incredible, lay hid under the glorious title of the holy Church of Rome, but also may understand with what hypocrisy and impudence the pope taketh upon him so grievously to complain upon Master Luther and others ; when in all the universal church of Christ, there is none so much to be blamed in manner of ways, as he himself, according as by the heinous complaints of the German princes, here following, against the pope's intolerable oppressions and grievances, may right well appear. Where grievances being collected by the princes of Germany at Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred I wish might be fully and at large set forth to the studious reader, whereby might appear the sleights and intolerable frauds of that pretentious church. But forasmuch as it were too long to comprehend the whole, I have thought good to express some part thereof for example, as giving of certain taste, whereby thou mayest more easily conceive what to think and esteem of all the rest, which both to me would be tedious to write perhaps more grievous to thee to hear.

Certain grievances or oppressions of Germany against the court of Rome, collected and exhibited by the princes, at the council of Nuremberg, to the number of a hundred, wherein certain specialties here follow.

Forbidding of marriage in divers degrees forbidden by God's law.

Forbidding of meats, not forbidden by God
Of times of marriage restrained, and after released for money.

Complaint for selling remission of sins for money.

But especially the burden and grievance of the pope's indulgences and pardons be most intolerable ; when the bishops of Rome, under pretence of building some church in Rome, or to war against the Turk, do make out their indulgences with bulls ; persuading and promising to the simple strange and wonderful benefits of remission of *pœna et culpa*, that is, from all their sin

payment due for the same, and that not in this life only, but also after this life, to them that be dead, burning in the fire of purgatory. Through the hope and occasion thereof, true piety is almost extinct in all Germany, while every evil-disposed person promiseth to himself, for a little money, licence and impunity to do what him listeth: whereupon followeth fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, homicide, robbing and spoiling, rapine, usury, with a whole flood of all mischiefs, &c.

Complaint against the immunities of clergymen.

Complaint of excommunication being abused in Church of Rome.

Complaint that the church is burdened with a number of holidays, which ought to be diminished.

The suspending and hallowing of church-yards complained of, gainful to the pope, and chargeable to the people.

Complaint against officials, and other ecclesiastical judges.

How the ecclesiastical judges do annex certain civil causes, being lay matters, unto their own jurisdiction, and will by no means release the same, but for money.

The gain that riseth to the clergy by false slanderous rumours.

Complaint against spiritual judges taking securities from the civil magistrates, for gain of money.

Complaint against ecclesiastical judges interfering with cases of the secular court, but will suffer their cases once to be touched of the secular court.

Complaint against certain misorders of cathedral chapters, for using double punishment for one offence, against the law.

Complaint of officials for maintaining unlawful

Complaint of officials permitting unlawful cohabitation, when the husband or wife is long

al churches, which
them before he be

tions or impropri-
people by church-

complained of.

compelled to pay

and their officials
concubines, so that
r, but also compel
live without con-
sines, affirming that

the bishop hath need of money: which being paid, it shall be lawful for them either to live chaste, or keep concubines. How wicked a thing this is, every man doth well understand and know.

these, with many other burdens and grievances more, to the number of a hundred, the secular states of Germany delivered to the pope's legate; having (as they said) many more and more grievous grievances besides these, which

had likewise much need of redress: but because they would not exceed the limits of reasonable brevity, they would content themselves (they said) with these aforesaid hundred, reserving the rest to a more apt and more convenient opportunity; steadfastly trusting and hoping, that when those hundred grievances already by them declared, should be abolished, the other would also decay and fall with them. Of the which aforesaid grievances and complaints here is moreover to be noted, that a great part was offered up before to the emperor at the council of Worms; but because no redress thereof did follow, therefore the secular states of Germany thought good to exhibit the same now again, with divers more annexed thereunto, to Cheregatus, the pope's legate in this present assembly of Nuremberg, desiring him to present the same to Pope Adrian. This was about A. D. 1523; which being done, the assembly at Nuremberg brake up for a time, and was prorogued to the next year following.

In this mean time Pope Adrian died. After him succeeded Pope Clement the Seventh, who, the next year following, which was A. D. 1524, sent down his legate, Cardinal Campeius, unto the council of the German princes assembled again at Nuremberg, about the month of March, with letters also to Duke Frederic, full of many fair petitions and sharp complaints, &c. But as touching the grievances above-mentioned, no word nor message at all was sent, neither by Campeius, nor by any other. Thus, where any thing was to be complained of against Luther, either for suppression of the liberty of the gospel, or for upholding of the pope's dignity, the pope was ever ready with all diligence to call upon the princes; but where any redress was to be required for the public wealth of Christian people, or touching the necessary reformation of the church, herein the pope neither giveth ear nor answer.

And thus, having discoursed such matters occurrent between the pope and princes of Germany at the synod of Nuremberg, let us now proceed, returning again to the story of Luther, of whom ye heard before, how he was kept secret and solitary for a time, by the advice and conveyance of certain nobles in Saxony, because of the emperor's edict above-mentioned. In the mean time, while Luther had thus absented himself out of Wittenberg, Andreas Carolostadt, proceeding more roughly and eagerly in causes of religion, had stirred up the people to throw down images in the temples, besides other things more. For the which cause Luther, returning again into the city, greatly disliked the order of their doings, and reproved the rashness of Carolostadt, declaring that their proceedings herein were not orderly, but that pictures and images ought first to be thrown out of the hearts and consciences of men; and that the people ought first to be taught that they are to be saved before God, and please him only by faith; and that images serve to no purpose: this done, and the people well instructed, there was no danger in images, but they would fall of their own accord. Not that he repugned to the contrary, (he said,) as though he would maintain images to stand or to be suffered, but that this ought to be done by the magistrate; and not by force, upon every private man's head, without order and authority.

Furthermore, Luther, writing of Carolostadt, affirmeth, that he also joined with the sentence of them which began then to spread about certain parts of Saxony, saying, that they were taught of God that all wickedness being utterly suppressed, and all the wicked doers slain, a new full perfection of all things must be set up, and the innocent only to enjoy all things, &c.

The cause why Luther so stood against that violent throwing down of images, and against Carolostadt, seemeth partly to arise of this, by reason that Pope Adrian, in his letters sent to the princes and states of Germany, doth grievously complain and charge the sect of Luther for sedition and tumults, and rebellion against magistrates, as subverters and destroyers of all order and obedience, as appeareth by the words of the pope's letter before expressed; therefore Martin Luther, to stop the mouth of such slanderers, and to prevent such sinister suspicions, was enforced to take this way as he did; that is, to proceed as much as he might by order and authority.

Wherein are to be noted by the way two special points touching the doctrine and doings of Martin Luther, especially for all such who in these our days now, abusing the name and authority of Luther,

think themselves to be good Lutherans, if they suffer images still to remain in temples, and admit such things in the church, which themselves do wish to be away. The first is, the manner how and a what sort Luther did suffer such images to stand for although he assented not, that the vulgar private multitude tumultuously by violence should rap them down; yet that is no argument now to the magistrate to let them stand. And though allowed not the ministers to stir up the people forcible means to promote religion; yet that gueth not those magistrates to be good Lutherans which may and should remove them, and v. not.

The second point to be noted is, to consider the cause why that Luther did so stand with standing images; which cause was time, and not his own judgment; for albeit in judgment he wished the away, yet time so served not thereunto then. as serveth now: for then the doctrine of Luther, it beginning to spring, and being but in the blade was not yet known whereto it tended, nor what it would grow, but rather was suspected to tend to disobedience and sedition; and therefore the pope, hearing of the doings of Carolostadt in Wittenberg, and of other like, took his ground thereby to charge the sect of Luther with sedition, uproars, and dissolute liberty of life. And this was the cause why Luther (compelled thereby by necessity of time to save his doctrine from slander of sedition and tumult being laid to him by the pope, as ye have heard) was so much offended with Carolostadt and others, for their violence used against images. For otherwise, had it not been for the pope's accusations, there is no doubt but Luther would have been as well contented with abolishing of images, and other monuments of popery, as he was at the same time contented to write to the Friars Augustine for abrogating of private masses. And therefore as Luther in this doing is to be excused, the circumstances considered, so the like excuse, perhaps, will not serve the over-much curious imitation of certain Lutherans in this present age now; which, considering only the fact of Luther, do not mark the purpose of Luther, neither do expend the circumstances and time of his doings; being not much unlike to the ridiculous imitators of King Alexander the Great, which thought it not sufficient to follow him in his virtues, but they would also counterfeit him in his stooping, and all other gestures besides. But to these living now in the church, in another age than Luther did, it may seem, after my mind, sufficient to follow the same way after Luther, or to walk with Luther to the kingdom of Christ, though they jump not also in every

step of of his, and keep even the same pace and
ings in all points as he did.*

And contrariwise, of the other sort, much less are
to be commended, which running as much on
a contrary string, are so precise, that because of
a small blemish, or for a little stooping of Luther
the sacrament, therefore they give clean over the
g of Luther, and fall almost into utter con-
t of his books: whereby is declared, not so
much the niceness and curiousness of these our
age, as the hinderance that cometh thereby to the
church is greatly to be lamented. For albeit the
church of Christ (praised be the Lord) is not un-
provided of sufficient plenty of worthy and learned
men, able to instruct in matters of doctrine; yet
the chief points of our consolation, where the
joy of Christ, and the power of his passion, and
length of faith, are to be opened to our conscience;
and where the soul, wrestling for death and life,
standeth in need of serious consolation, the same

may be said of Martin Luther, among all this other
variety of writers, that St. Cyprian was wont to say of
Tertullian, "Give me my master." And albeit that
Luther went a little awry, and dissented from Zu-
inglius, in this one matter of the sacrament; yet in
all other states of doctrine they did accord, as ap-
peared in the synod holden at Marburg, by Prince
Philip, landgrave of Hesse, which was A. D. 1529,
where both Luther and Zuinglius were present, and,
conferring together, agreed in these articles:

"1. On the Unity and Trinity of God. 2. In
the incarnation of the Word. 3. In the passion and,
resurrection of Christ. 4. In the article of original sin.
5. In the article of faith in Christ Jesus. 6. That this
faith cometh not of merits, but by the gift of God.
7. That this faith is our righteousness. 8. Touch-
ing the extern word. 9. Likewise they agreed in
the articles of baptism. 10. Of good works. 11.
Of confession. 12. Of magistrates. 13. Of men's
traditions. 14. Of baptism of infants. 15. Lastly,

* A Roman Catholic bishop, Dr. Milner, in his *Letters to
the Bishop*, (seventh edition, London, 1825, pp. 113—118,)
introduced as with a series of the coarsest expressions which
could be selected from the writings of Luther, to deduce from
them that Luther's morality was prostrated, that his sentiments
were depraved, and that his motives and actions were the result
of pride, bigotry, and ambition. Dr. Milner closes his ob-
jections with these words, "There are other passages in great
number, too indecent to admit of being translated at all; in-
stead I must blush to soil my paper with transcribing some of
them into my notes below, in the original Latin." This learn-
ed doctor of the popish church shrinks, with wonted modesty,
from his own translation of Luther's addresses to his royal an-
tagonist Henry the Eighth; but how would his delicacy have
been offended had he heard Mr. John Clark, the king's orator,
before the Consistory of Leo the Tenth, (in presenting his
master's book to that spiritual head of the church,) break out
into such epithets as these which follow; unless, indeed, they
were deemed execrable, as spoken of "an execrable, venom-
ous, and pernicious heretic." [See page 1 of Henry the Eighth's
own book, entitled, *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*. Faith-
fully translated, &c., by T. W., gent., London, 1688.] The
same denounces Luther as "this furious monster," with "his
sharp and poisonous, whereby he intends to infect the whole
world." Or again, "What so hot and inflamed force of
speaking can be invented sufficient to declare the crime of that
most filthy villain?" [see page 2.] Or, in reading forward,
how would his ear have been jarred with the expressions, "idol
and vain phantom," "a mad dog, to be dealt with drawn
sword," and "a viper's madness!" How startling to hear
these times repeated from the mouth of the most holy father
Pope Leo, the title of "terrible monster;" or to hear him, the
head of a church that professes to be no persecutor of protest-
ants, (because she persecutes all heretics alike,) speak in definite
terms of "driving away from our Lord's flock the wolves; and
cutting off, with the material sword, the rotten members that
infect the mystical body of Christ:" [see the pope's bull to
King Henry.] And, lastly, how would the tender feelings of
Dr. Milner have been wounded had he read King Henry's
own words, in his "Address to the Reader," animadverting upon
Luther as "one risen up, who, by the instigation of the devil,
under pretext of charity, stimulated with anger and hatred,
spoke out the poisons of vipers against the church!" Again,

how inconsistent with the meekness of Christianity, for the
Defender of the Faith to speak thus of Luther: "Oh, that de-
testable trumpeter of pride, calumnies, and schisms! what an
infernal wolf, &c., what a great member of the devil is he!" &c.
Every Christian mind must deeply regret the coarse and vul-
gar expressions used by the orator, the pope, the king, and
Luther, in common with other writers of that age: that such
should have been the expressions of Luther is deeply to be la-
mented, as the life and conversation of Christians should be
characteristic of the religion which they profess: at the same
time it will be perceived, that Luther was the more readily
betrayed into errors of this kind in consequence of the bold and
uncompromising character of his mind, a quality as much to be
admired by every protestant, as it was dreaded by the papists:
they could not refute his arguments, founded upon Scripture;
they dared not injure his person, beloved and esteemed by the
people. That the tender mercies of the Romish Church would
not have spared Luther, unless secured from danger by a more
powerful arm, we may gather from John Clark's oration to the
pope, on presenting to the pontiff King Henry's book; who,
speaking of the poisoning of Socrates, adds these words re-
specting Luther: "Could this destroyer of the Christian re-
ligion expect any better from *true Christians*, for his extreme
wickedness against God?" And again, King Henry the Eighth,
in his Address to the Reader, speaking of Luther's repentance,
adds, "If Luther refuses this, it will shortly come to pass, if
Christian princes do their duty, that their errors, and *himself*,
if he perseveres therein, may be burned in the fire."

Whatever may have been the errors of Luther, they teach
us this truth; that weak and unstable must be that proud and
boasting church, which shook from its base to its summit, as
Luther divulged and propagated his Scriptural, and alas, in
those days, "strange" doctrines. The success which crowned
the labours of this "puny brother," (as King Henry calls him
in the last sentence of his book,) we must ascribe to the honour
of God and the glory of his grace, who hath "chosen the fool-
ish things of the world to confound the wise, and the weak
things of the world to confound the things which are mighty;
and who hath chosen base things of the world, and things which
are despised, yea, and things which are not, to bring to nought
things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence."—
Seeley's Edition of Fox, vol. iv. p. 317.

concerning the doctrine of the Lord's supper; this they did believe, and hold: first, that both kinds thereof are to be ministered to the people, according to Christ's institution; and that the mass is no such work for the which a man may obtain grace both for the quick and the dead. Item, that the sacrament (which they call of the altar) is a true sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Item, that the spiritual manducation of his body and blood is necessary for every Christian man. And furthermore, that the use of the sacrament tendeth to the same effect as doth the word, given and ordained of Almighty God, that thereby infirm consciences may be stirred to belief by the Holy Ghost," &c.

In all these sums of doctrine above recited, Luther and Zuinglius did consent and agree; neither were their opinions so different in the matter of the Lord's supper, but that in the principal points they accorded. For if the question be asked of them both, What is the material substance of the sacrament, which our outward senses do behold and feel? they will both confess bread, and not the accidents only of bread. Further, if the question be asked, Whether Christ be there present? they will both confess his true presence to be there; only in the manner of presence they differ. Again, ask, Whether the material substance laid before our eyes in the sacrament is to be worshipped? they will both deny it, and judge it idolatry. And likewise for transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass, they both do abhor, and do deny the same: as also that the communion to be in both kinds administered, they do both assent and grant.

Only their difference is in this, concerning the sense and meaning of the words of Christ, "This is my body," &c., which words Luther expoundeth to be taken nakedly and simply as the letter standeth, without trope or figure; and therefore holdeth the body and blood of Christ truly to be in the bread and wine, and so also to be received with the mouth. Uldricus Zuinglius, with Johannes Ecolampadius, and other more, do interpret these words otherwise; as to be taken not literally, but to have a spiritual meaning, and to be expounded by a trope or figure, so that the sense of these words, "This is my body," is thus to be expounded: "This signifieth my body and blood." With Luther consented the Saxons; with the side of Zuinglius went the Helvetians. And as time did grow, so the division of these opinions increased in sides, and spread in farther realms and countries: the one part being called, of Luther, Lutherans; the other having the name of Sacramentaries. Notwithstanding, in this one unity of opinion both the Lutherans and Sacramentaries do accord and agree, that the bread and wine there

present are not transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, (as it is said,) but are a true sacrament of the body and blood.

But hereof sufficient, touching this division between the Lutherans and the Zuinglians. In what division, if there have been any defect in Martin Luther, yet is that no cause why either the papists may greatly triumph, or why the protestants should despise Luther: for neither is the doctrine of Luther touching the sacrament so gross, that it maketh much with the papists; nor yet so discrepant from us, that therefore he ought to be exploded. And though a full reconciliation of this difference cannot well be made, (as some have gone about to do,) let us give to Luther a moderate interpretation; and if we will not make things better, yet let us not make them worse than they be, and let us be content if not with the manner, yet at least with the truth of his teaching; and finally, let it not be noted in us, that we should seem to differ in charity more (as Bucer said) than we do in doctrine. But of this more hereafter, (Christ willing,) when we come to the history of John Frith.

They which write the lives of saints use to describe and to extol their holy life and godly virtues, and also to set forth such miracles as be wrought in them by God; whereof there lacketh no plenty in Martin Luther, but rather time lacketh to us, an opportunity to tarry upon them, having such haste to other things. Otherwise what a miracle might this seem to be, for one man, and a poor friar, creeping out of a blind cloister, to be set up against the pope, the universal bishop, and God's mighty vicar on earth; to withstand all his cardinals, yea, and sustain the malice and hatred almost of the whole world being set against him; and to work triumphantly against the said pope, cardinals, and Church of Rome, which no king nor emperor could ever do; yea, durst never attempt, nor all the learned men before him could ever compass: which miraculous work of God, I account nothing inferior to the miracle of David overthrowing great Goliath. Wherefore if miracles do make a saint, (after the pope's definition,) what lacketh in Martin Luther but age and time only, to make him a saint? who standing openly against the pope, cardinals, and prelates of the church, in number so many, in power so terrible, in practice so crafty, having emperors and all the kings of the earth against him; who teaching and preaching Christ the space of nine and twenty years, could, without touch of all his enemies, so quietly, in his own country where he was born, die and sleep in peace. In which Martin Luther, first to stand against the pope was a great miracle; to prevail against the pope, a greater; to

to die untouched, may seem greatest of all, especially having so many enemies as he had. Again, neither is it any thing less miraculous, to consider what manifold dangers he escaped besides : as when a certain Jew was appointed to come to destroy him by poison, yet was it so by the will of God, that Luther had warning thereof before, and the face of the Jew sent to him by picture, whereby he knew him, and avoided the peril.

Another time, as he was sitting in a certain place upon his stool, a great stone there was in the vault over his head where he did sit ; which being staid miraculously so long as he was sitting, as soon as he rose up, immediately fell upon the place where he sat, able to have crushed him all in pieces, if it had not fallen upon him.

And what should I speak of his prayers, which were so ardent unto Christ, that (as Melancthon saith) they which stood under his window where he was praying, might see his tears falling and dropping down. Again, with such power he prayed, that (as himself confesseth) he had obtained of God, that so long as he lived, the pope should not be in his country ; after his death (said he) let God say who could.

As touching the marvellous works of God wrought here by men, if it be true which is reported by the learned, what miracle can be more miraculous, than that which is declared of a young man about Wittenberg, who, being kept idle and needy by his father, was tempted by way of money to bargain with the devil, or a familiar, to call him ; to yield himself body and soul to the devil's power, upon condition to have his soul satisfied with money. So that upon the same bargain was made by the young man, written in his own blood, and given to the devil. This you see how horrible it was, and how damnable. Now hear what followed. Upon the sudden and alteration of this young man, the matter being noted, began afterwards more and more suspected, and at length, after long and great search, was brought unto Martin Luther to be tried. The young man, whether for shame or being denied to confess, and would disclose nothing ; yet God so wrought, being stronger than all, that he uttered unto Luther the whole substance of the case, as well touching the money, as touching the obligation. Luther understanding the matter, paying the lamentable state of the man, caused the whole congregation to pray, and he ceased not with his prayers to labour ; so that the devil was compelled at the last to throw in a stone at the window, and bade him take it : which narration, if it be so true,

as certainly it is of him reported, I see not the contrary, but that this may well seem comparable with the greatest miracle, in Christ's church, that was since the apostles' time.

Furthermore, as he was mighty in his prayers, so in his sermons God gave him such a grace, that when he preached, they which heard him thought every one his own temptation severally to be noted and touched. Whereof, when signification was given unto him by his friends, and he demanded how that could be : " Mine own manifold temptations," said he, " and experiences are the cause thereof." For this thou must understand, good reader ! that Luther from his tender years was much beaten and exercised with spiritual conflicts, as Melancthon in describing of his life doth testify. Also Hieronymus Wellerus, scholar and disciple of the said Martin Luther, recordeth, that he oftentimes heard Luther his master thus report of himself, that he had been assaulted and vexed with all kinds of temptations, saving only one, which was with covetousness ; with this vice he was never, said he, in all his life troubled, nor once tempted.

And hitherto concerning the life of Martin Luther, who, living to the year of his age sixty-three, he continued writing and preaching about twenty-nine years. As touching the order of his death, the words of Melancthon be these :

An intimation given by Philip Melancthon to his auditory at Wittenberg, of the decease of Martin Luther, A. D. 1546.

To the scholars assembled to hear the lecture of the Epistle to the Romans, Philip Melancthon recited publicly this that followeth, at nine of the clock before noon ; advertising he gave this information, by the counsel of other lords, for that the auditors, understanding the express truth, (forasmuch as the lords knew certainly, fame would blow slanderous blasts every where of the death of Luther,) should not credit flying tales and false reports.

" My friends, ye know that we have enterprised to expound grammatically the Epistle to the Romans, in which is contained the true doctrine of the Son of God, which our Lord, by his singular grace, hath revealed unto us at this present by the reverend father, and our dearly beloved master, Martin Luther. Notwithstanding we have received heavy news, which has so augmented my dolour, that I am in doubt if I may continue henceforth in scholastical profession, and exercise of teaching. The cause wherefore I commemorate this thing is, for that I am so advised by other lords, that ye may understand the true sequel of things, lest yourselves blaze abroad vain tales of this fatal chance, or give credit

to other fables, which commonly are accustomed to be spread every where.

"Wednesday last past, and the seventeenth of February, Doctor Martin Luther sickened a little before supper of his accustomed malady, to wit, of the oppression of humours in the orifice or opening of the stomach, whereof I remember I have seen him oft diseased in this place. This sickness took him after supper, with the which he vehemently contending, required secess into a by-chamber, and there he rested on his bed two hours, all which time his pains increased; and as Dr. Jonas was lying in his chamber, Luther awaked, and prayed him to rise, and to call up Ambrose, his children's schoolmaster, to make fire in another chamber; into the which when he was newly entered, Albert, earl of Manseld, with his wife, and divers others, (whose names for haste in these letters were not expressed,) at that instant came into his chamber. Finally, feeling his fatal hour to approach, before nine of the clock in the morning, on the eighteenth of February, he commended himself to God with this devout prayer:

"My heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God! thou hast manifested unto me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, I have taught him, I have known him; I love him as my life, my health, and my redemption; whom the wicked have persecuted, maligned, and with injury afflicted. Draw my soul to thee."

"After this he said as ensueth, thrice:

"I commend my spirit into thy hands, thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth! God so loved the world, that he gave his only Son, that all those that believe in him should have life everlasting," John iii.

"Having repeated oftentimes his prayers, he was called to God, unto whom so faithfully he commended his spirit; to enjoy, no doubt, the blessed society of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles in the kingdom of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Let us now love the memory of this man, and the doctrine that he hath taught; let us learn to be modest and meek; let us consider the wretched calamities and marvellous changes, that shall follow this mishap and doleful chance. I beseech thee, O Son of God! crucified for us, and resuscitate Emmanuel, govern, conserve, and defend thy church."

A prayer after the manner of Luther.

"Let us render thanks unto God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath pleased, by the ministry of this godly Luther, to purify the evangelical fountains from papistical infection, and restore sincere doctrine to the church: which thing

we remembering, ought to join our lamentable petitions, with zealous affection beseeching God to confirm what he hath begun in us, for his holy name's sake. This is thy voice and promise, O living and just God, eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Creator of all things, and of the church! I will have compassion on you, for my name's sake. I will do it for myself, yea, even for myself, that I be not blasphemed. I beseech thee with ardent affection, that for thy glory, and the glory of thy Son Jesus Christ, thou wilt collect unto thyself in the voice of thy gospel, among us, one perpetual church, and that, for the dear love of thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Intercessor, thou wilt govern us by thy Holy Ghost; that we unfeignedly may call upon thee, and serve thee justly. Rule also the studies of thy doctrine, govern and conserve the policies and discipline of the same, which be the nurses of thy church and schools. And since thou hast created mankind to acknowledge and to invoke thee, and that for this respect thou hast revealed thyself by many clear testimonies permit not this small number and selected flock (that profess thy sacred word) to be defaced and overcome. And the rather, for that thy Son Jesus Christ, ready to fight against death, hath prayed this manner for us: Father, sanctify them in verity thy word is verity. Our prayers we join with thy prayer of this our holy Priest, making our petition with Him, that thy doctrine may shine among men and that we may be directed by the same."

We heard Luther evermore pray in this way and so praying, his innocent ghost peaceably separated from the earthly corpse when he had almost sixty-three years.

Such as succeeded, have divers monuments of his doctrine and godliness. He wrote certain lesser works, wherein he comprised a wholesome and necessary doctrine for men, informing the simple minds to repentance, and to declare the fruits of the same, the use of the sacraments, the difference betwixt the gospel and philosophy, the dignity of the clerical order; and, finally, the principal articles of doctrine profitable to the church. He composed also certain works to reprove, wherein he refuted divers pernicious errors. He also devised a new interpretation, in which he wrote many new and expositions of the prophets and apostles. In this kind, his very enemies confess, he excelled all others whose works are imprinted and published abroad. Then, all Christians and godly men conceive what praise he deserved; but his exposition of the Old and New Testament, his utility and labour, is equivalent to all his

in the same is so much perspicuity, that it may
 be instead of a commentary, though it be read in
 a German tongue. And yet this is not a naked
 position, but it containeth very learned annota-
 tions and arguments on every part; which both set
 forth the sum of heavenly doctrine, and instruct the
 reader in the sacred phrase and manner of speaking
 the Scriptures, that the godly minds may receive
 the testimonies of the doctrine, out of the very
 fountain. His mind was not to keep us occupied
 in his works; but to guide our spirits to the very
 things. His will was, we should hear God speak,
 and that by his word true faith and invocation
 might be kindled in our minds, that God might be
 truly honoured and adored, and that many might
 be made inheritors of everlasting life.

It becometh us thankfully to accept his good will
 in great labours, and to imitate the same as our
 Lord, and by him to learn to adorn the church,
 according to our power. For we must refer all our
 enterprises, and deliberations, to two principal
 ends: First, to illustrate the glory of God; Se-
 condly, to profit the church. As touching the first,
 the Lord saith, Do all things to the glory of God.
 And of the second, it is said in Psalm xxii., Pray
 that Jerusalem may prosper. And there followeth
 a singular promise added in this versicle: Such as
 love the church, shall prosper and have good suc-
 cess. Let these heavenly commandments and di-
 vine instructions allure all men to learn the true
 doctrine of the church, to love the faithful ministers
 of the gospel and the true teachers; and to employ
 their whole study and diligence to augment the true
 doctrine, and maintain concord and unity in the true
 church.

Frederic, prince elector, died long before Luther,
 A. D. 1525, leaving no issue behind him, for that
 he lived a single life, and was never married:
 wherefore after him succeeded John Frederic, duke
 of Saxony.

Mention was made a little before of the ministers
 of Strasburg, who, because of their marriage, were
 in trouble, and cited by the bishop to appear before
 him, and there to be judged, without the precinct
 of the city of Strasburg; whereas there had been a
 contrary order taken before between the bishop and
 the city, that the bishop should execute no judg-
 ment upon any, but under some of the magistrates
 of the said city of Strasburg. Whereupon the se-
 nate and the citizens, taking into their hands the
 cause of these married ministers, in defence of their
 own right and liberties, wrote, as is said, to their bi-
 shop of Strasburg, and caused the judgment thereof
 to be stayed; by reason whereof the matter
 was brought at length before Cardinal Campeius,

legate, sent by Pope Clement to the assembly of
 Nuremberg, A. D. 1524.

The chief doer in this matter was one Thomas
 Murner, a Franciscan friar, who had commenced
 a grievous complaint against the senate and city of
 Strasburg, before the aforesaid Cardinal Campeius.
 Wherefore the senate, to purge themselves, sent their
 ambassadors, thus clearing their cause, and answering
 to their accusation, that they neither had been nor
 would be any let to the bishop, but had signified to
 him before, by their letters, that whatsoever he
 could lay against those married priests, consonant to
 the law of God, they would be no stay, but rather
 a furtherance unto him to proceed in his action.
 But the senate herein was not a little grieved that
 the bishop, contrary to the order and compact which
 was taken between him and them, did call the said
 ministers out of the liberties of their city; for so it
 was between them agreed, that no ecclesiastical
 person should be adjudged but under some judge of
 their own city. But now, contrary to their said
 agreement, the bishop called those ministers out of
 their liberties; and so the ministers, claiming the
 right and privilege of the city, were condemned,
 their cause being neither heard nor known. And
 now if the senate should show themselves any thing
 more sharp or rigorous unto those ministers, claim-
 ing the right of the city, the people, no doubt,
 would not take it well, but haply would rise up in
 some commotion against them in the quarrel and
 defence of their franchises and liberties.

And where it is objected, that they receive priests
 and men of the clergy into the freedom and protec-
 tion of their city: to this they answered, that they
 did nothing herein, but that which was correspond-
 ent to the ancient usage and manner of the city be-
 fore; and moreover, that it was the bishop's own
 request and desire made unto them so to do.

To this the cardinal again, advising well the let-
 ters of the bishop, and the whole order of the mat-
 ter which was sent unto him, declared, that he right
 well understood by the letters sent, that the minis-
 ters indeed (as the ambassadors said) were called
 out from the freedom and liberties of the city, and
 yet no order of law was broken therein; foras-
 much as the bishop (said he) had there no less
 power and authority, than if he were his own vicar
 delegate; and therefore he desired them, that they
 would assist the bishop in punishing the aforesaid
 ministers, &c.

After much other talk and reasoning on both
 parts, wherein the ambassadors argued in defence
 of their freedom, that the judgment should not be
 transferred out of the city: among other communi-
 cation, they inferred moreover, and declared, how in

the city of Strasburg were many, yea, the most part of the clergy, who lived viciously and wickedly with their women, whom they kept in their houses, to the great offence of the people, shame to Christ's church, and pernicious example of others; and yet the bishop would never once stir to see any punishing or correction thereof. Wherefore, if the senate (said the ambassadors) should permit the bishop to extend his cruelty and extremity against these married ministers, for not observing the bishop of Rome's law, and leave the other notorious offenders, who break the law of God, to escape unpunished, doubtless it would redound to their great danger and peril, not only before God, but also among the commons of their city, ready to rise upon them.

To this Campeius answered, What composition or bargain was betwixt the bishop and them, he knew not, but surely the act of the one was manifest, and needed no great trial in law of proving and confessing; and therefore they were sequestered and abandoned from the communion of the church, *ipso facto*. As for the other sort of them, who keep women, although, said he, it be not well done, yet doth it not excuse the enormity of their marriage. Neither was he ignorant, but that it was the manner of the bishops of Germany, for money, to wink at priests' lemans; and the same also was evil done indeed. And further, that the time should come when they shall be called to an account for the same; but yet, nevertheless, it is not sufferable that priests therefore should have wives. And if comparison should be made, said he, much greater offence it were, a priest to have a wife, than to have and keep at home many paramours. His reason was this; For they that keep them, said he, as it is naughty which they do, so do they acknowledge their sin: the others persuade themselves that they do well, and so continue still without repentance, or conscience of their fact. All men, said he, cannot be chaste, as John the Baptist was; yet can it not be proved by any example, to be lawful for priests, professing chastity, to leave their single life, and to marry: no, not the Greeks themselves, who in rites be differing from us, do give this liberty to their own priests to marry: wherefore he prayed them to give their aid to the bishop in this behalf.

Whereunto the ambassadors replied again, saying, that if he would first punish the one class of offenders, then might the senate assist him the better in correcting the other; but the cardinal was still instant upon them, that first they should assist their bishop, and then if the bishop would not punish the other crime, he would come thither himself and see it punished accordingly.

This Cardinal Campeius, how he was sent by Clement the Sixth, to the second assembly or of Nuremberg, A. D. 1524, and what was done by the said cardinal, is before signified. After this council of Nuremberg, immediately followed another sitting at Ratisbon, where were sent Ferdinand, Campeius, the cardinal of Saltz, the two dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Trent, Ratisbon; also the legates of the bishops, Bamberg, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Freiburg, Passau, and Brixen. By whom in said assembly it was thus concluded:

Summary of popish decrees made at the council of Ratisbon.

That forasmuch as the emperor, at the request of Pope Leo, had condemned, by his public edict set forth at Worms, the doctrine of Luther for erroneous and wicked; and also it was agreed upon in the assemblies at Nuremberg, that the said edict should be obeyed by all men; they likewise, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, do will and command the aforesaid edict to be observed throughout their confines and precincts: that the gospel, and other Holy Scriptures, should be taught in churches according to the interpretation of the ancient fathers: that all they who revive any old heresies before condemned, or teach any new thing contrary to the scriptures, either against Christ, his blessed mother, or holy saints, or which may breed any occasion of sedition, are to be punished according to the tenor of the edict aforesaid: That none be admitted to preach without the licence of his ordinary: That they who be already admitted, shall be examined how and what they preach: That the laws which Campeius is about to set forth for reformation of manners, shall be observed: That in the sacraments in the mass, and all other things, there shall be no innovation, but all things to stand as in former times they did: That all they who approach to the Lord's supper without confession and absolution, or do eat flesh on days forbidden, or who do run out of the order; also priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, that be married, shall be punished: That nothing shall be printed without consent of the magistrate: That no book of Luther or of any Lutheran shall be printed or sold: That they of their jurisdiction, who study in the university of Wittenberg, shall ever after repair home within three months after the publishing hereof, or else turn to some other place free from the infection of Luther, under pain of confiscating all their goods, and losing their inheritance: That no benefice, nor other office of teaching, be given to any student of that university. Item, That certain inquisitors, fit for the same, be

appointed to inquire and examine the premises. Item, Lest it may be said that this faction of Luther taketh its origin from the corrupt life of priests, the said Campeius, with other his assistants in the said convocation of Ratisbon, chargeth and commandeth, that priests live honestly, go in decent apparel, play not the merchants, haunt not the taverns, be not covetous, nor take money for their ministration; such as keep concubines to be removed; the number also of holy days to be diminished," &c.

These things would Campeius have enacted in a full council, and with the consents of all the empire: but when he could not bring that to pass, by reason that the minds of divers were gone from the pope, he was fain to get the same ratified in this particular conventicle, with the assents of these bishops above rehearsed.

These things thus hitherto discoursed, which fully may be seen in the Commentaries of John Stein, it remaineth next after the story of Martin Luther, somewhat to adjoin likewise touching the history of Zwinglius, and of the Helvetians. But before I come to the explication of this story, it shall not be inconvenient, first to give some little touch of the towns, called pages, of these Helvetians, and of their league and confederation first begun amongst them.

The history of the Helvetians, or Switzers, how they first recovered their liberty, and afterwards were joined in league together.

The Helvetians, whom otherwise we call Switzers, are divided principally into thirteen pages. The names of whom are Tigurini, Bernates, Lucerni, Uri, Suicenses, Untervaldii, Tugiani, Glarenses, Basilienses, Solodurii, Friburgii, Scafusiani, &c. Furthermore, to these be added seven other pages, albeit not with such a full bond as the first be conjoined together; which be these: Rheti, Appenzeli, Seduni, Veragri, Sangalli, Mullusiani, &c. Of these thirteen confederate pages, the first three were the first, to wit, Tigurini, Suicenses, and Sylvanii, (or as some call them) Untervaldii, which joined themselves together.

Forasmuch as should be given to old narrations, these three pages or valleys first suffered great servitude and bondage under cruel rulers or governors; in such that the governor of Sylvania required of the inhabitants a yoke of his oxen; which the townsmen denied to give him, the ruler sent his servant by force to take his oxen from him. When the servant was about to do, cometh the

poor man's son, and cutting off one of his fingers, and upon the same avoided. The governor, hearing this, taketh the poor man and putteth out his eyes.

At another time in the said Sylvania, as the good man of the house was absent abroad, the governor who had then the rule of the town, entering into the house, commanded the wife to prepare for him a bath, and made other proposals to her; whereunto she being unwilling, deferred the bath as long as she might, till the return of her husband. To whom then she, making her complaint, so moved his mind, that he, with his axe or hatchet which he had in his hand, flew upon the adulterous ruler and slew him.

Another example of like violence is reported of the ruler of Suicia and Sylvania, who, surprised with the like pride and disdain against the poor underlings, caused his cap to be hung up upon a pole, charging and commanding by his servant, all that passed by to do obeisance to the cap; which when one named William Tell refused to do, the tyrant caused his son to be tied, with an apple set upon his head, and the father with a cross-bow, or a like instrument, to shoot at the apple. After long refusing, when the woeful father could not otherwise choose, by force constrained, but must level at the apple; as God would, he missed the child, and struck the mark. Thus Tell, being thus compelled by the tyrant to shoot at his son, had brought with him two shafts; thinking that if he had struck the child with one, the other he would have let drive at the tyrant: which being understood, he was apprehended and led to the ruler's house; but by the way escaping out of the boat between Urania and Brun, and passing through the mountains with as much speed as he might, he lay in the way secretly as the ruler should pass, where he discharged his arrow at the tyrant and slew him, A. D. 1307.

And thus were these cruel governors utterly expelled out of these three valleys or pages aforesaid; and after that, such order was taken by the emperor Henry the Seventh, and also by the emperor Ludovicus, duke of Bavaria, that henceforth no judge should be set over them, but only of their own company, and town dwellers.

It followed after this, A. D. 1315, that great contention and war fell between Frederic, duke of Austria, and Ludovic, duke of Bavaria, striving and fighting the space of eight years together about the empire. With Ludovic held the three pages aforesaid; who had divers conflicts with Leopold, brother to the aforementioned Frederic, duke of Austria, fighting in his brother's quarrel. As Leopold had rear-

ed a mighty army of twenty thousand footmen and horsemen, and was come to Egree, so to pass over the mountains to subdue the pages; he began to take advice of his council, by what way or passage best he might direct his journey towards the Switzers. Whereupon as they were busy in consulting, there stood a fool by, named Kune de Stocken, who hearing their advice, thought also to shoot his bolt withal, and told them, that their counsel did not like him: "For all you," quoth he, "consult how we should enter into yonder country; but none of you giveth any counsel how to come out again after we be entered." And in conclusion, as the fool said, so they found it true. For when Leopold with his host had entered into the straits and valleys between the rocks and mountains, the Switzers, with their neighbours of Urania and Sylvania, lying in privy wait, had them at such advantage; and with tumbling down stones from the rocks, and sudden coming upon their backs in blind lanes, did so encumber them, that neither they had convenient standing to fight, nor room almost to fly away; by reason whereof a great part of Leopold's army there, being enclosed about the place called Morgayten, lost their lives, and many in the flight were slain. Leopold, with them that remained, retired and escaped to Turgoia. This battle was fought A. D. 1315, the sixteenth of November.

After this, the burghers of these three villages being continually vexed by Frederic, duke of Austria, for that they would not knowledge him for emperor, assembled themselves in the town of Uri A. D. 1316; and there entered a mutual league and bond of perpetual society and conjunction, joining and swearing themselves, as in one body of a commonwealth and public administration together. After that came to them the Lucernates; then the Tugiani; after them the Tigurines; next to them followed the Bernates; the last almost of all were the Basilians: then followed after, the other seven pages above recited.

And thus have ye the names, the freedom, and confederation of these Switzers, or cantons, or pages of Helvetia, with the occasions and circumstances thereof, briefly expressed. Now to the purpose of our story intended, which is to declare the success of Christ's gospel and true religion received among the Helvetians; also touching the life and doctrine of Zuinglius, and order of his death, as here ensueth.

The acts and life of Uldricus Zuinglius: and of receiving the gospel in Switzerland.

In the tractation of Luther's story, mention was made before of Uldricus Zuinglius, who first abiding at Glarus, in a place called then our Lord's Hermitage, from thence removed to Zurich about A. D.

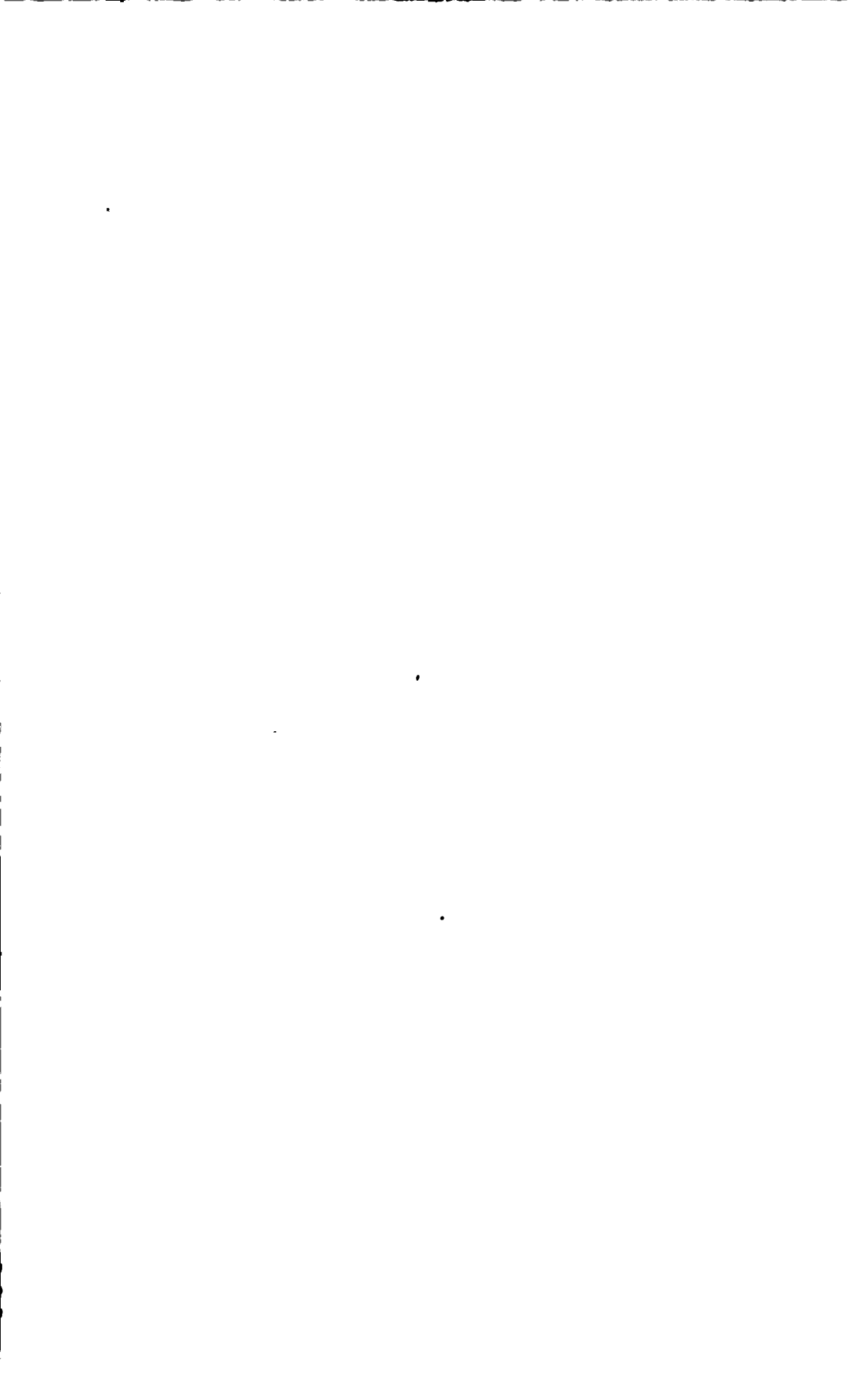
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remaining in the religion of their old ancestors, which were before them. And if there were any thing, wherein they were grieved and offended against the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, bishops, other prelates, either for their ambition in heaping, exchanging, and selling the dignities of the church, or for their oppression in pilling men's purses with their indulgences, or else for their usurped jurisdiction and power, which they extend too far, and apply to matters external and political, which only ought to serve in such cases as be spiritual; if these and such other abuses were the means, wherewith they were so grievously offended, they promised that, for the correction and reformation thereof, they would also themselves join their diligence and good will thereto; forasmuch as themselves also did not a little mislike therewith, and therefore would confer their counsels together with them, how and by what way such grievances might best be removed."

To this effect were the letters of the Helvetians, written to the senate and citizens of Zurich. Whereupon the Tigurines made their answer again on the 11th of March, the same year, in manner as followeth:

"First, declaring how their ministers had laboured and travailed among them, teaching and preaching the word of God unto them the space now of five years; whose doctrine at the first seemed to them very strange and novel, because they never heard the same before. But after that they understood and perceived the scope of that doctrine only to tend to this; to set forth Christ Jesus unto us, to be the pillar and refuge of all our salvation, which gave his life and blood for our redemption, and which only delivereth us also, sinful misers, from eternal death, and is the only Advocate of mankind before God; they could no otherwise do, but with ardent affection receive so wholesome and joyful a message.

"The holy apostles and faithful Christians, after they had received the gospel of Christ, did not fall out by and by in debate and variance, but lovingly agreed and consented together: and so they trusted (said they) that they should do, if they would likewise receive the word of God, setting aside men's doctrines and traditions dissonant from the same. Whatsoever Luther or any other man doth teach, whether it be right or wrong, it is not for the names of the persons, why the doctrine which they teach should be either evil or well judged upon, but only for that it agreeth or disagreeeth from the rule of God's word: for that were but to go by affection, and were prejudicial to the authority of the word of God, which ought to rule man, and not to be measured by man.

And if Christ only be worshipped, and men taught solely to repose their confidence in him, yet neither doth the blessed Virgin, nor any saint else, receive any injury thereby; who, being here on earth, received their salvation only by the name of him.

"And whereas they charge their ministers with wresting the Scripture after their own interpretation, God had stirred up such light now in the hearts of men, that the most part of their city have the Bible in their hand, and diligently peruse the same; so that their preachers cannot so wind the Scriptures awry, but they shall quickly be perceived. Wherefore there is no danger why they should fear any sects or factions in them; but rather such sects are to be objected to those, who, for their gain and dignity, wrest the word of God after their own affections and appetites. And whereas they, and others, have accused them of error, yet was there never man that could prove any error in them, although divers bishops of Constance, of Basil, of Coire, with divers universities besides; also they themselves have been sundry times desired so to do; yet to this present day neither they nor ever any others so did; neither were they, nor any of all the aforesaid bishops, at their last assembly, being requested to come, so gentle to repair unto them, save only the Schashusians and Sangallians. In which aforesaid assembly of theirs, all such as were then present, considering thoroughly the whole case of the matter, condescended together with them. And if the bishops haply will object again, and say, that the word of God ought not so to be handled of the vulgar people; they answered the same not to stand with equity and reason. For albeit it did belong to the bishops' office, to provide that the sheep should not go astray, and most convenient it were, that by them they should be reduced into the way again; yet because they will not see to their charge, but leave it undone, referring all things to the fathers and to councils; therefore right and reason it is, that they themselves should hear and learn, not what man doth determine, but what Christ himself doth command in his Scripture. Neither have their ministers given any occasion of this division; but rather it is to be imputed to such, which for their own private lucre and preferments, contrary to the word of the Lord, do seduce the people into error; and grievously offending God, do provoke him to plague them with manifold calamities; who, if they would renounce the greediness of their own gain, and would follow the pure doctrine of his word, seeking not the will of man, but what is the will of God, no doubt but they should soon fall to agreement.

"As for the eating of flesh and eggs, although it be free to all men, and forbidden to none by Christ;

traditions of men should be displaced and abandoned, and the gospel of Christ purely taught out of the Old and New Testament. A. D. 1523.

When the gospel thus began to take place, and to flourish in Zurich (and certain other places of Helvetia, in the following year, (A. D. 1524,) another assembly of the Helvetians was convened at Lucerne, where this decree was made on the contrary part :

Constitutions decreed in the assembly of Lucerne.

“That no man should deride or condemn the word of God, which had been taught now above a thousand and four hundred years heretofore : nor the mass to be scorned, wherein the body of Christ is consecrated, to the honour of God, and to the comfort both of the quick and the dead.

“That they which are able to receive the Lord’s body at Easter, shall confess their sins in Lent to the priests, and do all other things, as the use and manner of the church requireth.

“That the rites and customs of holy church be kept.

“That every one obey his own proper pastor and curate, and receive the sacraments of him, after the manner of holy church, and pay him his yearly duties.

“That honour be given to priests.

“Item, to abstain from flesh-eating on fasting-days, and in Lent to abstain from eggs and cheese.

“That no opinion of Luther be taught privily or apertly, contrary to the received determination of holy church ; and that in taverns and at table no mention be made of Luther, or any new doctrine.

“That images and pictures of saints in every place be kept inviolate.

“That priests and ministers of the church be not compelled to render account of their doctrine, but only to the magistrate.

“That due aid and supportation be provided for them, if any commotion do happen.

“That no person deride the relics of the Holy Spirit, or of our Lady, or of St. Anthony.

“Finally, That all the laws and decrees set forth by the bishop of Constance, be observed.

“These constitutions whosoever shall transgress, let them be presented to the magistrate, and overseers to be set over them that shall so transgress.”

After these things concluded thus at Lucerne, the cantons of Helvetia together directed their public letter to the Tigurines, or men of Zurich, to this effect :—

“Wherein they do much lament and complain of this new-broached doctrine which had set all men

together by the ears, through the occasion of certain rash and new-fangled heads, which had greatly disturbed both the state of the church and of the commonwealth, and have scattered the seeds of discord, where beforetime all things were well in quiet. And although this sore (said they) ought to have been looked to betimes, so that they should not have suffered the glory of Almighty God, and of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, so to be dishonoured, but rather should have bestowed their goods and lives to maintain the same ; yet, notwithstanding, they required them now to look upon the matter, which otherwise would bring to them destruction both of body and soul : as for example, they might see the doctrine of Luther, what fruit it brought. The rude and vulgar people now (said they) could not be holden in, but would burst forth to all licence and rebellion, as hath appeared by sufficient proofs of late ; the like is to be feared also among themselves, and all by the occasion of Zuinglius, and of Leo Juda, which so took upon them to expound the word of God after their own interpretation, opening thereby whole doors and windows to discord and dissension. Albeit of their doctrine they were not certain what they did teach ; yet what inconvenience followed upon their doctrine, they had too much experience. For now all fasting was laid down, and all days were alike to eat both flesh and eggs, as well one as another. Priests and religious persons, both men and women, brake their vows, ran out of their order, and fell to marrying. God’s service was decayed, singing in the church left, and prayer ceased ; priests grew in contempt, religious men were thrust out of their cloister, confession and penance were neglected, so that men would not stick to presume to receive at the holy altar, without any confession made to the priest heretofore. The holy mass was derided and scorned, our blessed Lady and other saints blasphemed, images plucked down and broken in pieces, neither was there any honour given to the sacraments. To make short, men now were grown unto such licence and liberty, that scarcely the holy host could be safe within the priest’s hands, &c.

“The disorder of all which things, as it is of small importance, so it was to them so grievous and lamentable, that they thought it their part to set the same no longer. Neither was this the first (they said) of this their complaining, when in former assembly they sent unto them before like admonition, writing to them by certain clergy, and craving their aid in the same ; seeing it is so, they did now again earnestly upon them touching the premises, desiring that surcease from such doings, and to take a better

error by learning might be proved and demonstrated unto them. Wherefore, as they did before, now they desire again, that if they think this their doctrine to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture, they gently shew and teach them their error; and at, before the end of the month of May next ensuing: for so long they will abide waiting for an answer, as well from them, as from the bishop of Constance, and also from the university of Basil." And thus much containeth the answer of the Tigurines unto the letter of their other colleagues of Helvetia.

In the mean time, as this passed on, and the month of May, above-mentioned, was now come, the bishop of Constance, with the advice of his council about him, did answer the Tigurines, as he was requested of them to do, in a certain book, first written, and afterward printed; wherein he declared what images and pictures those were, which the profane Jews and Gentiles in the old time did use, and what images these be which the church hath from time to time received and admitted; and what difference there is between those idols of the Jews and Gentiles, and these images of the Christians. The conclusion hereof was this; that whereas the Scripture speaketh against images, and will not suffer them to be suffered, that is to be understood of such images and idols, as the Jews and Heathen Gentiles did use; yet nevertheless such images and pictures which the church had received, are to be used and retained.

From this he entereth next into the discourse of the mass, where he proveth, by divers and sundry testimonies, both of the pope's canons and councils, the mass to be a sacrifice and oblation.

This book being thus compiled and written, he sent it unto the senate of Zurich, about the beginning of June, willing and exhorting them by no manner of means to suffer their images, or the mass, to be abrogated; and shortly after he published the said book in print, and sent it to the priests and canons of the minister of Zurich, requiring them to follow the custom of the church received, and not to suffer themselves to be persuaded otherwise by any man.

The senate again, answering to the bishop's book, about the middle of August, did write unto him, first, declaring that they had read over and over again his book with all diligence: the which book, forasmuch as the bishop had divulged abroad in print, they were therefore right glad, because the whole world thereby might judge between them the better. After this, they explained unto him the judgment and doctrine of their ministers and preachers: and finally, by the authority and testimonies of the

Scripture, convinced his opinion, and proved the doctrine of his book to be false. But before they sent their answer to him, about the thirteenth of June, they commanded all the images, as well within the city as through their dominion, to be taken down and burned quietly, and without any tumult. A few months after, an order was taken in the said city of Zurich, between the canons of the church and city, for disposing the lands and possessions of the college.

It would grow to a long discourse, to comprehend all things by order of circumstance, that happened among the Helvetians upon this new alteration of religion; but, briefly to contract, and to run over the chief specialties of the matter, here is first to be noted, that of the Helvetians which were confederate together in the thirteen pages, chiefly, six there were, which most disdained and maligned this religion of the Tigurines: to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervaldii, the Tugiani, and the Friburgenses; these in no case could be reconciled. The rest showed themselves more favourable. But the other, which were their enemies, conceived great grudge, and raised many slanderous reports and false rumours against them, and laid divers things to their charge: as, first, for refusing to join their consent to the public league of the other pages with Francis the French king; then for dissenting from them in religion; and thirdly, for refusing to stand to the popish decree made the year before at Ratisbon, by Ferdinand, and other bishops above-mentioned.

They laid moreover to their accusation, for aiding the Vualsutenses their neighbours, against Ferdinand their prince; which was false. Also for joining league secretly with other cities, without their knowledge; which was likewise false. Item, That they should intend some secret conspiracy against them, and invade them with war; which was as untrue as the rest. Many other quarrels besides they pretended against the Tigurines, which were all false and cavilling slanders: as that they should teach and preach, that Mary the mother of Christ had more sons; and that James the younger, the apostle, did die for us, and not Christ himself. Against these and such other untruths being mere matters of cavillation and slander, the Tigurines did fully and amply purge and acquit themselves by writing, and did expostulate vehemently with them, not only for these false and wrongful suspicions, of their parts undeserved, but also for other manifold injuries received and borne at their hands, among which other wrongs and injuries, this was one: that the burghermaster of Zurich had apprehended a certain preacher, named John Oxline, and led him

home as prisoner unto his house ; being taken within the precinct and limits of the city of Zurich, contrary to law and order.

Finally, after much discoursing, wherein they in a long letter declared their diligence and fidelity at all times, in keeping their league, and maintaining the liberty and dignity of their country ; as touching the cause of religion, if that were all the matter of their offence, they offered themselves willing to hear, and more glad to amend, if any could prove any error in them by the Scripture. Otherwise, if none so could or would prove wherein they did err by the word of God, they could not, they said, alter any thing in the state of that religion wherein their consciences were already staid by the word of God and settled, whatsoever peril or danger should happen to them for the same.

Although here was no cause why these pages or cantons, which were so confederate together in the league of peace, should disagree amongst themselves ; yet herein may we see the course and trade of the world, that when difference of religion beginneth a little to break the knot of amity, by and by how friends be turned to foes ; what suspicions do rise ; what quarrels and grudges do follow ; how nothing there liketh men, but every thing is taken to the worst part : small motes are made mountains ; virtues made vices, and one vice made a thousand ; and all for lack only of a little good will betwixt party and party. For as love and charity commonly among men, either covereth or seeth not the faults of their friends, so hatred and disdain, taking all things to blame, can find nothing in their foes that they can like. And thus did it happen between these good men of Zurich, and these other Switzers above-named.

These letters of the Tigurines to the other cantons, were written upon the occasion of their apprehending the preacher, John Oxline, above-named, on the fourth of January, 1525 ; and in the month of April next following, the magistrates and senate of the said city of Zurich commanded the mass, with all his ceremonies and apurtenances thereto belonging, to be put down, as well within the city, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction ; and instead thereof was placed the Lord's supper, the reading of the prophets, prayer, and preaching. Also a law was made against whoredom and adultery, and judges ordained to hear the causes of matrimony, A. D. 1525.

All this while the gospel was not as yet received in any other page of Helvetia, but only in Zurich. Wherefore the other twelve pages, or towns, appointed among themselves concerning a meeting or a disputation to be had at Baden : where were pre-

sent, among other divines, John Faber, Eckius, Murner, above-mentioned. The bishops also Lucerne, Basil, Coire, and Lausanne, sent thither their legates. The conclusions there propounded were these : That the true body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament : that the mass is a sacrifice the quick and dead : that the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are to be invocated as mediators and intercessors : that images ought not to be abolished : that there is a purgatory.

Which conclusions or assertions Eckius took upon him stoutly to defend. Against him reasoned Caspar Lampadius, (who was then chief preacher at Baden with certain other more. Zuinglius at that time was not there present, but by writing confuted the doctrine of Eckius : declaring withal the causes of his absence ; which were for that he durst not, for fear of his life, commit himself unto the hands of the Lucernates, the Urani, the Suitenses, the Untervindli, and the Tugiani, his enemies : and that he refused not to dispute, but the place only of the disputation ; excusing moreover that he was not permitted of the senate to come : nevertheless, they would assign the place of disputation either Zurich, or at Berne, or at Sangallum, thither he would not refuse to come. Briefly, the conclusion of the disputation was this, that all should remain in that religion which hitherto they had kept, and should follow the authority of the council, neither should admit any other new doctrine within their dominions, &c. This was in the month of June the said year above-mentioned.

As the time proceeded, and dissension about religion increased, it followed the next year, A. D. 1527, in the month of December, that the senate and people of Berne, (whose power among all the Switzers chiefly excelth,) considering how neither they could have the acts of the disputation of Baden communicated unto them, and that the variance about religion still more and more increased, assigned another disputation within their own city, and sending forth writings thereof, called unto the same all the bishops bordering near about them, as the bishops of Constance, Basil, Sion, Lausanne ; warning them both to come themselves, and to bring their divines with them ; or else to lose all such possessions which they had lying within the bounds of their precinct. After this they appointed out certain ecclesiastical persons of their jurisdiction to dispute ; prescribing and determining the whole disputation to be decided only by the authority of the Old and New Testament. To all that would come thither, they granted safe-conduct. Also they appointed, that all things there should be done modestly, without injury and brawling words ; and

that every one should have leave to speak his mind freely, and with such deliberation, that every man's saying might be received by the notary, and penned: with this proviso made before, that whatsoever there should be agreed upon, the same should be ratified, and observed through all their dominions.

And to the intent men might come thither better prepared before, they propounded in public writing ten conclusions in the said disputation to be defended of their ministers by the Scriptures; which ministers were, Franciscus Colbus and Bertholdus Haller. The themes or conclusions were these:

"I. That the true church, whereof Christ is the head, cometh out of God's word, and persisteth in the same, and heareth the voice of no other.

"II. That the same church maketh no laws without the word of God.

"III. That traditions, ordained in the name of the church, do not bind but so far forth as they be consonant to God's word.

"IV. That Christ only hath made satisfaction for the sins of the world: and therefore if any man say, that there is any other way of salvation, or mean to get away sin, this same denieth Christ.

"V. That the body and blood of Christ cannot be received really and corporally, by the testimony

send their learned men, and to suffer all others to pass safely through their countries; the Lucernates, Uranites, Switzers, Untervaldians, Tugians, Glareans, Soloturnians, and they of Friburg, answered again by contrary letters, exhorting and requiring them in any case to desist from their purposed enterprise; putting them in remembrance of their league and composition made, and also of the disputation of Baden above-mentioned, of which disputation they were themselves (they said) the first beginners and authors. Saying moreover, that it was not lawful for any nation or province to alter the state of religion, but the same to belong to a general council: wherefore they desired them that they would not attempt any such wicked act, but continue in the religion which their parents and elders had observed. And in fine, thus in the end of their letters they concluded, that they would neither send, nor suffer any of their learned men to come, nor yet grant safe-conduct to any others to pass through their country. To this and such-like effect tended the letters of these Switzers above-named.

All which notwithstanding, the lords of Berne, proceeding in their intended purpose, upon the day prescribed, (which was the seventh of January,) began their disputation. Of all the bishops before signified, which were assigned to come, there was not one present. Nevertheless the cities of Basil, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, St. Gallen, Mulhausen, with the neighbours of Rhetia; also they of Strasburg, Ulm, Augsburg, Lindau, Constance, and Ieny, sent thither their ambassadors.

The doctors above-mentioned of the city of Berne, began the disputation; whereat the same time were present Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, Bucer, Capito, Blaurer, with others more, all which defended the affirmative of the conclusions propounded. On the contrary side, of them which were the opponents, the chieftain was Conrad Treger, a friar Augustine; who, to prove his assertion, when he was driven to shift out of the Scripture to seek help of other doctors, and the moderators of the disputation would not permit the same, (being contrary to the order before appointed,) he departed out of the place, and would dispute no more.

The disputation endured nineteen days; in the end whereof it was agreed, by the assent of the most part, that the conclusions there disputed, were consonant to the truth of God's word, and should be ratified not only in the city of Berne, but also proclaimed by the magistrates in sundry other cities near adjoining: furthermore, that masses, altars, and images, in all places, should be abolished.

At the city of Constance, certain things began to be altered a little before; where also, among other

things, laws were made against fornication and adultery, and all suspect or dishonest company; whereat the canons (as they are called) of the church, taking great grief and displeasure, departed the city. In the said city was then teacher, Ambrose Blaurer, a learned man, and born of a noble stock, who had been a monk a little before, professed in the monastery of Alperspake, in the duchy of Wittenberg, belonging to the dominion of Ferdinand. Which Blaurer, by reading of Luther's works, and having a good wit, had changed, a little before, his religion, and also his coat, returning again home to his friends; and when his abbot would have had him again, and wrote earnestly to the senate of Constance for him, he declared the whole case of the matter in writing; propounding withal certain conditions, whereupon he was content (as he said) to return. But the conditions were such, that the abbot was rather willing and contented that he should remain still at Constance; and so he did.

After this disputation thus concluded at Berne, (as hath been said,) the images and altars, with ceremonies and masses, were abolished at Constance.

They of Geneva also, for their parts, were not behind, following likewise the example of the city of Berne, in extirpating images and ceremonies; by reason whereof the bishop and clergy there left, and departed the city in no small anger.

The Bernates, after they had redressed with them the state of religion, they renounced the league made before with the French king; refusing and forsaking his war stipend, whereby they were bound at his call to feed his wars; following therein the example of the Tigurines, which before had done the like, and were contented only with their yearly pension that the king payeth to every page of the Helvetians, to keep peace.

The day and year when this reformation from popery to true Christianity with them began, they caused on a pillar to be engraven with golden letters, for a perpetual memory to all posterity to come. This was A. D. 1528.

After that the rumour of this disputation and alteration of Berne was noised in other cities and places abroad, first the ministers of Strasburg, encouraged by this occasion, began likewise to affirm and teach, that the mass was wicked, and a great blasphemy against God's holy name, and therefore was to be abrogated; and instead thereof the right use of the Lord's supper to be restored again; which unless they could prove by the manifest testimonies of the Scriptures to be true, they would refuse no manner of punishment. On the contrary part, the bishop of Rome's clergy did hold and maintain, that the mass was good and holy; wherenpon kindled great

contention on both sides: which when the senate and magistrates of the city would have brought to a disputation, and could not because the parties would not condescend to any reasoning; there seeing they so accused the other, and yet would come to no trial of their cause, the said magistrates commanded them to silence.

The bishop, in the mean while, ceased not his letters and messengers daily to call upon the senate, desiring the senate to persevere in the ancient religion of their elders, and to give no place to those new teachers; declaring what danger and peril it would bring upon them. The senate desired him, as they had done oftentimes, that such things as appertained to the true doctrine and worship of God might be set forward, and other things which tended to the contrary might be removed and taken away; for that properly belonged to his office to see to. But the bishop, putting them off with delays, pretended to call an assembly for the same, appointing also day and place for the hearing and discussing of those controversies; where, indeed, nothing was performed at all; with his letters he did often solicit them to succeed their enterprise, sometimes by way of entreaty, sometimes with menacing words terrifying them; and at last, seeing he could nothing by that prevail, he turned his suit to the assembly of the empire, which was then at Spire collected, entreating them to set in a foot, and to help what he could with their authority.

They, ready to satisfy the bishop's request, sent a solemn embassy to the senate and citizens of Strasburg, about December in the year above-mentioned, with this request:

"Requiring them not to put down the mass; neither it was (said they) in the power of the emperor, nor of any other estate, to alter the ancient religion received from their forefathers, but either by a general, or by a provincial, council; which council if they be supposed to be far off, at least that they would take a pause till the next sitting of the empire, which should be with speed; where their requests being propounded and heard, they should have such reasonable answer, as should not miscontent them. For it was (said they) against law and reason, for a private magistrate to infringe and dissolve those things, which by general consent of the whole world have been agreed upon; and therefore good reason required, that they should obtain so much at their hands; for else if they should obstinately proceed in this their attempt, so with force and violence to work as they began, it might fortune the emperor, their supreme magistrate under God, and also Ferdinand his deputy, would not take

well, and so should be compelled to seek such remedy therein, as they would be sorry to use. Wherefore their request was, and advice also, that they should weigh the matter diligently with themselves and follow good counsel; who, in so doing, should not only glad the emperor, but also work that which should redound chiefly to their own commendation and safety."



esides the messengers thus sent from the council of Spire, the bishop also of Hildesheim had been with them a little before, exhorting them in the emperor's name, after like manner. Nei-

afterwards, by letters, certified their bishop touching the doing thereof. Who hearing these news, as heavy to his heart as lead, did signify to them again, how he received their letters, and how he understood by them the effect and sum of their doings: all which he was enforced to digest with such patience as he could, though they went sore against his stomach, seeing for the present time he could no otherwise choose: hereafter would serve (he said); he would see thereunto, according as his charge and office should require.

Thus how the mass was overthrown in Zurich, in Berne, in Geneva, and in Strasburg, you have heard. Now what followed in Basil remaineth likewise to understand. In this city of Basil was Ecclampadius, a preacher, (as is above signified,) by whose diligent labour and travail the gospel began there to take such root, that great dissension there also arose among the citizens about religion, and especially about the mass: whereupon the senate of Basil appointed, that after an open disputation it should be determined by voices, what was to be done therein. This notwithstanding, the papists, still continuing in their former purpose, began more stoutly to inveigh against the other part; and because they were so suffered by the magistrate without punishment, it was therefore doubted by the commons, that they had some privy maintainers among the senators: whereupon certain of the citizens were appointed, in the name of the whole commons, to sue to the senators, and to put them in remembrance of their promise. Whose suit and request was this: that those senators which were the aiders and supporters of the papists, might be displaced, for that it did as well tend to the contempt of their former decree made, as also to the public disturbance of the city. But when this could not be obtained of the senate, the commons, on the eighth day of February, in the year abovesaid, assembled themselves in the Grey Friars' church, and there, considering with themselves upon the matter, repaired again with their suit unto the senate, but not in such humble wise as before; and therewithal gathered themselves in the public places of the city, to fortify the same; albeit as yet without armour. The same evening, the senate sent them word, that, at their request they granted, that those senators, although remaining still in office, yet should not sit in the council at what time any matter of religion should come in talk.

By this answer the commons, gathering that the whole state was ruled by a few, took thereat grief and displeasure, protesting openly, that they would take counsel by themselves hereafter, what they had to do, not only in cases of religion, but also in

ther did the bishop of Strasburg also cease with his messengers and letters daily to labour his friends there, and especially such of the senators as he had to him bound by any fealty, or otherwise by any gifts of friendship; that, so much as in them did lie, they should uphold the mass, and gainstand the contrary proceeding of the others.

The senate of Strasburg, in the mean time, seeing the matter did so long hang in controversy, the space now of two years, and the preachers daily and instantly calling upon them for a reformation, and suit also being made to them of the citizens, assembled their great and full council, to the number of three hundred, (as in great matters of importance they are accustomed to do,) and there with themselves debated the case; declaring on the one side, if they abolished the mass, what danger they should incur by the emperor; on the other side, they did not, how much they should offend God: and therefore, giving them respite to consult, at the next meeting required them to declare their advice and sentence in the matter. When the day came, every man should say his mind, it so fell out, that the voices and judgments of them which went against the mass, prevailed: whereupon immediately a decree was made, on the twentieth of February, 1529, that the mass should be suspended and laid down, till the time that the adversary part should prove by good Scripture, the mass to be a more available and acceptable before God.

This decree being established by the consent of the whole city, the senate afterwards commanded the decree to be proclaimed, and to take full place and to be well within the city, as also without, so that their limits and dominion did extend; and

other matters of civil government; and forthwith took them to armour, keeping the towers and gates, and other convenient places of the city, with watch and ward, in as forcible wise as if the enemy had been at hand.

The next day the senate, requiring respite to deliberate, was contented to commit the matter to them, whom the commons before had sent as suitors unto them; which offer the citizens did not refuse, but with this condition, that those senators who were guilty, should in the mean season follow their plea as private persons, upon their own private costs and charges; and that the others, who defended the public cause for the behoof of their posterity, should be maintained by the public charges of the city. This the senate was glad to grant, with some other like matters of lighter weight, to appease their rage.

It happened the very same day, that certain of the citizens, (such as were appointed to go about the city for the viewing of things,) came into the high church, where one of them thrusting at a certain image with his staff, estoons it fell down and brake; by the occasion whereof, other images also, in like sort, were served after the same devotion. But when the priests came running to them, which seemed to be greatly offended therewith, they, because they would not pass their commission, staid their hands and departed.

It followed upon this, that when word hereof was brought to the citizens which stood in the marketplace, and the matter being made worse unto them than it was, they incontinently discharged out three hundred armed men, to rescue their fellows in the church, supposing them to be in danger: who, coming to the church, and not finding their fellows there, and all things quiet, save only a few images broken down, they likewise, lest they should have lost all their labour, threw down all the other idols and images which they found there standing; and so passing through all churches in the city, did there also the like. And when certain of the senate came forth to appease the tumult, the citizens said, "That which you have stood about these three years, consulting and advising whether it were best to be done or not, that shall we despatch in one hour, that from henceforth never more contention shall grow between us for images." And so the senate permitted them free leave, without any more resistance; and twelve senators were displaced from their order, albeit without note of reproach or dishonesty. Also a decree the same time was made, that as well within the city of Basil, as without, throughout all their jurisdiction, the mass, with all idols, should be abandoned: and further, that in all such matters and cases as concerned the glory of God, and the

affairs of the public wealth, besides the number of the other senators, two hundred of the burgh citizens should be appointed out of every ward of the city to sit with them in council. These decrees being established, after they had kept watch and ward about the city three days and three nights, every one returned again to his house quiet and contented, without any blood or stroke given, or violence wreaked, but only upon the images.

On the third day, which was Ash Wednesday (as the pope's ceremonial church doth call it), the wooden images were distributed among the wards of the city, to serve them for firewood. But they could not well agree in dividing the prey, and fell to brawling among themselves, it was agreed that the said images should be burnt altogether in one place, that in nine great heaps all the stocks and stones there the same day were burnt to ashes before the great church door. And thus by God's ordinance it came to pass, that the same day wherein the pope's priests are wont to show forth all mourning, and do mark men's foreheads with ashes, in remembrance that they be but ashes, was turned into a whole city festival and joyful, for turning the wooden images to ashes; and so is observed and celebrated every year still, unto this present day, with mirth, plays, and pastimes, in remembrance of the same ashes; which day may there be called a *Reformation*. Ash Wednesday of God's own making. The city of Zurich, of Berne, of Soleure, hearing what business was at Basil, sent their ambassadors to mediate between them; but before the ambassadors came, all was ceased and at quiet.

All this mean space the emperor and the French king were together occupied in wars and strifes, which as it turned to the great damage and detriment of the French king, who, in the said wars, was taken prisoner by the emperor, so it happened commodious and opportune for the success of the gospel: for else it is to be thought that these Catholics and other Germans should not have had that leisure and rest to reform religion, and to unite themselves in league together, as they did. Thus Almighty God, of his secret wisdom, disposed times and occasions to serve his will and purpose in all things; albeit Ferdinand the emperor's son, and deputy in Germany, remitted no time or diligence to do what he could in resisting the proceedings of the protestants, as appeared both by the decree set forth at Ratisbon, and also at Spire, in the which council of Spire, Ferdinand, at the same time, which was A. D. 1529, had decreed against the protestants in effect as followeth:

"First, That the edict of the emperor made at Worms, should stand in force through all Germany."

At the time of the general council which should hardly follow. Also, that they which already had altered their religion, and now could not revoke the same again for fear of sedition, should stay themselves, and attempt no more innovations hereafter, at the time of the general council.

Item, That the doctrine of them which hold the Lord's supper otherwise than the church doth teach, should not be received, nor the mass should be altered; and there, where the doctrine of religion was altered, there should be no impediment to the contrary, but that they which were disposed to come thither, might safely therein use their devotion. Against Anabaptists likewise; and that all ministers of the church should be enjoined to use no other interpretation of the Holy Scripture, but according to the exposition of the church doctors: other matters that were disputable not to be touched. Moreover, that all persons and states should keep peace, in that for religion, neither the one part should in any molestation to the other, nor receive any controversies under their protection and safeguard; all which decrees they which should transgress, to be punished and exiled."

At this sitting at Spire, first, the ambassadors of Strasburg were not admitted, but repelled by Ferdinand, because they had rejected the mass; and therefore the said city of Strasburg denied to pay any contribution against the Turk, except they, with other Germans, might be likewise admitted into their councils. The other princes which were received and not repelled, as the duke of Saxony, and George of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, Duke of Lunenburg, and the landgrave Anhaltius, did utterly gainstand the decree, and showed their cause, in a large protestation written, why they so did: which done, all such cities as subscribed and consented to the said protestation of the princes, did then conjoin themselves in a common league with them, whereupon they had their name called therefore protestants. The names of the cities were these: Argentina or Straesburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Dinstance, Reutlingen, Windsheim, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempton, Hailbrun, Isny, Weisseburg, Nollingen, St. Gallen.

Furthermore, as touching the Helvetians, (from whence we have somewhat digressed,) how the cities of Berne and Zurich had consented and joined together in reformation of the true religion, ye heard before. Wherefore the other pages in Helvetia, which were of the contrary profession, in like manner considered themselves in league with Ferdinand: the number and names of which pages especially were five; to wit, the Lucernates, the Urani, the Solothurnes, the Untervaldii, and the Tugiani, which

was in the year abovesaid; to the intent, that they, conjoining their power together, might overrun the religion of Christ, and the professors of the same: who also, for hatred and despite, hanged up the arms of the aforesaid cities of Zurich and Berne upon the gallows, besides many other injuries and grievances which they wrought against them; for the which cause the said cities of Berne and Zurich raised their power, intending to set upon the aforesaid Switzers, as upon their capital enemies. But as they were in the field, ready to encounter one army against the other, through the means of the city of Strasburg, and other intercessors, they were parted for that time, and so returned.

As touching the council of Augsburg, which followed the next year after the assembly of Spire, A. D. 1530, how the princes and protestants of Germany in the same council exhibited their confession, and what labour was sought to confute it, and how constantly Duke Frederic persisted in defence of his conscience against the threatening words and replications of the emperor; also in what danger the said princes had been in, had not the landgrave privily by night slipped out of the city; pertaineth not to this place presently to discourse.

To return therefore unto Zuinglius and the Helvetians, of whom we have here presently to treat, you heard before how the tumult and commotion between the two cities of Zurich and Berne, and the other five cities of the cantons, was pacified by the means of intercession; which peace so continued the space of two years. After that, the old wound waxing raw again, began to burst out and gather to a head; which was by reason of certain injuries, and opprobrious words and contumelies, which the reformed cities had received of the other; wherefore the Tigurines and the Bernates, stopping all passages and straits, would permit no corn nor victual to pass unto them. This was A. D. 1531. And when great trouble was like to be thereby, the French king, with certain other townships of Switzerland, as the Glarians, Friburgians, Solothurnians, and other coming between them, laboured to set them at agreement, drawing out certain conditions of peace between them; which conditions were these: That all contumelies and injuries past should be forgotten: that hereafter neither part should molest the other: that they which were banished for religion, should again be restored: that the five pages might remain without disturbance in their religion, so that none should be restrained amongst them from the reading of the Old and New Testament: that no kind of disquietness should be procured against them of Berne and Zurich: and that either part should confer mutual helps together, one to succour the

other as in times past. But the five pagemen would not observe these covenants made, neither would their malicious hearts be brought to any conformity. Wherefore the Bernates and Tigurines, showing and declaring first their cause in public writing, to purge and excuse the necessity of their war, being pressed with so many wrongs, and in manner constrained to take the sword in hand, did, as before, beset the highways and passages, that no furniture, or victual, or other forage, could come to the other pages; by reason whereof, when they of the five towns began to be pinched with want and penury, they armed themselves secretly, and set forward in warlike array towards the borders of Zurich, where then was lying a garrison of the Zurich men, to the number of a thousand and more; whereupon word was sent incontinent to the city of Zurich, to succour their men with speed. But their enemies approached so fast, that they could hardly come to rescue them; for when they were come to the top of the hill, whereby they must needs pass, they saw their fellows being in great distress in the valley under them. Whereupon they, encouraging themselves, made down the hill with more haste than order, who might go fastest; but the nature of the hill was such, that there could but one go down at once: by reason whereof, forasmuch as they could not keep their ranks to join altogether, it followed that they, being but few in number, were discomfited and overmatched of the multitude; which was on the eleventh of October in the year aforesaid. Among the number of them that were slain, was also Uldricus Zuinglius, the blessed servant and saint of God. Also the abbot of Capella, and Commendator Kunacensis, with thirteen other learned and worthy men, were slain; being, as is thought, falsely betrayed, and brought into the hands of their enemies.

As touching the cause which moved Zuinglius to go out with his citizens to the war, it is sufficiently declared and excused, both by John Sleidan and especially by Ecolampadius, in his epistle, where first is to be understood, that it is an old received manner among the Zurich men, that when they go forth in warfare, the chief minister of the church goeth with them. Zuinglius also of himself, being (saith Sleidan) a man of a stout and bold courage, considering if he should remain at home when war should be attempted against his citizens, and if he, who in his sermons did so encourage others, should now faint so cowardly, and tarry behind at home when time of danger came, what shame and disdain might worthily rise to him thereby, thought not to refuse to take such part as his brethren did.

Ecolampadius moreover addeth, that he went

not out as a captain of the field, but as a good citizen with his citizens, and a good shepherd ready to die with his flock. "And which of them saith he, "that most cry out against Zuinglius, show any such noble heart in him, to do the like. Again, neither did he go out of his own accord, rather desired not to go; foreseeing belike the danger thereof would ensue. But the senate, being importune upon him, would have no nay, urging and enforcing him most instantly to go: among whom were thought to have been some false betrayers, saying and objecting to him, that he was a dolt if he refused to accompany his brethren as well in time of danger as in peace. Moreover the Zuinglius, among other secular arts, had also some skill in such matters of warfare. When he was slain, great cruelty was shown upon his dead corpse, such was their hatred toward him, that their malice could not be satisfied, unless also they should bury his body being dead.

The report goeth, that after his body was cut first in four pieces, and then consumed with fire three days after his death his friends came to see whether any part of him was remaining, where they found his heart in the ashes whole and unburned in much like manner as was the heart of Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, which in the ashes also was found and taken up unconsumed, as by credible information is testified.

Furthermore, such was then the rage of the five pages against the aforesaid abbot of Capella, that they took him, being slain, and putting out both his eyes, clothed him in a monk's cowl, and so set him in the pulpit to preach, railing and jesting upon him in a most spiteful manner. Uldricus Zuinglius was, when he died, of the age of forty-four years; younger than Martin Luther by four years.

The Bernates, who were purposed the same time to achieve war against the Untervaldians, bordering near unto them, when they heard of this discomfiture of the Tigurines, to comfort them again, desired them to be of good cheer and courage, promising that they would not fail, but come and revenge their quarrel. Again, when the Tigurines had assembled their power together, which was the eighth day after the battle, and had received aid from the Schaffhausen, Mulhausen, St. Gallen, and from Basil, (the Bernates at this time were nothing hasty,) out of the whole number they chose out certain ensigns, which setting forth in the night, lay in the hill beside Menzig, intending when the moon was up, to take the town of Zug, lying near at hand, upon the sudden: which when their enemies had perceived, which were encamped not far from them, with all speed and most secret manner

upon them being at rest, the twenty-fourth of October, and to put them in more fear, made a wonderful clamorous outcry. So it fell out in conclusion, that many on both parties were slain; and that the five pagemen had the upper hand, yet would they of Zurich nothing relent in their religion. At last, through mediation, a peace was concluded, and thus the matter agreed, that the Tigurines, Anabaptists, and Basilians, should forsake the league which they had lately made with the city of Strasburg and the landgrave: likewise that the five pagemen should give over their league and composition made with Ferdinand: and hereof obligations were made and sealed in the latter end of November.

Erasmus, the preacher of the city of Strasburg above recorded, hearing of the death of Zuinglius his dear friend, took thereat inward grief and sorrow, insomuch that it is thought to have increased his disease; and so he also departed this life, the same year and month of November above-mentioned, being of the age of forty-nine years, older than Martin Luther by one year. Although this Erasmus then died, yet his learned and famous Commentaries upon the Prophets, with other works which he left behind him, still live and shall never die.

The next year following, which was A. D. 1532, in the month of August, died also the worthy and honorable prince, John Frederic, duke of Saxony, for testimony of Christ and his gospel, sustained such trials, so many brunts, and so vehement conflicts with the emperor, and that especially at the council assembled at Augsburg; that unless the almighty hand of the Lord had sustained him, it had not been possible for him or any prince to have endured so constant and unmovable against so many persecutions and assaults, as he did to the end. After him succeeded John Frederic his son, &c.

And thus have ye the history of Zuinglius, and of the church of Switzerland, with their proceedings and troubles, from the first beginning of their reformation of religion, set forth and described. Whereto we will add one certain epistle of the said Zuinglius, taken out of his other epistles, and so therewith close up his story; which epistle I thought here to record, especially for that in the same, among other matters, profitably is expounded the true meaning of the apostle, writing to the Corinthians concerning how to judge the Lord's body, to the intent that the simple thereby may the better be informed. The words of his letter be these, to follow:

"Unto your questions propounded to me in your former letters, well-beloved brother! I have sent you

here mine answer. First, I am also in the same mind with you, that the Lord's supper is a very thanksgiving; for so the apostle himself meaneth, saying, Ye shall show forth the Lord's death: where the word of showing forth, signifieth as much as praising or thanksgiving. Wherefore seeing it is a Eucharist, or a thanksgiving, in my judgment no other thing ought to be obtruded on men's consciences, but only with due reverence to give thanks. Nevertheless, this is not to be neglected, that every man do prove and examine himself; for so we ought to search and ask our own consciences, what faith we have in Christ Jesus? which if it be sound and sincere, we may approach without stay to this thanksgiving. For he that hath no faith, and yet feigneth or pretendeth to have, eateth his own judgment; for he lieth to the Holy Ghost. And whereas you suppose, that Paul in this place doth not reprove them which sit at the table eating of meats offered to idols, I dissent from you therein. For Paul, a little before, writeth vehemently against those arrogant persons, which bragging upon their knowledge, thought they might lawfully eat of such meats offered to idols, sitting and eating at the Lord's table: You cannot, saith he, be partakers both of the Lord's table, and the table of devils, &c. Wherefore St. Paul's meaning is, that every one should try and examine himself what faith he hath. Whereupon it followeth, that he which hath a right faith, must have no part nor fellowship with those things which be given to idols: for he is now a member of another body, that is, of Christ; so that he cannot join himself now to be one body with idolaters. And therefore those be they which do not judge or discern the Lord's body, that make no difference between the church of Christ and the church of idolaters. For they which sit at the Lord's table, eating of idol meats, do make no difference at all between the Lord's supper and the supper of the devils: which be they whom Paul saith not to judge the body of our Lord, that is, which make no discrepancy, nor give any more regard to Christ's church, than to the church of devils. Whereas if we would judge ourselves; that is, if we would thoroughly search and examine our own consciences as we should, in coming to the table of the Lord, we, finding any faith in us, would never go the table, or make thereof the feast, of devils: wherefore your judgment herein is not amiss in expounding the word of judging in St. Paul, to signify as much a considering, perpending, and inquiring.

"To your second question I answer, that Jesus took bread, and brake, &c. Also he took the cup, &c. These words declare the action of one which

properly doth a thing; and not the hospitality of one which inviteth another to eat.

"Touching your third question, out of the 6th chapter of John, Doth this offend you? herein I do fully agree with you.

"As for this word 'Ostren,' which is your fourth question, I understand thereby the time of the great feast or solemnity, which we keep in remembrance of the great deliverance of God's people from the thralldom of Satan; before, from the thralldom of Pharaoh: neither is it greatly material with what word we express the thing, so the thing itself be one, and the analogy and constancy of the Scripture be kept; for both the Scripture calleth Christ the Lamb, and St. Paul calleth him our Easter or Passover. Now your word, 'Wanderfest,' well pleaseth me, for the Passover, or Pæsah.

"To your fifth interrogation, of Christ's descending into hell; I suppose this particle was inserted into the Creed by the sentence of the fathers, to declare how the fathers were redeemed by the death of Christ, which died in the faith. For Christ led away captivity, wherewith they were holden, with him up into heaven: so that his going down into hell be not so understood as circumscriptively, which is, when a thing is present by circumscription of any one place; but by power, which is by the operation of his Spirit, which is not comprehended in any certainty of place, but without prescription of certain place is diffused every where: so that the article of Christ's descending into hell importeth as much as that his death redeemed them which were in hell. Whereunto St. Peter also seemeth to have respect, where he saith, The gospel also was preached to them which were dead; that is, that they also did feel the good tidings of the gospel, their redemption by the Son of God: and that they which rose again with Christ in the Spirit, be now with him in heaven, who nevertheless in flesh shall be judged, what time the Son of God and of man shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. Return to the places of Peter, the one in his First Epistle, the other in the latter; and so be you contented with this present answer rushed up in haste. Fare ye heartily well; and comfort my William, the good aged father, by the grace of God which is in you. Commend me to John Eggenberge.

"From Zurich, September 1, A. D. 1527."

From the first beginning of this whole book and history hitherto, good reader! thou hast heard of many, and sundry troubles, and much business in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the same, namely in the Church of Rome; as appeareth by the doings of them, in divers and sundry places,

whereof mention hath been made heretofore in this said history. For what godly man hath there been, within the space of these five hundred years, either virtuously disposed, or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the misordered doings and corrupt examples of the see and bishop of Rome from time to time, unto the coming of this Luther? wherein this appeareth to me, and may also appear no less to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers continually from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing against him, yet, notwithstanding, never any could prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, and unknown unto men, yet so far as men by conjectures may suppose, it may thus not unlikely be thought, that whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most specially, with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the root; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, and prejudicial and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's blood word. For whereas the foundation of our faith is grounded upon the Holy Scripture, teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood; that proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ's blood, but by the way of men's meriting and deserving works: whereupon rose divers sorts of other religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him, which is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

Martin Luther therefore, urging and reducing things to the foundation and touchstone of the Scripture, opened the eyes of many who before were drowned in darkness: whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy, comfort, and consolation came into the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in distress, some macerating themselves by works, and presuming upon their own righteousness, to that glorious benefit of the great liberty and justification set up in Christ Jesus. And to speak, the more glorious the benefit of the

they believed. After this they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That (said they) is to be attributed only to the precepts of God, to bind the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they constantly persisted and would not turn, they were condemned and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, which had delivered them through his great goodness from the false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiving them unto him as a sacrifice of sweet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of was, that men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liars, and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired. After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them; praising God with *Te Deum laudamus*, and singing psalms, and rehearsing the Creed, in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, "God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ." Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, "I trust that I carry him truly in my heart." One of them, seeing that fire was kindled at his feet, said, "Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet." Finally the smoke and the flame, mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded, amongst other things, whether Luther had seduced him or no: "Yea," said he, "even as Christ seduced his apostles." He said also, that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in office by the bishops, have no power but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock therewithal. After their death,

their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp; the president whereof, by the papists called Jacob the Lutheran, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterwards, his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.

Henry Sutphen, monk, a martyr, at Dithmarsch.

The next year after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Brussels, above-mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned without all order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Dithmarsch, on the borders of Germany, one Henry Sutphen, monk, A. D. 1524, of whom mention is partly touched in the commentaries of John Sleiden, lib. iv.; but his history is more amply described by Luther, by Paulus Eberus in his calendar, by Ludovicus, by Rabus Crispinus, and others. This Sutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterward coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and so came to Bremen, not to the intent there to preach, but for that he was minded to go to Wittenberg, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said; who, being at Bremen, was there required, by certain godly citizens of Bremen, to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel; whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily allured and persuaded. He made his first sermon unto the people the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them to preach the gospel; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused. When the religious rout had understanding hereof, specially the canons, monks, and priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him, and also the gospel of Christ, out of the city; for that was their chief seeking: whereupon they went unto the senate, desiring that such a heretic might be banished the town, which, in his doctrine, preached against the catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached, who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew none other, but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God.

Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house or any other man could bring testimonial or witness, that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or were repugnant to the word of God, they were ready (they said) with the chapter-house to persecute him: for God forbid that they should maintain a heretic. But if, contrariwise, the canons of the chapter-house, and the other religious men, will not declare and show that the preacher, whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set only of malice, by violence to drive him away, they might not (said they) by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out in a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the archbishop to certify him how that the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their religious sort, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared, lest the whole city shortly should be seduced.

When the bishop heard tell of these things straightways he sent two which were of his council unto Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded why they would have him sent, they answered because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded in what points or articles, they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, a naughty, pernicious heretic, which sought all means possible to drive away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators; That forasmuch as the preacher, being hired by the churchwarden, had not hitherto been convicted for a heretic, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen to dispute with him; and if he were convinced, they promised that without any delay he should be justly punished and sent away: but if they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the suffragan answered with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the whole country; taking unto his witness, that in this behalf he sought

thing else, but only the commodity of his country. But for all this they could prevail nothing; the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan, being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their election.

When he came unto the bishop, he declared the names of the senate, and what he had heard and said of the priests and monks there. Afterwards, when daily news came that the preacher did still preach, and teach more heinous matters against the religious rout, they attempted another way, summoning great men to admonish the citizens, and bring them into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Whom that, they said that he was the prisoner of the Lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the Lady Margaret, requiring to have the prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtleties did nothing at all. For the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the bishop saw this his enterprise frustrated, he attempted another way, whereupon he had certain hope, that both Sutphen, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed; whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Bielefeld, which place they thought most meet for their purpose. To this council were called all the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereto to assent. Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him, as against a manifest heretic, which he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council.

Then the said Henry gathered a sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the archbishop; excusing his innocency, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the Holy Scripture, to retract the same; notwithstanding, earnestly requiring that his errors might be convicted by the Holy Scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto approved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same: but this took no place amongst those appointed prelates.

What the determination of their judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set up upon the church porch the bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, and the decree of the emperor, made

at Worms: whereupon Henry contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, that he was ready willingly to give account touching his faith and doctrine to every man that would require the same. In the mean time the holy catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to trap him in his words: but God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them, for he converted many of them; insomuch that the greater part of those that were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard: persuading them likewise, that they, forsaking all impiety, should follow the word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so obdurate and blinded with Pharaoh, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When God saw the time convenient that Henry should confirm the verity that he had preached, he sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, by this occasion as followeth:

It happened A. D. 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boyes, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorf, which is a town in Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of antichrist, which in that place had full dominion. These letters being received upon St. Katharine's even, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to preach the gospel; adding moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all others who required his aid: wherefore he thought good to go unto Dithmarsch, to see what God would work by him. Requiring also that they would help him with their advice, by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be letted or stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not yet taken so deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout; and that the persecution was very great: willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and if they of Dithmarsch desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the disposition and untrustiness of them of Dithmarsch: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free

liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonalty. Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner: That albeit he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly and learned men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the gospel. Besides that the papists were for the most part vanquished and overthrown, and their folly known, even unto women and children: adding thereunto that he had now preached the gospel by the space of two years at Bremen, and that they of Dithmarsch lived without a pastor even in the midst of the wolves; wherefore he could not with a safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation, that (said he) was but of small effect; forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Dithmarsch for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how he was sent for by them of Dithmarsch, to whom he could not say nay: willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every place for him; thinking that he should scarcely avoid them that had always gone about to bring him to his death. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would straight return again. They, being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, stedfastly hoping that they of Dithmarsch should be converted unto the true faith; which people above all others have always been most given to idolatry.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, on the twenty-second of October he took his journey, and came to Meldorf, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Albeit he had not yet preached, the devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger. Above all others, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the Black Friars, began to fume, who went out of hand unto Master John Swicken his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburg, to take counsel what was to be done, lest they should lose their kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have licence to preach; for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that

it would be but a folly to resist, remembering had happened lately before in Bremen. This termination had, the prior, the next day early in the morning, (for he had not slept well all night care,) went with great speed unto Heyde, to the eight and forty presidents of the congregation unto whom with great complaints he showed that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come unto Bremen, which would seduce all the people of Dithmarsch, as he had done the Bremers. They were, moreover, that did assist this prior, Master Gunter, chancellor of that country, and Peter Henrich, both enemies unto the gospel. These stoutly assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six simple and unlearned men, that they should obtain great favour and good will of the bishop of Bremen, if they would put this heretic monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they decreed that this monk should be put to death, neither heard nor seen, much less convicted.

Furthermore, this prior obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents unto the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching. With these letters he came speedily unto Meldorf, and delivered the letters over night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatenings and commandment, said Henry should be feared from preaching, and gently watching whether he did preach or not.

When Nicholas Boyes, the parish priest, had received the letters, he marvelled not a little at that commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parish priest; and long time before, it was decreed by the whole province, customably used, that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put away the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy the vocation, because he saw it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God, than man. And that if it pleased God that he should lose his life at Dithmarsch, there was as near a way to heaven, in any other place; for that he doubted nothing of all, that once he must suffer for the gospel's sake. Upon this courage and boldness, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and made a sermon, and

believed by their neighbours, he promised in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached (as they said) unto the people, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely; it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings, but that the residents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition: and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next, and by that time it should be made evident, what should be received, and what left undone. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned again to Meldorf with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, conceiving a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon St. Nicholas' day, this Henry preached twice; first, upon the Gospel, A certain nobleman, &c., Luke xix.; secondly, upon this text, There are many made priests, &c., Heb. vii., with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the conception of our Lady, he also made two sermons upon Matthew i., expounding the book of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and under what faith our fathers that then were had lived; adding also, that all respect of works being set apart, we must be justified by the same faith. All these things were spoken with such boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, that had sent them such a preacher: desiring him, moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean space, the prior and Master John Schink were not idle; for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise took no good success, he joined unto him a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobins, and so went up to Laudanum to the monks Franciscan, and Minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of friars above all others are best instructed by their hypocrisy, to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for certain of the rulers, which had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hanne, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared, after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what a heretic monk had preached

how he had obtained the favour almost of all the simple people; which if they did not so speedily provide for, and withstand the beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would come to pass, that shortly the honour of our Lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay.

When these simple and ignorant men heard these words, they were greatly moved: whereunto Peter Swine answered thus, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. "No," said the prior, "this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared, lest the contagion of his heresy do also infect you, being unlearned men; for if you give him leave to speak, and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him." Wherefore they finally determined to take this Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars. Peter Hanne, the prior's chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of Master Gunter, did associate unto him certain other rulers of the towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Peter Hanne, Peter Swine's son, Hennicke Lundane, John Holneus, Laurence Hanneman, Nicholas Wollingbourg, Ambrose and John Brenthusius, Marquadus Kremmerus, Henstedanus Ludecus, John Wislinge, and Peter Grosse, president of Hemingsted. All these presidents, and all others that were of counsel to this pretence, assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of Master Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry, secretly coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded the next day after the conception of our Lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorf, with a great band of husbandmen. This determination thus made, they laid scouts in every place, that there should no news of their pretended mischiefs come unto Meldorf; commanding that as soon as it began to wax dark, they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the country, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for before, no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again,

refusing to do such a detestable and horrible deed. The presidents, with most bitter threats, kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be more courageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburgh beer to drink.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorf. The Jacobins and monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a false betrayer named Hennegus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, bringing and spoiling all things, as the manner of drunken people is. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise cried out, "Kill the thief." Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the street, forcing him to go with them as prisoner: of which some cried out, saying, That the parish priest was not to be meddled withal, for they had no commission to take him. After they had satisfied their lust upon the parish priest, with great rage and fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behind him: where being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hanne, which otherwise was unmerciful and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone; for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingsted, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Dithmarschen, unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming: but they all in a rage cried, "Away with him, away with him! for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared that he will make also heretics." Then he, being marvellously weak and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, "Must we hire a horse for a heretic? he shall go barefoot whether he will or no." Because it was night they carried him naked to Heyde. Afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house named Calde and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house, seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done: wherefore he was carried away to a priest's house, the official's servant of Hamburgh, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked and scorned him.

Amongst all other, there came unto him Simon Al-
man, and Christian, parish priest of the new
church, both alike ignorant and wicked persecutors
the word of God, demanding of him why he had
worn his holy habit? unto whom he friendly
answered by the Scriptures; but those ignorant per-
severed nothing that he said. Master Gunter
came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather
submit to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his
sentence in Dithmarsch? unto whom Henry
answered, "If I have preached any thing contrary
to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their
hands to punish me there-for." Gunter answered,
"Hark! I pray you, good friends, hark! he de-
sires to suffer in Dithmarsch." The common
people all the night continued in immoderate drink-
and swelling.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gather-
ed together in the market-place to consult what they
should do; where the rustical people, boiling with
rage, cried out, "Burn him, burn him! to the fire
with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we
shall this day obtain great glory and praise, both of
God and man; for the longer he liveth, the more he
increases with his heresy." What need many
wonder sure he was to die; for they had condemn-
ed the good Henry without any judgment, (his cause
not being heard,) to be burned. At last they com-
manded the crier to proclaim, that every man that
was at the taking of him, should be ready in armour
to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all other
the friars Franciscan were present, encouraging
the drunken, rude people, saying, "Now you go the
right way to work." Then they bound the said
Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise
brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a
certain woman, standing in her door, beholding that
godly sight, wept abundantly; unto whom Henry
turning himself, said, "I pray you weep not for me."
When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat
down upon the ground. By and by there was pre-
sented one of the presidents named May, which was
universally known to be corrupted and bribed with
money to this purpose: he condemned the said Hen-
ry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

"Perasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached
against the worship of our blessed Lady, by the
commandment and sufferance of our reverend father
in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I con-
demn him here to be burned and consumed with fire."
Unto whom Henry answered, "I have done no such
thing;" and, lifting up his eyes towards the heaven,
he said, "O Lord! forgive them, for they offend
ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name,
O Almighty God! is holy."

In the mean time, a certain woman, the wife of one
Junger, sister of Peter Hanne, offered herself to
suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much
money, so that they would pacify the matter, and
keep him in prison, until he might plead his matter
before the whole convocation of the country. When
they heard these words, they waxed more mad, and
threw the woman down under foot, and trod upon
her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of
the rustical sort struck him behind on the head with
a sharp dagger. John Holmes of the new church
struck him with a mace. Others thrust him in the
back, and in the arms. And this was not done
once or twice, but as often as he began to speak.
Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying,
"Go to boldly, good fellows! truly God is present
with us."

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar unto
Henry, that he should be confessed; whom Henry
demanded in this manner: "Brother! when have
I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when
did I ever provoke you to anger?" "Never," said
the friar. "What should I then confess unto you,"
said he, "that you think you might forgive me?"
The friar, being moved at these words, departed.
The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn.
Notwithstanding they satisfied their minds upon
him, striking and pricking him with all kind of
weapons. The said Henry standing in the mean
time in his shirt before all this rude people, at the
last, they, having gotten a great ladder, bound him
hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And
when he began to pray, and to repeat his Creed,
one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying,
"Thou shalt first be burnt, and afterward pray and
prate as much as thou wilt." Then another, tread-
ing upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a
step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his
mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him
withal, for they saw that for all his sore wounds he
would not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set up-
right. Then one, running unto him, set his halbert
for the ladder to lean against (for those country-
men use no common hangman, but every man ex-
erciseth the office without difference); but the lad-
der slipping away from the point of the halbert,
caused that the halbert struck him through the body.
Then they cast this good man, ladder and all, upon
the wood, which, tumbling down, lighted upon one
side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck
him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead
and stirred no more. Afterwards they roasted him
upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set
on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly

preacher finished his martyrdom ; which was A. D. 1524.

About the same time many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the testimony of the gospel, were thrown into the river Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies afterwards were found and taken up. Also in the said town of Dithmarsch another faithful saint of God, named John, suffered the like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession sealed with their blood, in a sweet odour unto God.

At the town of Halle likewise, another preacher, named Master George, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred and slain of a like sort of cut-throats, set up by monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschenburg.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in the like manner.

Furthermore, in the same year 1524, and the twenty-second of October, the town of Miltenberg in Germany was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants there slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolstadt to be their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed Gasper Tamber. Also another called George, a scrivener, which both were burned at Vienna in Austria.

The lamentable martyrdom of John Clerk, of Melden, in France.

Melden* is a city in France, ten miles distant from Paris, where John Clerk first was apprehended and taken, A. D. 1523, for setting up upon the church door a certain bill against the pope's pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be antichrist ; for the which his punishment was this, that three several days he should be whipped, and afterwards have a mark imprinted on his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother, being a Christian woman, although her husband was an adversary, when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly did encourage her son, crying with a loud voice, " Blessed be Christ ! and welcome be his prints and marks ! "

After this execution and punishment sustained, the said John departed that town, and went to Rosia in Bray, and from thence removed to Metz in Lorraine, where he remained a certain space, applying

* In Seeley's Edition this martyr is called John Clerk of Meaux.

his vocation, being a wool-carder by his occupation where he, the day before that the people of that should go out to the suburbs, to worship the blind idols near by, (after an old use and custom amongst them received,) being inflamed with zeal of God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and brake them all down in pieces. The next morrow after, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks almighty, lie broken on the ground ; at the sight whereof they, being mightily offended in their minds, set all the city on agog, to search out the author thereof, who was hard to be found ; forasmuch as this aforesaid Clerk, besides that he was noted of them to be a man so addicted that way, he was also seen somewhat in the evening before to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he, being suspected, was examined upon the same, at first confessed the truth, rendering also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved maliciously against him, crying out upon him in a rage. Thus his cause being informed to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Father of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For first his hand was cut off from his right side, then his nose with sharp pinchers was violently plucked from his face ; after that both his arms were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stood looking upon, it was a horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of his pains : again, to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him strength to suffer, it was a wonder. Thus quietly and constantly he endured in his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing, the verses of Psalm cxv. ; Their images be silver and gold, the work only of man's hand, &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed ; which was about A. D. 1524.

John Castellane.

The year next ensuing, which was 1525, Master John Castellane, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after that he was called unto the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Beaulieu Duc, also at Vittery in Partoise, at Chalons in Champagne, and in the town of Vike, which is the chamber and episcopal seat of the bishop of Metz in

Lorraine, after he had laid some foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz, in returning from thence he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants, by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nommen. Whereupon the citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within short space after took certain of the cardinal's subjects, and kept them prisoners so long, until the abbot of St. Anthony, in Vionis, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar-general, as well in causes spiritual as temporal, (though the jurisdiction both of the cardinal and bishopric of Metz, Toulouse, and Verdun,) being

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and reiterated unto interrogatories, by means of thine oath, in the which devilishly thou hast hidden and kept back not only the truth, but also, following the example of Cain, hast denied to confess thy sins and mischievous offence: and finally, hearing the great number of witnesses sworn and examined against thee, their persons and depositions diligently considered, and all other things worthy of consideration being justly examined, the reverend Master Nicholas Savin, doctor of divinity, and inquisitor of the faith, assistant unto us, hath entered process against thee, and given full information thereof; this our purpose and intent being also communicated unto divers masters and doctors both of the civil and canon laws, here present, which have subscribed and signed thereunto, whereby it appeareth, that thou, John Castellane, hast oftentimes, and in divers places, openly and manifestly spread abroad and taught many erroneous propositions, full of the heresy of Luther, contrary and against the catholic faith, and the verity of the gospel, and the holy apostolic see; and so accursedly looked back and turned thy face, that thou art found to be a liar before Almighty God: It is ordained by the sacred rules of the canon law, that such as through the sharp darts of their venomous tongue do pervert the Scriptures, and go about with all their power to corrupt and infect the souls of the faithful, should be punished and corrected with most sharp correction, to the end that others should be afraid to attempt the like, and apply themselves the better to the study of Christian concord, through the example set before their eyes, as well of severity, as of clemency. For these causes, and others rising upon the said process, by the apostolic authority, and also the authority of our said reverend lord the cardinal, which we do use in this our sentence definitive, which we, sitting in our judgment-seat, declare in these writings, having God only before our eyes, and surely considering, that what measure we do meet unto others, the same shall be measured to us again: we pronounce and declare sententially and definitively, thee, John Castellane, being here present before us, and judge thee, because of thy deserts, to be excommunicated, with the most great excommunication, and therewithal to be culpable of treason against the Divine Majesty, and a mortal enemy of the catholic faith, and verity of the gospel; also to be a manifest heretic, and a follower and partaker of the execrable cruelty of Martin Luther, a stirrer up of old heresies already condemned. And therefore, as thou oughtest to be deposed and deprived of all priestly honour and dignity, of all thy orders, of thy shaving and religious habit, also of thy ecclesiastical benefices, if thou hast s

from all privilege of clergy : so we here presently do depose, deprive, and separate thee, as a rotten member, from the communion and company of all the faithful : and being so deprived, we judge that thou oughtest to be actually degraded. That done, we leave thee unto the secular powers, committing the degradation and actual execution of this our sentence unto the reverend lord and bishop here present, with the authority and commandment aforesaid."

This sentence being thus ended, with their catholic sermon also, the said bishop of Nicopolis, sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment-seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading (as they call it) of the said Master John Castellane. Thus the said Master John Castellane, being prepared and made ready to his degradation by the officers of the said bishop, was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterwards brought forth of the chapel by the priests which were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him ; and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patine, and the host ; all which things the said bishop which degraded him, took from him, saying, " We take away from thee, or command to be taken away from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick as the dead." Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, " By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands." Then he took from him the chesille, saying, " By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity ; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency." Then taking away the stole, he said, " Thou hast villainously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole : wherefore we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood, and all other things appertaining to priesthood."

The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the Gospels, which the bishop took away, saying, " We take away from thee all power to read the Gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy." After this he spoiled him of the dalmatic, which is the vesture that the deacons use, saying, " We deprive thee of this Levitical order ; forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and

office." After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, " We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hast received undefiledly ; which also thou oughtest to have borne in the presence of our Lord : and to the end that the people dedicated unto the name of Christ may take by thee example, we prohibit any more to exercise or use the office of deacon." Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdiaconship, and taking away from him the book of Epistles, and his subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the Epistles in the church of God. And so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, degraded him from the order of Benet and Canon, from the order of exorcist, from the lectorship ; last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking away from him the keys, and commanding him hereafter never to open or shut the revestry, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forth to degrade him from his first shaving, and taking away his surplice, said unto him, " By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take from thee all clerical habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion : also we depose and degrade thee of all order, benefit, and privilege of the clergy, as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular state." Then the bishop took the shears, and began to shave his head, saying in this manner : " We cast thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown, which is the royal sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice." The bishop also added these words : " That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work ; wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God."

The degrading thus ended, the procurator of the court and city of Metz, required of the notary an instrument or copy of the degrading. Then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerical habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, forasmuch as he which is degraded according to the institution of Pope Innocent the Third, ought to be delivered unto the secular court, the bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner : " We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerical honour and privilege."

This done, the bishop, after a certain manner, treated the secular judge for him, saying, " My lord judge ! we pray you as heartily as we can, for the sake

of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body." These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, confirming the aforesaid sentence, condemned the said Master John Castellane to be burned quick; which death he suffered the twelfth of January, A. D. 1525, with such a constancy, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the verity, but also a great number which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by that his constant and valiant death.

It would fill another volume to comprehend the tales and stories of all them which in other countries, at the rising of the gospel, suffered for the same. But praised be the Lord, every region almost hath its own history-writer, which sufficiently hath discharged that part of duty, as every one in matters of his own country is best acquainted: wherefore I shall the less need to overstrain my travail, or to enlarge this volume therewith; only it shall suffice me to collect three or four histories, recorded by Hippolytus and the rest, to bring it into a history, and so return to occupy myself with our domestic matters here done at home.

In the year of our Lord 1525, there was a cruel and godly minister, who had committed nothing in the commotion there raised by the mad clowns of the country, which, they said that of him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with deed or crime, but with some word something spoken, was therefore condemned to be

After sentence was given, there was a gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of men to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him; coming into his house, saluted him friendly, saying as though their coming had been to make merry: for he was a good housekeeper, and the gentlemen of the country thereabouts used often to resort unto his house familiarly. This gentleman ready for them in a short space a very good banquet, whereof they did eat and drink heartily. After dinner was ended, and that he was yet at the table, thinking no hurt, he said to his servants, 'Take you this gentleman, and hang him, and that without delay, for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the crime he hath committed against his prince.' The servants were marvellously astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their master, 'God forbid that we should commit any

such crime, to hang a man that hath treated us so gently; for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render so great evil for a good turn, but especially to murder an innocent.' Briefly, the servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to flee, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

"As the gentleman and his servants were thus contending, the priest said unto them, 'I beseech you show no such cruelty upon me; rather lead me away captive unto my prince, where I may purge myself. I am falsely accused, and I trust to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me. At least remember the hospitality which I have ever showed to you, and all noblemen at all times resorting to my house.' But principally speaking to the gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil conscience; protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the doctrine of the gospel, and that it was the principal cause why he had such evil will: which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, forasmuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen, which maintained their people in their vicious living; and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should show example of faith, true religion, and soberness; but they had oftentimes resisted him, saying, That it was not his part to reprove them, forasmuch as they were his lords, and might put him to death if they would: that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainsay it: also that he went about some things in his sermons, that would come to an ill end.

"This good man, whatsoever he could say, could not make his matter seem good; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and pricked forth his servants still to accomplish their purpose (for it was resolved by the prince, that he should be put to death); and, turning himself unto the priest, he said, that he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine himself to die, for the prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose for to save his life. At the last, the servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their host, and hanged him upon a beam in his own house, the gentleman standing by and looking on. This good man, seeing no remedy, spake no other words but only, 'Jesus, have mercy upon me; Jesus, save me.'

"This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would scarcely have committed again."

mortal enemy. Now let every man judge with himself, which of them have the greatest advantage, either they which commit the cruelty against the good, or the good men which do suffer the same unjustly. The first sort have a continual gnawing in their conscience, and the others obtain an immortal crown."

The history of the death of a certain minister, named Master Peter Spengler, which was drowned.

"In a certain village named Schlat, in the country of Brisgois, there was a vigilant minister, a man very well learned in the Scriptures, of a good name, for that he lived a godly and a blameless life, having long time faithfully done his office and duty; being also courteous and gentle, and well-beloved of men, but specially of the bishop of Constance, with whom he was in great authority; peaceable and quiet with all men that he had to do withal. He quieted discords and contentions with a marvellous prudence, exhorting all men to mutual charity and love. In all assemblies wheresoever he came, he greatly commended honest life and amendment of manners. When the purity of the gospel began to shine abroad, he began to read with great affection the Holy Scriptures, which long time before he had read, but without any understanding. When he had recovered a little judgment, and came to more understanding by continual reading, being also further grown in age, he began to consider with himself, in how great darkness and errors the whole order of priests had been a long time drowned. 'O good God,' said he, 'who would have thought it, that so many learned and holy men have wandered out of the right way, and could have so long time been wrapped in so great errors, or that the Holy Scripture could have been so deformed with such horrible abuses.' For he never well understood before (he said) that the gospel was the verity of God, in that order wherein it is written, seeing it containeth so much touching the cross, persecution, and ignominious death; and yet the priests lived in great prosperity, and no man durst maintain any quarrel against them without great danger. He also saw that the hour was come that the gospel should be displayed, that persecution was at hand, that the enemies of the truth began now to rage, that the wicked and proud lifted up their heads on high, and feared not to enterprise and take in hand all kind of mischief and wickedness against the faithful; that the bishops, which ought by their virtue and power to defend the word, were more barbarous and cruel than any tyrants had been before. He, thus considering the present state of

the world, put all doubt from his heart, and saw presently before his eyes, that Jesus Christ had taught the truth; seeing so many bodies of the faithful were daily so tormented, beaten, exiled, banished, drowned, and burned. For who can report the great torments which the innocent have endured these years past, even by those who call themselves Christians; and for no other cause, but only for the true confession of Jesus Christ? This good pastor, (considering with himself the laws and doctrine of the Church of Rome to swerve from the truth of Christ, especially in restraining marriage,) to the end that he would not defile himself with fornication, married a maid of his, such a one as feared God; by whom afterwards he had many fair children.

"About this time the people of the country had raised a great commotion, who in their rage went to monasteries and priests' houses, as if they had taken in hand some pilgrimage, and spared nothing that they could find to eat. That which they could not eat, they either cast under foot, or carried away with them. One company of this rustic sort lodged themselves in the house of this good priest; for they made no difference between the good and the bad. These roisters took from him all that they could find, leaving nothing behind them insomuch that they took away the very hose from his legs, for all that he could do: albeit that he gently entreated them, showing them that it was theft and a hanging matter that they did, yet it continued still in their madness like beasts.

"As they were departing out of the house, a good priest could not refrain himself from weeping, saying unto them, 'I tell you before, these your ordinate doings will redound to some great mischief to yourselves; for what madness is this? What meaneth this rage and tumult, wherein you keep no order or equity, neither have any respect between friend and foe? Who thus stirreth you up? What counsel do you follow, or to what end do you? Like thieves you spoil whatsoever you can lay hands upon. And think you not but these things which you now rob, ravin, and steal, you shall be compelled hereafter to restore again to your detriment? What sedition did ever come to this end? You pretend the gospel, and have no use of the gospel either in your mouths or in your hearts. These excesses,' saith he, 'ye never learned of which ever have taught you the true word of God. This your gospel,' saith he, 'is rather the gospel of the devil, than of God, which vexeth all the people with violence and wrong, spoiling and robbing without regard. The true gospel of Jesus Christ teacheth you to do good unto all men, to avoid dis-

perjury. This I say unto you, that in these things you offend God, and provoke his just vengeance to plague you, which will never suffer evils to escape unpunished. You find written in the gospel, That which thou wouldest not be done to thee, do not to others. You offend all the nobility, and your lawful magistrates, whom you are sworn and bound unto. It is no matter, I tell you, to raise up sedition, to stir up others, and to disturb the state of the commonwealth: and when this tumult shall be ceased, what shall your noblemen do? Shall they not be as fast, and of your goods make themselves rich, and then shall one of you betray another.' With such other words, he stood preaching unto them, almost naked; but all this would not move those men, who, after all these gentle admonitions and fair words, departed out of his house, giving him foul language, and calling him a seditious fellow. Amongst all others, one more wicked of the residue said unto him in this manner: 'O traitor! we have been long deceived by your lies of masses, by fearing us with purgatory, by indulgences and trentals; and so have we been idle; wherefore we do nothing, now, but require the money which you robbed us of.' And so saying and scorning him they departed.

After that this sedition of the peasants was appeased, their armour being laid away, they were taken unto grace; after that also divers of the principals of that conspiracy were taken and there in the villages, and executed; this pastor, fearing no such thing, for the true and pure preaching of the gospel, whereat many took indignation, was taken in the night by certain men, which bound him hand and foot with a rope, before his wife and children, and so set him upon a horse, and led him away to Friburg. With grievous sighs, tears, sorrow, and lamentation there! it would have moved any heart, were he as hard as a flint, to a doleful compassion; especially to see the barbarous and despiteful rebukes, blows, and extreme cruelty showed by these proud papist soldiers against the innocent priest. Such bloody tyrants the world is never without: such godly ministers we have had but a few.

* The people, hearing this pitiful noise and lamentation in the night, came running out, not the men, but only the women, whom the soldiers would not go home again, and that their men should come forth and keep the town; but their men durst not appear. Then from Friburg shortly after they conveyed him to Ensisheim.

* After they had long kept this man in prison, and that he had endured most terrible torments in

all parts of his body, they judged him to death. If you will know the cause what they had to lay to his charge, it was only this, that he had married a wife secretly in his own house, with a few witnesses. Other crimes they had none to object against him; neither that he was a seditious and wicked man, or that he had committed any other offence, albeit they had gathered divers wicked persons out of sundry places, to pick out of his sermons the order and manner of his behaviour. When he was led unto the place of execution, he answered gently and quietly unto all them that came to comfort him. But there were divers monks and priests, which troubled him very sorely with their foolish babbling, as he was striving in his spirit against the horror of death, and making his prayer unto Almighty God; seeking nothing else but to turn him away from his hearty and earnest contemplation. But he desired them that they would hold their peace, saying that he had already confessed his sins unto the Lord Jesus, nothing at all doubting but that he had received absolution and forgiveness of them all. 'And I,' said he, 'shall this day be an acceptable sacrifice unto my Saviour Jesus Christ, for I have done no such thing wherefore I am now condemned, which might displease my Lord God, who, in this behalf, hath given me a good and quiet conscience. Now therefore let them which thirst for innocent blood, and shed the same, diligently advise themselves what they do, and that they offend even Him, unto whom it pertaineth truly to judge the hearts of men; for it is said, Vengeance is mine, and I will punish.' And forasmuch as he was a very lean man, he added this moreover, saying, 'It is all one; for shortly I must have forsaken this skin, which already scarcely hangeth to my bones. I know well that I am a mortal, and a corruptible worm, and have nothing in me but corruption. I have long time desired my latter day, and have made my request that I might be delivered out of this mortal body, to be joined with my Saviour Christ. I have deserved, through my manifold sins committed against my Saviour Christ, my cross; and my Saviour Christ hath borne the cross, and hath died upon the cross; and for my part I will not glory in any other thing but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.'

* There were present by certain naughty persons which could not endure to hear this godly exhortation, but made a sign unto the hangman to cast him down into the river. After he was thrown down, he moved by a certain space in the water, in such sort that the river whereinto he was cast was red with blood. This was a certain sign and token that innocent blood was that day shed. They which were there present, beholding that which had happened, were

greatly amazed and astonished, considering with themselves what the staining of the water with the blood should signify. Every man returned home pensive and sad, marvelling at the cruel deed that was done that day: notwithstanding, no man durst open his mouth to speak one word, because that all things were exercised with such cruelty. This was done in the town of Ensisheim, A. D. 1525.

"These things I did understand by one which did behold them with his eyes. The Lord of his great grace be merciful unto us, and forgive us our sins!"

Such was the wickedness then of those days, and yet is still, that whosoever was perceived to favour the gospel, or any thing to dislike the doctrine of the pope's church, he was hated and despised of the rulers, lawyers, and all other papists through the whole country about; but especially of priests, monks, and friars. And though the life of the gospellers were never so sound and upright, yet such was the hatred and malice of the pope's friends

against them, that they never ceased to seek occasions, and devise matters how to bring them to death.

It so happened a little before this present time that there was a commotion of the rude and rustick people of the country rising in armour inordinately against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, and no less to their destruction; of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length, when this rebellion was appeased and all things quiet, such as were the pope's friends to work their malice against the gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entrap such as they knew to be gospellers and protestants. And although the said gospellers were never culpable and clear from all rebellion, yet they were convicted not; for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt judges suborned, to condemn innocent; and many were put to death, their names neither being heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and

in; in the number of whom was this poor man, whose story by Ecolampadius is thus described:

"There was," saith he, "a certain man of the country, which in my judgment was a good man, and of justice, and a mortal enemy of all the cruel tyrants of the gentlemen which oppressed the people. This man, after the tumult and commotion of the country was appeased, was grievously tormented because he had cried 'alarm,' and a great number of horsemen ranged about the country to seek out those which had been the cause of that sedition. This poor man was taken, and so upholden with fair promises, that he made him confess whatsoever they required, thinking that they would not have put him to death, was cast into prison, where he was some time detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him. But, after he had spent a long time in prison, they put him to the rack, laying divers and many grievous offences upon him, where they kept him hanging in the middle of the cord the space of six hours, hanging a stone fastened at his feet.

"The sweat that dropped from his body for very pain and anguish, was almost blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully, but all that could not move the tormentors' hearts. When all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, the great violence they let him fall down. There this poor man lay even as a stock, not moving any part or member of his body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the man, (whom they sought by all means to destroy,) in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

"Amongst them there was one who brought vinegar and rose water; and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After they had caused him to eat and drink such as they provided for him, they let him down into a deep dungeon, where he could see neither sun nor moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of torments, to the intent they might, even of force, extort something of this poor man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose. The twentieth day after, these tyrants hired a hangman, (a man were worthy of his office,) which left no

kind of cruelty unpractised; yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his cruelty, and to pronounce even with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had so constantly endured so many horrible and grievous torments. Yet these tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two witnesses against him; thus concluding, that he was worthy of death, because he had cried 'alarm' after the truce was taken, and would have moved a new sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought unto him the hangman and a friar into the prison.

"In the mean time this poor man thought with himself, that they would have showed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison. Then they let down a cord and a staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, that he would rather choose to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel torments; notwithstanding, if they would promise him not to put him any more to the truss of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just judges, on that condition he would come out; although he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certain councillors which promised to perform his request, and thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soon as he saw the friar, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, 'O miserable and wretched man that I am! now am I betrayed and deceived; for my latter hour is at hand. I see well the dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard.' The friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden cross out of his sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because that they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. 'Poor man,' said the friar, 'thou hast had good and gentle judges; at the least thou shalt go to God; therefore confess thy sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go straight to the kingdom of heaven.' The poor man answered, 'Thou wicked friar! get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my sins and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy absolution, which thou thyself dost

not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical life. I know well enough what thou art; thou playest the ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and a crafty heart, which hath deceived much simple people. If thou hast any comfort or consolation out of the gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me with thy portues.'

"The friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The hangman, being wiser than the friar, bade him read unto the poor man something of the passion, wherein the poor man would take great pleasure. This foolish friar had no other consolation to com-

fort him withal, but to hold the crucifix of wood before him, saying, 'Behold thy Saviour which died for thee; look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted.' Then said the poor man, 'I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thee away from me, thou naughty person! with thy marmoset of wood; my Saviour dwelleth in heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my soul to eternal death.' The friar crossed himself, showing the semblance of a man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor man was fallen into desperation. Then he was led forth into the market-place, where, according to the custom, openly before all the people, his confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but

when all men were at rest. | 'which know me, shall be sufficient good wit on my behalf, that from my youth upward I

always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury. In an evil time have I happened into these cursed days, when all ways both of God and man are turned topsy turvy. I was adherent to the truth and sedition of the men of the country, as many others were, which dwelt thereabout. But what then? are there not also many gentlemen which followed the peasants' army, and many strong towns which went also with them? I was not the author of any sedition, which always I have mortally hated. I never gave counsel unto any man to move any blood or tumult in any place. We asked counsel of our gentlemen what we should do, when the bands of the peasants were assembled in the fields; but they gave us neither counsel nor comfort. And to speak of myself, I did never understand or know what the articles were that were published, neither was there ever any man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the heads of the countrymen were risen, neither wherefore every man moved his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a wicked man, and made me to endure so great torment? He continued a long time declaring his innocency: but, notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and, at the commandment of the judge, struck off his head, and he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue lived a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken. Thus this good man of the country ended his days, and whom the false judges could find no crime sufficient to object, albeit they had diligently sought out means to have information of all his life and actions. The Lord grant his Spirit to all those which follow in his name.

Wolfgangus Schuch, a German, burned in Lorraine.



WOLFGANGUS Schuch, coming to a certain town in Lorraine, bearing the name of St. Hippolyte, and being received in the said town to be their pastor, laboured by all

means to extirpate out of the hearts of the people idolatry and superstition. Which, through the blessing of Christ working with him, he in short time brought prosperously to pass according to his

desire; insomuch that the observation of Lent, images, and all idols, with the abomination also of the mass, in the same town was utterly abolished: so reformatable God made the hearts of the people there, and such affection had they to their minister, It was not long but the rumour thereof came to the hearing of Duke Anthony, prince of Lorraine, (under whose dominion they were,) through the swift report of the adversaries, falsely belying these Hippolytanes to the duke; as though they, in relinquishing the doctrine and faction of the pope, went about to reject and shake off all authority and power of princes, and all superior governors. By the means of which sinister report they incensed the prince to such displeasure and indignation, that he threatened to subvert and utterly to destroy the town with sword and fire. Wolfgangus, having word of this, wrote unto the duke his epistle in most humble and obedient wise, in defence both of his ministry, of his doctrine which he taught, and of the whole cause of the gospel.

In which epistle, first, he excused the people to be innocent and blameless, and rather those slanderous reporters were worthy to be blamed, and also punished, for their false rumours and forged slanders raised up against them. After that, he opened and explained the cause and state of the gospel, and of our salvation, consisting only in the free grace of God, through faith in Christ his Son; comparing also the same doctrine of the gospel with the confused doctrine of the Church of Rome. That done, thirdly, he proceeded to our obedience, honour, and worship, which first we owe to God and to Christ, next under him to princes here and potentates, whom God hath placed in his room, and endued with authority here in earth; unto whom they offered themselves now and at all times pressed and most ready to obey, with all service and duty, &c.

But with this epistle Wolfgangus did nothing prevail, either for that it was intercepted by the way, or else for that the false accusations and wicked tongues of the adversary part took more effect to win credit with the duke, than could the simple defence of verity. Whereupon Wolfgangus, when he saw no other remedy, rather than the town should come into any danger for his cause, the good man, of his own accord, came to the city of Nancy, (which is the head town of Lorraine,) there to render a confession of his doctrine, and also to deliver the town of St. Hippolyte out of peril, drawing in all the danger upon himself.

As soon as he was come thither, incontinent hands were laid upon him, and he laid fast in a strait and stinking prison, where he was sharply and bitterly handled under the custody of the churlish and

keepers. All this notwithstanding, Wolfgangus, continuing in that prison the space of a whole year, yet would not be moved from his constancy, neither with the straitness of the prison, nor with the hardness of his keepers, nor yet with the compassion of his wife and children, of which he had about six or seven. Then was he had to the house of the Grey Friars, to profess there his faith; where he both wittily and learnedly confuted all them that stood against him.

There was a friar named Bonaventure, provincial of that order, of face, body, and belly monstrous, but much more gross in blind ignorance; and a man utterly rude, a contemner of all civility and honesty; who, being long confessor to the duke, and of great authority in Lorraine, as he was an enemy to virtue and learning, so was he ever persuading the duke to banish out of the court and country of Lorraine all learned men; neither could he abide any person which seemed to know more than his elders knew before. The sum of all his divinity was this, to be sufficient to salvation only to know the Pater-noster and Ave Maria. And thus was the duke brought up and trained, and in nothing else, as the duke himself oftentimes in talk with his familiars would confess. This Bonaventure, being chief judge and moderator where Wolfgangus disputed or was examined, had nothing else in his mouth, but "Thou heretic!" "Judas!" "Beelzebub!" &c. Wolfgangus, bearing patiently those private injuries which pertained to himself, proceeded mightily in his disputation by the Scriptures, confuting, or rather confounding his adversaries; who being not otherwise able to make their party good, yet for very shame, because they would not seem to do nothing, took his Bible with his notes in the margin into their monastery, and burned it. At the last disputation Duke Anthony himself was said to be there, altering his apparel because he would not be known; who, albeit he understood not the speech of Wolfgangus speaking in Latin, yet perceiving him to be bold and constant in his doctrine, departing from the disputation, gave sentence that he should be burned, because he denied the church, and sacrament of the mass. Whereupon it followed shortly after that Wolfgangus was condemned to be burned, who, hearing the sentence of his condemnation, began to sing the 122nd Psalm.

As he was led to the place of execution, passing by the house of the Grey Friars, Bonaventure the great Cyclops, sitting at the door, cried out to him, "Thou heretic! do thy reverence here to God, and to our Lady, and to his holy saints;" showing to him the idols standing at the friar's gate: to whom Wolfgangus answered again, "Thou hypocrite!

thou painted wall! the Lord shall destroy thee, and bring all thy false dissimulation unto light." When they were come to the place of his martyrdom, first his books before him were thrown into the fire. Then they asked him, whether he would have his pain minished or shortened? to whom he said, "No," bidding them to do their will; "for," said he, "as God hath been with me hitherto, so truly now he will not leave me when I shall have most need of him;" concluding his words thus, that they should put the sentence in execution: and so beginning to sing the one and fiftieth Psalm, he entered into the place heaped up with faggots and wood, continuing in his Psalm, and singing till the smoke and the flame took from him both voice and life.

The singular virtue, constancy, and learning of this blessed man, as it refreshed and greatly edified the hearts of many good men, so it astonished much the minds of his adversaries, and wrought their confusion. For shortly after his death, the commendator of St. Anthony of Vienna, who sat as a spiritual judge over him, and gave sentence of condemnation, fell suddenly down and died. A his fellow, who was abbot of Clarilocus, and fragan to the bishop of Metz, suddenly, at the command of the duchess of Denmark into the city of Nastricken with sudden fear at the crack of guns, down and died, as they which were present and it have made faithful relation of the same. A 1525.

John Huglein, martyr, burned at Merseburg

Of John Huglein, priest, mention is made in Commentaries of John Sleidan, in lib. vi., the next year following, A. D. 1526, was burned Merseburg, by the bishop of Constance, so he did not hold with the bishop of Rome's doctrine in all points.

Moreover, besides other matters in this year current, here is also a memorandum to be read to all posterity, that in this present year 1526 John Frederic, son and heir to the prince and elector of Saxony, was promised the Lady Katharine, emperor's younger sister, in marriage, and made of the same. But when the alteration of religion was sent by God's providence into Germany, they swerved from their covenants; and Frederic, which was then the emperor's ambassador to France, said plainly that there was no promise kept with heretics: wherein they seemed to follow well the footsteps of the council of Constance, before you have partly heard in the story of Huss, and of the emperor Sigismund.

George Carpenter of Emerich, martyr, burned in the town of Munich, in Bavaria.

On the eighth day of February, in the year of our salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous sight and spectacle in the town of Munich in Bavaria, which was this: A certain man, named George Carpenter, of Emerich, was there burnt. He was taken out of the prison called Falkenberg, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him, to instruct and teach him; but he would tarry at home, and not to follow them. When he came before the council, his offences were contained in four articles.

1. That he did not believe that a priest could forgive man's sins.

2. That he did not believe that a man could call God of heaven.

3. That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

4. That he did not believe that the very element of the water itself, in baptism, doth give grace. To which four articles he utterly refused to recant.

There came unto him a certain schoolmaster of St. George, in the town of Munich, saying, "My friend George! dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children?"

Hereunto he answered, "If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and my beloved children?" Then said the schoolmaster, "Revoke your former sentence and opinion, and you shall be set at liberty." Whereunto George answered: "My wife and my children are so dearly loved unto me, that they cannot be bought from me with all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but, for the love of my Lord God, I will willingly forsake them." When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake unto him

being in the midst of the market-place, saying, "Good George! believe in the sacrament of the Lord; do not affirm it to be only a sign." Where-

unto he answered, "I believe this sacrament to be the sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us." Then said the schoolmaster, moreover, "What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Jesus Christ offered himself to be baptized in Jordan?" Whereunto he answered, and showed what was the true meaning of baptism; and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan; and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross, wherein only standeth our salvation. "The same Christ," said he, "I will confess this day before the

whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe."

After this came unto him one Master Conrad Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church of our Lady in Munich, a preacher, saying, "George! if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true; but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent:" whereunto George Carpenter answered, "God suffer me not to err, I beseech him." Then said the schoolmaster unto him, "Do not put the matter on that hazard, but choose unto you some good Christian brother, Master Conrad, or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him." Whereunto he answered, "Nay, not so, for it would be too long." Then Master Conrad began the Lord's prayer: "Our Father which art in heaven;" whereunto Carpenter answered, "Truly thou art our Father, and no other, this day I trust to be with thee." Then Master Conrad went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name." Carpenter answered, "O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world!" Then said Master Conrad, "Thy kingdom come." Carpenter answered, "Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom." Then said Conrad, "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." Carpenter answered, "For this cause, O Father! am I now here, that thy will might be fulfilled and not mine." Then said Conrad, "Give us this day our daily bread." Carpenter answered, "The only living bread Jesus Christ, shall be my food." Then said Conrad, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us." Carpenter answered, "With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries." Then said Master Conrad, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil." Whereunto Carpenter answered, "O my Lord! without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope." Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, "I believe in God the Father Almighty." Carpenter answered, "O my God! in thee alone do I trust; in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature; albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise." In this manner he answered to every word; which his answers, if they should be described at length, would be too long.

This prayer ended, the schoolmaster said unto him, "Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth?" Hereunto he answered; "It were a very hard mat-

ter for me, if that I, which am here ready to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart, which I openly profess with my mouth: for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, Where thy heart is, there also is thy treasure, Luke xii.; and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart to love above God, that he maketh his idol." Then said Master Courad unto him, "George! dost thou think it necessary after thy death, that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee?" He answered, "So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility, to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith; but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers."

When the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much unto the people. Then he was desired by certain Christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom he answered, "This shall be my sign and token; that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus."

Behold, good reader! what an incredible constancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any man before. His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went unto the fire. "In the midst," saith he, "of the town this day will I confess my God before the whole world." When he was laid upon the ladder, and the hangman put a bag of gunpowder about his neck, he said, "Let it so be, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost!" And when the two hangmen lifted him up upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He with a loud voice cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, "Jesus! Jesus!" and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.

Leonard Keyser, martyr, burned at Schardingham.

Here also is not to be passed over the marvellous constancy of Master Leonard Keyser, of the country of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel. 'This Keyser was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous house. This man, being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent for by his brethren, which certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither when, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he

was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

That faith only justifieth.

That works are the fruits of faith.

That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession.

The first to be of faith, which is always necessary.

The second of charity, which serveth when a man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a man may see by the which is written in Matt. xviii.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to be counsel of the ancient ministers of the church.

And forasmuch as all this was contrary to the bull of Pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of secular power. The persecutors who sat in judgment upon him, were the bishop of Passau, suffragans of Ratisbon and Passau; also Dr. Eck being guarded about with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolks made great intercession to his judgment deferred and put off, that the truth might be more exactly known. Also John Frederick, duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schumburg and Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail. After the sentence given, he was carried by a company of hardy men out of the city again, to Schardingham, the thirteenth of August; where Christopher Fieger, the civil judge, receiving him, had letters from Duke William of Bavaria, that for tarrying for no other judgment, he should be put to death alive. Whereupon the good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and clothed in a short gown, and a black cap upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was he led unto the officer. As he was led out of the place where he should suffer, he boldly spake in the Almain tongue, turning his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, "O Lord Jesus! remain with me, and help me, and give me force and power."

Then the wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, "I am thine, have mercy upon me, and save me, and therewithal he felt the fire begin to burn his feet, his hands, and about his head. Because the fire was not great enough, they plucked the body, half burnt, with a knife."

from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again into the fire, and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, who suffered for the testimony of the truth, on the sixth of August, A. D. 1527.

Wendelmata, widow, martyr, at the Hague.

In Holland also the same year, 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named Wendelmata, a daughter of Nicholas of Munchenstein. This widow, receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace by the appearing of the gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the castle of Werden; and shortly after from thence was brought to Hague, the fifteenth day of November, there to appear at the general sessions of that country; where was present Hochstraten, lord president of the said country, who also sat upon her the seventeenth day of the aforesaid month. Divers monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and make her to recant; but she, constantly persisting in the truth wherein she was planted, would not be moved. Many also of her kindred, and other women, were suffered to persuade with her; among whom there was a certain noble matron, who was much favoured dearly the said widow being in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, in her talk said, "My Wendelmata! why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart of these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life? To whom she answered again: "Ah," said she, "you know what you say. It is written, With the heart believeth to righteousness, with the tongue we give thanks for salvation," &c., Rom. x. And thus she, being firm and steadfast in her belief and conscience, on the twentieth day of November was condemned, by sentence given as against a heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated; and the sentence of her condemnation mildly executed.

When she came to the place where she should be burned, and a monk there had brought out a blind man, willing her many times to kiss and worship him; "I worship," said she, "no wooden god, but that God which is in heaven:" and so, with a joyful and joyful countenance, she went to the executioner, desiring the executioner to see the stake to which she should be bound. Then taking the powder, she put it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending herself into the hands of God. When the executioner saw that she should be strangled, modestly

she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head, as one that would take a sleep: which done, the fire then was put to the wood, and she, being strangled, was burned afterwards to ashes; instead of this life, to get the immortal crown in heaven. A. D. 1527.

Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach, put to death at Cologne.

In the number of these German martyrs, are also to be comprehended Peter Flisteden and Adolphus Clarebach; two men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy word. Which two, A. D. 1529, (for that they did dissent from the papists in divers points, and especially touching the supper of the Lord, and other the pope's traditions and ceremonies,) after they had endured imprisonment a year and a half, by the commandment of the archbishop and senate, were to put to death and burned in Cologne, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians; all the fault being put upon certain divines, which at that time preached, that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons should pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and strange kind of disease: for at that season the sweating sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany.

A preface to the table following.

If thou well remember in reading this book of stories, loving reader! it was before mentioned and declared how in the year of grace 1501, certain prodigious marks and prints of the Lord's passion, as the crown, cross, nails, scourges, and spear, were seen in Germany upon the garments of men and women. Which miraculous ostent, passing the ordinary course of natural causes, as it was sent of God, no doubt, to foreshew the great and terrible persecution, which afterwards fell in the country of Germany, and other regions besides, for the testimony of Christ; so, if the number and names of all those good men and women, which suffered in the same persecution, with their acts and doings, should be gathered and compiled together, it would ask a long time, and a large volume. Notwithstanding, partly to satisfy the history which we have in hand, partly also to avoid tedious prolixity, I thought briefly to contract the discourse thereof, drawing, as in a compendious table, the names of the persecutors, and of the martyrs who suffered, and the causes thereof, in as much shortness as I may; referring the full tractation of their lives and doings to those writers of their own country, where they are to be read more at large. And to keep an order in the same table, as much as in such a confined

heap of matters I may, according to the order and distinction of the countries in which these blessed saints of Christ did suffer; I have so divided the order of the table in such sort, as first to begin with them that suffered in Germany, then in France, also in Spain, with other foreign countries more; showing only the names, with the principal matters of them; referring the rest to the further explication of their own story-writers, from whence they be collected: the which table being finished, my purpose is, Christ willing, to return to the full history of our own matters, and of the martyrs who suffered here in England.

A table of the names and causes of such martyrs as gave their lives for the testimony of the gospel, in Germany, France, Spain, Italy, and other foreign countries, since Luther's time: in which table are contained the persecutors, the martyrs, and the causes of their martyrdom.

The martyrs of Germany.

F divers who suffered in Germany for the witness of the gospel, partly some rehearsal is made before, as of Voes and Esch, of Sutphen, John Castellane, Peter Spengler, with a certain godly minister, and another simple man of the

country, mentioned in Ecolampadius: also of them in Dithmarsch and Prague, of M. George of Halle, Gasper, Tambert, George of Vienna, Wolfgangus Schuch, John Huglius, George Carpenter, Leonard Keyser, Wendelmute, Peter Flisteden, Adolphus Clarebach, and others. The residue follow in order of this table here to be showed.

Persecutors: Charles the emperor; also two servants of a butcher, who did apprehend one Nicholas at Antwerp, A. D. 1524.

Nicholas of Antwerp, a martyr.

Persecutors: Margaret, daughter of Maximilian, princess of Holland; also M. Montane, M. Rosemund, and M. Anchusanus, inquisitors; also M. Jodocus Lovering, vicar of Mechlen, A. D. 1524. Johannes Pistorius, a learned man of Holland, and partly of kin to Erasmus of Rotterdam, a martyr.

Persecutor: Sebastian Braitestein, abbot. In via, A. D. 1525.

Matthias Weibell, schoolmaster, a martyr.

Persecutors: certain noblemen, after the coming of the countrymen in Germany, A. D. 1525.

A certain godly priest, a martyr.

Persecutor: the name of the persecutor appears in the story.

George Scharter, a martyr, at Radstadt, by Burg, A. D. 1528.

Persecutor: Balthasar, official.

Henry Fleming at Dornick, 1535, a martyr.

Persecutor: a popish priest, and a wicked man.

A good priest dwelling not far from Basil, 1539, a martyr.

Persecutors: Charles, the emperor's procurator.

Dr. Enchusanus, inquisitor; and Latomus.

Twenty-eight Christian men and women of Louvain, A. D. 1543, martyrs.

Persecutor: the name of the persecutor appears not in the story.

Master Perseval, a martyr at Louvain, A. D. 1543.

Persecutor: Dornardus, a potentate in that country, and a great persecutor.

Justus Imberg, a martyr at Brussels, A. D. 1543.

Persecutor: the parson of Brussels.

Giles Tilleman, a martyr at Brussels, A. D. 1543.

Great persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders, by the friars and priests thereof.

As Charles the emperor did lie in Gaunt, the friars and doctors there obtained, that the edict against the Lutherans, might be read openly by a year. This being obtained, great persecution followed, so that there was no city nor town in Flanders, wherein some either were not expelled or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison, had not their goods confiscated: neither was there any respect of age or sex. At Gaunt especially many there were of the head men, which for religion sake were burned.

Afterwards, the emperor coming to Brussels there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, namely, in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible: insomuch that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together were brought out of the country about into the city, of whom some were drowned, some buried quick, some privily made away, others sent to perpetual prison: where by all the prisons and towers thereabout were

ished with prisoners and captives, and the hands of the hangman tired with slaying and killing; to great sorrow of all them which knew the gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or confirm it with their blood. The story hereof is large set forth by Francis Encenas, a notable Frenchman, who also himself was prisoner the same year at Brussels: whose book, written in Latin, I have seen and read, remaining in the hands of the Oporine at Basil.

Persecutors: The Franciscan Friars of Gaunt.

Heurblock, fishmonger at Gaunt, a martyr, A. D. 1545.

Martin ever, almost to his later age, was a man much given to all wickedness and fleshly life, but as he continued a follower of the pope's constitution and idolatry. Afterward, (as God hath his calling,) through the occasion of a sermon by a parish priest, beginning to taste some work of grace and repentance of his former life, went to Gaunt for the space of three months, seeking the company of godly Christians, such as he heard of the reading of the Scriptures: by whom he was groundedly instructed, returned again to the city of Gaunt, where all his neighbours first began to marvel at the sudden change of this man. The Franciscans, which knew him before so benevolent unto them, now seeing him so altered from his ways and superstition, and seeing him to visit his captives in prison, to comfort them in persecution, and to confirm them in the word of God which led to the fire, conspired against him: whereby he was detected and laid in bands.

After that, with sharp and grievous torments they would have constrained him to utter other of his true religion. To whom thus he answered: that if they could prove by the Scripture, that blaspheming and accusing of his brethren, whom they would afflict with the like torments, were not against the second table of God's law, then he would be ready to prefer the honour of God before the safeguard of his brethren. Then the friars examined him in the sacrament, asking him why he was so content to have it in both kinds, "seeing," said they, "it is but a naked sacrament, as you say?" To whom he answered, that the elements thereof were not naked, but the sacrament was not naked, forasmuch as the said elements of bread and wine, being received after the institution of Christ, do now make sacrament and a mystical representation of the Lord's body, communicating himself with our souls. And as touching the receiving in both kinds, because it is the institution of the Lord, "Who is he," said Martin, "that dare alter the same?" Then

was he brought before the council of Flanders. The causes laid against him were the sacrament, purgatory, and praying for the dead; for the which he was condemned and burned at Gaunt, in Verle-place, all his goods being confiscated. As he stood at the stake, a Franciscan friar said to him, "Martin, unless thou dost turn, thou shalt go from this fire to everlasting fire." "It is not in you," said Martin again, "to judge." For this the friars afterwards were so hated, that many bills and rhymes were set forth in divers places against them.

Persecutors: The council of Flanders.

Nicholas Vanpole, and John de Bruck and his wife; martyrs at Gaunt, A. D. 1545.

Persecutors: The same council.

Ursula, and Maria, virgins of noble stock, martyrs at Delden, A. D. 1545.

Delden is a town in Lower Germany, three miles from Deventer, where these two virgins of noble parentage were burned; who, after diligently frequenting of churches and sermons, being instructed in the word of the Lord, defended, that seeing the benefit of our salvation cometh only by our faith in Christ, all the other merchandise of the pope, which he useth to sell to the people for money, was needless. First, Maria, being the younger, was put to the fire; where she prayed ardently for her enemies, commending her soul to God; at whose constancy the judges did greatly marvel.

Then they exhorted Ursula to turn, or if she would not, at least that she should require to be beheaded. To whom she said, that she was guilty of no error, nor defended any thing but which was consonant to the Scripture, in which she trusted to persevere unto the end. And as touching the kind of punishment, she said, she feared not the fire, but rather would follow the example of her dear sister that went before. This was marvellous, that the executioners could in no wise consume their bodies with fire, but left them whole, lying upon the ground white; which certain good Christians privily took up in the night, and buried. Thus God many times sheweth his power in the midst of tribulations.

Persecutors: The parson of St. Katharine's; Dr. Tapert; and William Clericken, ruler of Mechelen. Andreas Thiessen, and Katharine his wife; also Nicholas Thiessen, and Francis Thiessen, their sons, martyrs at Mechelen, A. D. 1545.

Andrew Thiessen, citizen of Mechelen, of his wife Katharine had three sons and a daughter, whom he instructed diligently in the doctrine of the gospel, and despised the doings of popery: wherefore being

hated and persecuted of the friars and priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study; and returning again to their mother, and sister, and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel. Which being not unknown to the parson there of St. Katharine's, he called to them Drs. Rupert and Tapert, and other masters and friars, who taking counsel together with William Clericken, the head magistrate of the town of Mechelen, agreed that the mother, with her four children, should be sent to prison, separated one from another; where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being not yet settled either in years or doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The mother, which would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the Church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be administered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; that there was no purgatory. The friars they called hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ, who bare his cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the judges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags, or balls of wood, were thrust into their mouths, which they, through vehemency in speaking, thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so, singing with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum*, &c., they went, and were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors; and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, "Ah!" said he, "what a small pain is this, to be compared to the glory to come?" Thus the patient martyrs, committing their spirits to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the crown of martyrdom.

Persecutors: The names of their accusers appear not in the authors.

Marion, wife of Adrian Taylor, martyr at Dornick, A. D. 1545.

In the same persecution against Bruley and his company in Dornick, was apprehended also one Adrian, and Marion his wife. The cause of their trouble, as also of the others, was the emperor's decree made in the council of Worms against the Lutherans mentioned before. Adrian, not so strong as a man, for fear gave back from the truth, and was but only beheaded. The wife, stronger than a woman, did withstand their threats, and abide the uttermost; and being enclosed in an iron grate, formed in shape of a pasty, was laid in the earth and buried quick, after the usual punishment of the country for women. When the adversaries first told her that her husband had relented, she believed them not; and therefore, as she went to her death passing by the tower where he was, she called to him to take her leave; but he was gone before.

Persecutors: The magistrates of Dornick or Tournay.

Master Peter Bruley, preacher, a martyr, at Dornick, A. D. 1545.

Master Peter Bruley was preacher in the French church at Strasburg, who at the earnest request faithful brethren came down to visit the lower countries about Artois and Dornick, in Flanders; where he most diligently preached the word of God unto the people in houses, the doors standing open. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Dornick shut the gates of the town, and had made search of him three days, he was privily let down the wall the night by a basket: and as he was let down the ditch ready to take his way, one of them let him down, leaning over the wall to bid him well, caused unawares a stone to slip out of the wall which falling upon him, brake his leg, by reason whereof he was heard of the watchman complaining of his wound, and so was taken, giving thanks to God, by whose providence he was there still to serve the Lord in that place. So long as he remained in prison, he ceased not to supply the place of a diligent preacher, teaching, and confirming them that came to him in the word of grace. While in prison, he wrote his own confession and exhortation, and sent it to the brethren. He wrote another epistle unto them that were in prison, and another also to all the faithful; also another to his wife, the same day that he was burned. He remained in prison four months. His sentence was given by the emperor's commission from Brussels, that he should be burned to ashes, and his ashes thrown into the river. Although the priests and friars made the fire but small, to diminish his pain, yet he the more cheerfully and constantly took his martyrdom, and suffered

letters of Duke Frederic, and of the landgrave, came to entreat for him; but he was burned a little before the letters came.

Persecutor: The senate of Dornick, and Doctor Hasarde, a Grey Friar.

Peter Miocius, a silk-weaver, and one Bergiban, martyrs, at Dornick, A. D. 1545.

Persecutor: A certain prince in Germany, about Hungary, or the parts of Pannonia.

A priest of Germany, a martyr.

Persecutors: Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard; Petrus Malvenda, the pope's prolocutor at Ratisbon, a Spaniard; the emperor's confessor, a Black Friar, a Spaniard; also Marquina.

John Diazius, Spaniard, a martyr, killed by his own brother at Neoberg, in Germany, A. D. 1546.

Persecutor: A bishop in Hungary.

A godly priest in Hungary, a martyr.

Persecutor: Charles, the emperor.

John Frederic of Saxony, elector, A. D. 1547, martyr.

Persecutor: Charles the emperor, and Mary his sister.

The landgrave of Hesse, A. D. 1547, martyr.

Persecutor: Charles the emperor.

Herman, archbishop of Cologne, martyr, A. D. 1547.

With these holy martyrs above recited may also be remembered *Herman*, archbishop of Cologne, who, before the emperor had war against the Protestants, had reformed his church from certain popish superstitions, using therein the aid and counsel of *Martin Bucer*. Wherefore Charles the emperor sent word to Cologne, that he should be punished; which he patiently did suffer. In his stead was set *Adolphus*, earl of Scauenburg.

Persecutor: The president or mayor of Dornick. *Nicholas Frenchman*; also *Marion*, wife of *Augustine*, a barber, martyrs, A. D. 1549.

Nicholas and *Barbara* his wife; also *Augustine*, a barber, and *Marion* his wife, born about 1540, after they had been at Geneva a space, returned to Germany, thinking that way to pass over to England. By the way, coming to Hennegow, they desired *Master Nicholas*, because he was known to come to Bergis to visit and comfort certain prisoners there: which he willingly did. From Bergis, passing by Dornick (or Tournay) they held their journey toward England. But in the way *Nicholas* and his wife, being known, were detected by the lieutenant of Dornick, who, in all speedy

haste following after them, overtook them four miles beyond Dornick. *Augustine* (how I cannot tell) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The soldiers then, laying hands upon *Nicholas* and the two women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In returning by the way, when *Master Nicholas* at the table gave thanks, as the manner is of the faithful, the wicked ruler, scorning them, and swearing like a tyrant, said, "Now let us see, thou lewd heretic, whether thy God can deliver thee out of my hand." To whom *Nicholas*, answering again modestly, asked, What had Christ ever offended him, that he with his blasphemous swearing did so tear him in pieces? desiring him, that if he had any thing against Christ, rather he would wreak his anger upon his poor body, and let the Lord alone. Thus they, being bound hands and feet, were brought to Bergis, and there laid in the dungeon. Then *Duke Ariscote*, accompanied with a great number of priests and Franciscan friars, and with a doctor, which was their warden, came to talk with them. *Nicholas*, standing in the midst of them, being asked what he was, and whither he would; answered them perfectly to all their questions: and moreover, so confounded the friars, that they went away ashamed, saying, that he had a devil, and crying, "To the fire with him, Lutheran!"

As they continued looking still for the day of their execution, it came to the rulers' minds to ask of *Nicholas* in what house he was lodged, when he came to Bergis? *Nicholas* said, He had never been there before; and therefore, being a stranger, he could not tell the name of the house. When *Nicholas* would confess nothing, *Duke Ariscotus* came to *Barbara*, the wife of *Nicholas*, to know where they were lodged at Bergis, promising many fair words of delivery, if she would tell. She being a weak and timorous woman, uttered all; by the occasion whereof great persecution followed, and many were apprehended. Where this is to be noted, that shortly even upon the same, the son of the said *Duke Ariscotus* was slain, and buried the same day when *Augustine* was burned. To be short, *Nicholas* shortly after was brought before the judges, and there condemned to be burned to ashes; at which sentence-giving, *Nicholas* blessed the Lord, who had courted him worthy to be a witness in the cause of his dear and well-beloved Son. Going to the place of execution he was commanded to speak nothing unto the people, or else he should have a ball of wood thrust into his mouth. Being at the stake, and seeing a great multitude about him, forgetting his silence promised, he cried with a loud voice: "O Charles, Charles! how long shall thy heart be hardened?" And with that one of the soldiers gave

bated and persecuted of the friars and priests there, he went into England and there died. Francis and Nicholas, his two sons, went to Germany to study; and returning again to their mother, and sister, and younger brother, by diligent instruction brought them to the right knowledge of God's gospel. Which being not unknown to the parson there of St. Katharine's, he called to them Drs. Rupert and Tapert, and other masters and friars, who taking counsel together with William Clericken, the head magistrate of the town of Mechelen, agreed that the mother, with her four children, should be sent to prison, separated one from another; where great labour was employed to reclaim them home unto their church, that is, from light to darkness again. The two younger, to wit, the daughter with the younger brother, being not yet settled either in years or doctrine, something inclined to them, and were delivered. The mother, which would not consent, was condemned to perpetual prison. The other two, Francis and Nicholas, standing firmly to their confession, defended that the catholic church was not the Church of Rome; that the sacrament was to be administered in both kinds; that auricular confession was to no purpose; that invocation of saints was to be left; that there was no purgatory. The friars they called hypocrites, and contemned their threatenings. The magistrates, after disputations, fell to torments, to know of them who was their master, and what fellows they had. Their Master, they said, was Christ, who bare his cross before. Fellows, they said, they had innumerable, dispersed in all places. At last they were brought to the judges: their articles were read, and they condemned to be burned. Coming to the place of execution, as they began to exhort the people, gags, or balls of wood, were thrust into their mouths, which they, through vehemency in speaking, thrust out again, desiring for the Lord's sake that they might have leave to speak. And so, singing with a loud voice, *Credo in unum Deum, &c.*, they went, and were fastened to the stake, praying for their persecutors; and exhorting the one the other, they did abide the fire patiently. The one feeling the flame to come to his beard, "Ah!" said he, "what a small pain is this, to be compared to the glory to come?" Thus the patient martyrs, committing their spirits to the hands of God, to the great admiration of the lookers on, through constancy achieved the crown of martyrdom.

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letters of Duke Frederic, and of the landgrave, came to solicit for him; but he was burned a little before the letters came.

Persecutor: The senate of Dornick, and Doctor Hasarde, a Grey Friar.

Peter Miocius, a silk-weaver, and one Bergiban, martyrs, at Dornick, A. D. 1545.

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These holy martyrs above recited may also be added Herman, archbishop of Cologne, who, before the emperor had war against the pope, had reformed his church from certain idle superstitions, using therein the aid and counsel of Martin Bucer. Wherefore Charles the emperor wrote to Cologne, that he should be punished which he patiently did suffer. In his reign Adolphus, earl of Scauvenburg.

Persecutor: The president or mayor of Dornick.

Nicholas Frenchman; also Marion, wife of a cooper, a barber, martyrs, A. D. 1549.

Nicholas and Barbara his wife, also A.

haste following after them, overtook them somewhere beyond Dornick. Augustine (how I name it) escaped that time out of their hands, and could not be found. The soldiers then, having sought for Nicholas and the two women, brought them back again unto Dornick. In return, by the way, was Master Nicholas at the table given to them, in a manner is of the faithful, the women that were with them, and swearing like a tyrant, and saying, "I see, thou lewd heretic, whether thou wilt or no, I will liver thee out of my hand." To which Nicholas answering again modestly, said, "I have never offended him, that he will be so importunate swearing did so tear him in pieces, as that if he had any thing against me, he would wreak his anger upon me, and not upon the Lord alone. Thus they were brought to the dungeon. Then I saw many prisoners with a great number of priests, and with a doctor, who were sent to talk with them. Nicholas, however, being asked what he would do, answered that he would do nothing: and moreover, as they were going, they went away shouting, "To the devil, and crying, "To the devil, and crying."

As they continued, and their execution, it was said that of Nicholas it was said that he came to Berg. There he was there before: and he could not tell the name of the cholas would suffer that to Barbara, the wife of a cooper, they were lodged in the foot by words of deliverance. He would be weak and feeble, and would be an occasion whereof, and forthwith the were appointed to be carried to shortly after, and being brought before Duke Augustus, he repented of his fact, when Augustus said, if it were to be done he should do it; and if he had a hundred would give them in that quarrel, once put to the pinbank, and tormented miserably, to utter his setters-on, which he never do. Then proceeded they to the execution, more like tyrants than Christian men; by the name of which sentence, this was his punishment:

First, he was drawn from the castle of Dornick to the market-place, having a ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage

him a blow. Then said Nicholas again; "Ah miserable people! thou art not worthy, to whom the word of God should be preached." And thus he spake as they were binding him to the stake. The friars came out with their old song, crying, that he had a devil; to whom Nicholas spake the verse of the Psalm, Depart from me, all ye wicked! for the Lord hath heard the voice of my weeping. And thus this holy martyr, patiently taking his death, commended up his spirit unto God in the midst of the fire.

Marion, wife of Augustine, above mentioned, a martyr, at Bergis in Hennegow, A. D. 1549.

After the martyrdom of this Master Nicholas, Mariou, the wife of Augustine, was called for, with whom they had much talk about the manner and state of Geneva, asking her how the sacraments were administered there, and whether she had celebrated there the Lord's supper? To whom she answered, that the sacraments there were celebrated after the Lord's institution, of the which she was no celebrator, but a partaker. The sentence of her condemnation was this, that she should be interred quick. When she was let down to the grave, kneeling upon her knees, she desired the Lord to help her; and before she should be thrown down, she desired her face might be covered with a napkin or some linen cloth; which being so covered, and the earth thrown upon her face and body, the hangman stamped upon her with his feet till her breath was past.

Persecutors: The watchmen or soldiers of Bellimont.

Augustine, the husband of Marion, martyred at Bellimont, in Hennegow, A. D. 1549.

Ye heard before how Augustine escaped before, at the taking of Nicholas and the two women. After this he gave himself to sell spices, and other pedlary ware, from place to place; who, at length, coming to the town of Bellimont in Hennegow, there was known and detected to the magistrate; whereof he, having some intelligence before, left his ware and ran away. And seeing, moreover, the house beset about with harnessed men where he was hosted, he began to be more afraid, and hid himself in a bush; for he was very timorous, and a weak-spirited man. But the hour being come which the Lord had appointed for him, it happened that certain standing upon the town wall, which might well see him go into the thicket or bush, gave knowledge thereof to the soldiers, which followed him to the bush, and took him. Being taken, he was had to Bergis, the head town of Hennegow, where being examined,

valiantly standing to the defence of his doctrine, answered his adversaries with great boldness.

Wherein here is to be noted and marvelled to see the work of the Lord, how this man, being before of nature so timorous, now was so strengthened with God's grace, that he nothing feared the force of all his enemies. Among others came to him the warden of the Grey Friars, with a long oration, persuading him to relent, or else he should be damned in hell-fire perpetually. To whom Augustine answering again, said, "Prove that which you said by the authority of God's word, that a man may believe you: you say much, but you prove nothing, rather like a doctor of lies than of truth," &c. At last, being there condemned to be burned at Bellimont was brought to the inn where he should take horse, where was a certain gentleman, a stranger, who, drinking to him in a cup of wine, desired him to have piety upon himself; and if he would not favour his life yet that he would favour his own soul. To whom said Augustine, after he had thanked him for good will, "What care I have," said he, "of my soul, you may see by this, that I had rather let my body to be burned, than to do that thing which were against my conscience." When he was carried to the town of Bellimont, where he should be burned, the same day there was a great burial of the son of Duke Ariscotus, which was slain a little before (as is before touched); by the occasion whereof many nobles and gentlemen were there present, who, hearing of this Augustine, came to him and talked with him. When the day came of his martyrdom, the people, being offended at his constancy, cried out to have him drawn at a horse's tail, to the place of burning; but the Lord would not that. In fine, being tied to the stake, and looking unto him, heartily he prayed unto the Lord, and in the fire patiently departed.

A certain woman of Augsburg who narrated her escaped martyrdom there; A. D. 1550.

Two virgins, in the diocese of Bamberg, martyred A. D. 1551.

In the diocese of Bamberg, two maids were sent out to slaughter, which they sustained with hearts and cheerful countenances. They lay on beds of straw put on their heads; where one comforted the other, going to their martyrdom. "Seeing Christ," said she, "for us bare of thorns, why should we stick to bear a crown of straw? no doubt but the Lord will render to us better than crowns of gold." Some said they were Anabaptists; and it might be (saith the author) that they had some fond opinion admitted.

that they did hold (saith he) the foundation of articles of our faith, and they died blessedly, in conscience, and knowledge of the Son of God. Few do live without errors. Flatter not yourselves, thinking yourselves so clear that you are not.

Doctors: James Hesselius, chamberlain of Gaunt, and the friars there.

Also, otherwise called George, martyred at Gaunt, A. D. 1555.

Hostius, born at Gaunt, was cunning in arms in armour and in steel. He first was in a church here in England, during the reign of King Edward. After the coming of Queen Mary he went to Norden, in Friesland, with his wife and children. From thence, having business, he came to Gaunt, where (after a certain space that he there continued, instructing divers of his parish) he heard that there was a Black Friar, who should preach good doctrine to the people: wherefore, being desirous to hear, came to his sermon; but the friar, contrary to his expectation, preached of transubstantiation. At the hearing of which his heart was so full, that he had much ado to refrain, while the sermon was finished. As soon as the friar was come down, he burst out and rebuked him with false doctrine, persuading the people, as well as he could be heard, by the Scripture, that the bread was but a sacrament only of Christ's body. The friar, not willing to hear him, made signs unto him to depart; also the throng of the people was such, that it carried him out of the church. He had not gone far, but Hesselius the chamberlain overtook him and carried him to prison. There were doctors and other friars, as Pistorius, and Dauderius, brought to reason with him of the sacrament, of invocations of saints, and purgatory. He would stand to the trial only of the Scripture, which they refused. Then was it agreed that he should deliver his mind in writing, which he did. He wrote also to his wife at Emden, comforting her, and requiring her to take care of Samuel and Sarah his children. When he was condemned, he was permitted not to speak to the people. Hesselius the officer made great haste to have him despatched; wherefore he, mildly like a lamb, praying for his persecutors, gave himself to be bound, patiently taking what they would do against him: whom first they scourged, and then consumed his body, being dead, with fire. And thus was the martyrdom of Hostius.

John Frisius, abbot in Bavaria, A. D. 1554.

Persecutors: The bailiff of Hennegow; the governor of the town and castle of Dornick; Peter Deven-

tiere, lieutenant of the said bailiff; Philip de Cordis, chief councillor in criminal causes; Nicholas Chambree; Peter Rechelier; James de Clerke; Nicholas of Fernague; Master Hermes, of Winkles, one of the council for the said bailiwick.

Bertrand le Blas, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1555.

The story of Bertrand is lamentable, his torments incredible, the tyranny showed unto him horrible, the constancy of the martyr admirable. This Bertrand, being a silk-weaver, went to Wesel, for the cause of religion, who being desirous to draw his wife and children from Dornick to Wesel, came thrice from thence to persuade with her to go with him thither. When she in no wise could be entreated, he, remaining a few days at home, set his house in order, and desired his wife and his brother to pray that God would establish him in his enterprise that he went about. That done, he went upon Christmas day to the high church of Dornick, where he took the cake out of the priest's hand, as he would have lifted it over his head at mass, and stamped it under his feet, saying that he did it to show the glory of that god, and what little power he hath: with other words more to the people, to persuade them that the cake or fragment of bread, was not Jesus their Saviour. At the sight hereof the people, being struck with a marvellous damp, stood all amazed. At length such a stir thereupon followed, that Bertrand could hardly escape with life.

It was not long but the noise of this was carried to the bailiff of Hennegow, and governor of the castle of Dornick, who lay sick the same time of the gout at Biesme; who, like a madman, cried out, that ever God would or could be so patient, to suffer that contumely, so to be trodden under the foot by such a miser: adding, moreover, that he would revenge his cause in such sort, as it should be an example for ever to all posterity; and forthwith the furious tyrant commanded himself to be carried to the castle of Dornick. Bertrand being brought before him, was asked whether he repented of his fact, or whether he would so do, if it were to be done again? Who answered, that if it were a hundred times to be done, he would do it; and if he had a hundred lives, he would give them in that quarrel. Then was he thrice put to the pinbank, and tormented most miserably, to utter his setters-on, which he would never do. Then proceeded they to the sentence, more like tyrants than Christian men; by the tenor of which sentence, this was his punishment:

First, he was drawn from the castle of Dornick to the market-place, having a ball of iron put in his mouth. Then he was set upon a stage, where his

right hand, wherewith he took the host, was crushed and pressed between two hot irons, with sharp iron edges fiery red, till the form and fashion of his hand was misshapen. In like manner they brought other like irons for his right foot, made fire-hot, whereunto of his own accord he put his foot, to suffer as his hand had done before, with marvellous constancy and firmness of mind. That done, they took the ball of iron out of his mouth, and cut off his tongue, who, notwithstanding, with continual crying, ceased not to call upon God; whereby the hearts of the people were greatly moved: whereupon the tormentors thrust the iron ball into his mouth again. From thence they brought him down to the lower stage, he going to the same no less cheerfully and quietly, than if no part of his body had been hurt. There his legs and his hands were bound behind him with an iron chain going about his body, and so he was let down flat upon the fire; whom the aforesaid governor, there standing by and looking on, caused to be let up again, and so down and up again, till at last the whole body was spent to ashes, which he commanded to be cast into the river. When this was done, the chapel where this mass-god was so treated was locked up, and the board whereupon the priest stood was burnt; the marble stone whereupon the host did light, was broken in pieces. And, finally, forasmuch as the said Bertrand had received his doctrine at Wesel, commandment was there given, that no person out of that country should go to Wesel, or there occupy, under incurring the danger of the emperor's placard.

Two hundred ministers of Bohemia, A. D. 1555.

The same year two hundred ministers and preachers of the gospel were banished out of Bohemia, for preaching against the superstition of the bishop of Rome, and extolling the glory of Christ.

The preachers of Locrane.

Locrane is a place between the Alps, yet subject to the Helvetians. When these also had received the gospel, and the five pages of the Helvetians, above-mentioned, were not well-pleased therewith, but would have them punished, and great contention was among the Helvetians about the same, it was concluded at length, that the ministers should be exiled; whom the Tigurines did receive.

Francis Warlut, and Alexander Dayken, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1562.

Persecutor: The earl of Lalaine.

Gillot Viver, James Faber his father-in-law, Michiel Faber, son of James; also Anna, wife of

Gillot, and daughter of James Faber, martyred at Valence.

These, in the cause of the gospel, suffered at Valence.

James Faber, being an old man, said, that although he could not answer or satisfy them in reasoning, yet he would constantly abide in the truth of the gospel.

Anna his daughter, being with child, was respited. After she was delivered, she followed her husband and father in the like martyrdom!

Michella Caignoucle, martyred at Valence, A. D. 1550.

Godfride Hamelle, martyred at Dornick, A. D. 1553.

Besides these Germans above specified, a great number there was, both in the higher and lower countries of Germany, which were secretly drowned or buried, or otherwise in prison made away whose names, although they be not known to us yet they are registered in the book of life. Furthermore, in the Dutch book of Adrian, divers others be numbered in the catalogue of these German martyrs, which likewise suffered in divers places the lower country. The names of certain who be these.

At Bergis, or Berg, in Hennegow, were burnt A. D. 1555, John Malo, Damian Witrock, and drew Calier; buried quick, John Porceau. At Antwerp suffered also one Julian, A. D. 1541, and Adriaan Lopphe, A. D. 1555: at Brussels, A. D. 1555, one Bawdwine beheaded: another called Gillis Tielman burnt, A. D. 1551.

Add moreover to the same catalogue of German martyrs, burnt and consumed in the lower country under the emperor's dominion, the names of the following. W. Swolle, burnt at Mechelen, A. D. 1529; Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Gaunt; Martin Orgvier, and Joan his wife, with Baudica Martin Orgvier, their children, who suffered at Lisle, A. D. 1556; M. Nicholas, burnt at Mons; John Fosseau at Mons; Cornelius Volcart at Mons, A. D. 1553; Hubert the printer, and Philip at Bruges, A. D. 1553; a woman buried under thorns under her; Peter le Roux at Bruges, A. D. 1552. At Mechlen suffered Francis and Nicholas Thiis, two brethren, A. D. 1555. At Antwerp were burnt Adrian a painter, and Henry A. D. 1555; also Cornelius Halewine, locked up, and Herman Janson, the same year. Master Champ, schoolmaster, A. D. 1557; with a great number of other besides, who in the said book are seen and read.

A. D. 1525, we read also in the French

of a certain monk, who, because he forsook his abominable order, and was married, was burned at Phuge.

A preacher poisoned at Erfurt, by the priests of that place.

And here ceasing with these persecutions in Germany, we will now, Christ willing, proceed further to the French martyrs, comprehending in a like table the names and causes of such as in that kingdom suffered for the word of God, and cause of righteousness, as in this brief summary consequently hereunder ensueth.

Another table, of those who suffered in France, for the like witness of the gospel.

The French martyrs.

James Pavane, schoolmaster, at Paris, A. D. 1525. Persecuted by Dr. Martial of Paris.

This James, first being taken by the bishop of Meaux, or Meaux, was compelled to recant by Dr. Martial. Afterwards returning again to his confession, he was burned at Paris, A. D. 1525.

Denis de Rieux, at Melden, or Meaux, A. D. 1528.

This Denis was one of them who were first burned at Melden, for saying, that the mass is a plain meal of the death and passion of Christ. He was wont to have in his mouth the words of Christ; He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father; and to muse upon the same earnestly. He was burnt with a slow fire, and abode much torment.

James Cadurcus, bachelor of the civil law, A. D. 1533.

This John, first for making a sermon or exhortation to his countrymen of Limosin, in France, upon Whitsunday, and afterwards, sitting at a feast, it was propounded that every one should utter some sentence; for that he brought forth, Christ reign in our hearts; and did prove the same by the Scriptures in much length and time; was thereupon accused, taken, and degraded, and after burned. At his degradation, one of the Black Friars of Paris preached, taking for his text the words of St. Paul, 1 Tim. iv., The devil speaketh, that in the latter days, men shall leave the faith, giving heed to lying spirits, traditions of error, &c.; and in handling that he could not or would not proceed further in the text, Cadurcus cried out to him to proceed and further. The friar stood dumb, and

could not speak a word. Then Cadurcus, taking the text, did prosecute the same as followeth: Teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, having their conscience marked with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats, created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving, &c.

Bartholomew Myler, a lame cripple; John Burges, merchant, the receiver of Nantz; Henry Poille of Couberon; Cantella, a schoolmistress; and Steven de la Forge, merchant, A. D. 1533. Persecuted by the promoters of Paris.

These five here specified, for certain bills cast abroad and set up, sounding against the abomination of the mass, and other superstitious absurdities of the pope, were condemned and burned in the city of Paris. Henry of Couberon had his tongue bored through, and with an iron wire tied fast to one of his cheeks; who likewise with the others was burned as is aforesaid.

Alexander Canus, priest; otherwise called Laurence Cruces, at Paris, A. D. 1534.

For the sincere doctrine and confession of Christ's true religion, he was burned at Paris, having but a small fire, and did abide much torment.

John Pointer, a surgeon, at Paris, A. D. 1533. Persecuted by the Grey Friars in Paris, and by Dr. Clerke, a Sorbonist.

Peter Gaudet, knight sometime of Rhodes, A. D. 1533. Persecuted by a certain knight of Rhodes, uncle to this Peter.

Quoquillard, martyr, A. D. 1534.

At Bezancon, in the country of Burgundy, this Quoquillard was burned for the confession and testimony of Christ's gospel.

Nicholas, a scrivener, John de Poix, and Stephen Burlet, martyrs, A. D. 1534.

Mary Becandella, at Fontaine, A. D. 1534. Persecuted by a Grey Friar in the city of Rochelle.

This Mary, being virtuously instructed of her master, where she lived; and being afterwards at a sermon where a friar preached, after the sermon found fault with his doctrine, and refuted the same by the Scriptures; whereat he disdaining, procured her to be burned at Fontaine.

John Cornon, a martyr, A. D. 1535.

Martin Gonin, in Dauphiné, A. D. 1536. Persecuted by George Borel, a tailor; by the procurator of the city of Grenoble in France, & inquisitor.

This Martin, being taken for a spy, in the borders of France towards the Alps, was committed to prison. In his going out, his jailer espied about him letters of Farellus, and of Peter Viret : wherefore, being examined by the king's procurator, and by the inquisitor, touching his faith, after he had rendered a sufficient reason thereof, he was cast into the river and drowned.

Claudius Painter, a goldsmith, martyr, at Paris, 1540. Persecuted by his kinsfolks and friends, and by Morinus, an officer.

Claudius, going about to convert his friends and kinsfolks to his doctrine, was by them committed to Morinus, a chief captain, who condemned him to be burned : but the high parliament of Paris, correcting that sentence, added moreover, that he should have his tongue cut out before, and so be burned.

Stephen Brune, a husbandman, at Rutiers, A. D. 1540. Persecuted by Gasper Augerius, the bishop's renter ; and by Domicellus, Franciscan and inquisitor.

Stephen Brune, after his confession given of his faith, was adjudged to be burned ; which punishment he took so constantly, that it was to them a wonder. His adversaries commanded after his death to be cried, that none should make any more mention of him, under pain of heresy.

Pantaleon addeth moreover, that at the place of his burning, called Planuoll, the wind rose and blew the fire so from him, as he stood exhorting the people, that he there continued the space of an hour, in a manner not harmed, or scarcely touched with any flame ; so that, all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new faggots, and vessels of oil, and such other matter ; and yet neither could he with all this be burned, but stood safe. Then the hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head : to whom the holy martyr, being yet alive, said, " When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a dog ? " With that the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly and the entrails, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterward with the wind.

Constantinus, a citizen of Rouen, martyred with three others, A. D. 1542.

These four, for defence of the gospel being condemned to be burned, were put in a dung-cart ; who, thereat rejoicing, said, that they were reputed here as excrements of this world, but yet their death was a sweet odour unto God.

John du Becke, priest, martyred, A. D. 1543.

Aymond de Lavoy, at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1543, persecuted by the parish priest of the town of Faith in Anjou, and by other priests of same country ; also by Master Riveracus and servant.

This Aymond preached the gospel at St. Fal in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish there, and by other priests more, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their faith. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out an apparitor to apprehend him, he, having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to fly and shun himself ; but he would not, saying, that he had never have been born, than so to do. It was the duty of a good shepherd (he said) not to fly in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered : or else lest peradventure, in so doing he should leave some scruple upon their minds, thus to think, that he had fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more than he told them, that he feared not to yield up his body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which had taught ; saying, with St. Paul, that he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die Acts xxvi.

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration, the summer came, and was in the city the days, during which time Aymond preached the sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the summer, to deliver him out of their hands ; but Aymond desired them not to stop his martyrdom : seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him, he would not (he said) resist. Then the consuls suffered the summer, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux, where many witnesses, the most part being priests, came in against him, with M. Riverack also, and his servant ; which Riverack had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses, but that would not be taken. All their accusation was only for denying purgatory.

About nine months he remained in prison with great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former ill, albeit there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime. Then came down letters whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him, which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torment. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking

him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: "This body," said he, "once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever." In the time of his tormenting, he swooned. Afterwards, coming to himself again, he said, "O Lord! Lord! why hast thou forsaken me?" To whom the president, "Nay, wicked Lutheran," said he, "thou hast forsaken God." Then said Aymond, "Alas, good masters! why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord! I beseech thee, forgive them; they know not what they do." "See," said the president, "this caitiff, how he prayeth for us." Nevertheless so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name: saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him. Then certain men were appointed to hear his confession, whom he refused, choosing to him one of his own order, a parish priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the men depart from him, for he would confess his sins unto the Lord. "Do you not see," said he, "how I am troubled enough with men; will ye yet trouble me? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you." At last, when he could not be suffered to refuse, the parish priest, he then took a certain Cardinal, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he, by long talk, at last did convert him to the faith. Shortly after that came unto him the judges, Long and Longa, with other counsellors more; whereupon the said Aymond began to preach before his mind touching the Lord's supper. Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him

Judge. "First declare unto us your mind, do you think of purgatory?"

The martyr. "In Scripture all these are one: to be cleansed, and to wash: whereof we read much in the Epistles of St. Paul, Heb. ix., and 1 Pet. i.; He hath washed you in his blood, ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ, &c. And how often do we read in the Epistles of St. Paul, that we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins," &c.

Judge. "These epistles are known to every child."

The martyr. "To every child? Nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself."

A friar. "Master Aymond, with one word you may satisfy them, if you will say that there is a place where the souls are purged after this life."

The martyr. "That I leave for you to say, if you please. What! would ye have me damn mine own soul, and to say that which I know not?"

Judge. "Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory? and he that dieth in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise?"

The martyr. "Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise."

Another judge. "Where is paradise?"

The martyr. "There, where the majesty and glory of God is."

Judge. "The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you, in your sermons, have used always much to pray for the poor."

The martyr. "I have preached the word of God, and not the canons."

Judge. "Dost thou believe in the church?"

The martyr. "I believe, as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed."

Judge. "What church is that?"

The martyr. "The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whensoever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying of Christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them."

Judge. "By this it should follow, that there be many churches; and where any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church."

The martyr. "It is no absurd thing to say that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians: and so speaketh St. Paul, To all the churches which are in Galatia, &c. And yet all these congregations make but one church."

Judge. "The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same church which our creed doth call the holy church?"

The martyr. "I believe the same."

Judge. "And who should be the head of that church?"

The martyr. "Jesus Christ."

Judge. "And not the pope?"

The martyr. "No."

Judge. "And what is he then?"

The martyr. "A minister, if he be a good

man, as other bishops be; of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. iv., Let a man so esteem of us, as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God," &c.

Judge. "What then, dost thou not believe the pope?"

The martyr. "I know not what he is."

Judge. "Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?"

The martyr. "If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good."

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymond, putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying with St. Paul, Who shall separate me from the love of God? shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him: but rather have I pity of you, said he, and so they departed. Not long after he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way Psalm cxiv., *In exitu Israel de Egypto*, &c.; and as he passed by the place where he before had been imprisoned, he called to his prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord, and told them that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries unto the president. He thanked moreover the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so, taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him; also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness showed to him, he proceeded forward toward his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. "I ask mercy," said he, "of God and his justice, but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did that thing for which I should ask her mercy." From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver or carter, willing him to drive apace, "for here is preaching," said he, "enough." To whom said Aymond, "He that is of God, heareth the words of God," &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her: whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invoke any other, saving him alone. Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates and to the people standing by, that he

died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for the word. More he would have spoken, but he not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing officers, crying, "Despatch him, despatch him, him not speak." Then he, speaking a few softly in the ear of a little Carmelite whom he converted, was bid to step up to the stage; the people beginning to give a little audience he said, "O Lord, make haste to help me, not! do not despise the work of thy hands, you, my brethren! that be students and scholars, exhort you to study and learn the good word of God abideth for ever. Labour in the will of God; and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls." Then he said, "My flesh," said he, "repugneth against the Spirit; but shortly I shall be free." My good masters! I beseech ye pray for me, Lord my God! into thy hands I commend my soul. As he was oft repeating the same, they took and haled him upon the steps in which he strangled him. And thus that blessed martyr gave up his life; whose body afterward was by fire consumed.

Francis Bribard, martyred A. D. 1540.

Francis Bribard was said to be the son of the cardinal of Ballaie; who being also a martyr to the gospel condemned, after his tongue was cut off, did with like constancy sustain the sharpest burning.

William Husson, an apothecary at Rouen, persecuted by the high court of Rouen, a widow, keeping a victualling-house in the suburbs of Rouen, and by a Carmelite Friar, A. D. 1544.

William Husson, apothecary, coming from Paris to Rouen, was lodged with a certain widow in the suburbs of the city, who asking her, at what time the council or parliament did rise; said, at ten o'clock. About which time and place he went to the palace, and there scattered certain books concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of men's traditions; whereat the council was so moved, that they commanded all the streets of the city to be locked, and diligent search to be made in all inns and hostels, to find out the author. Then the widow told of the place where he was there, and asked of the rising of the council; and shortly upon the same he took his horse and rode away. Then were posts set out through all quarters, so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Dieppe, and brought a

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Peter Clerk, brother to John Clerk, burnt before. Fourteen blessed martyrs burnt at Meaux, A. D. 1546. Their persecutors were the Franciscan Friars, the doctors of Sorbon, and others.

Stephen Mangine, James Bouchbeck, John Brisebar, Henry Hutinote, Thomas Honorate, John Boudovine, John Flesch, Peter and John Picquere, John Mathestone, Philip Little, Michael Caillow, Francis Clerk, and Couberon, a weaver.

These fourteen dwelt at Meaux, a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconete, being bishop there, did much good, brought to them the light of the gospel, and reformed the church. Who straitly being examined for the same, relented; but yet these with many others remained constant, who, after the burning of James Pavane before-mentioned, and seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to congregate in Mangine's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasburg. For their minister they chose Peter Clerk. First they, beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in short time to three or four hundred: whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken; of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms; especially the seventy-ninth Psalm. To these it was chiefly objected, that they, being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord. Of these sixty-two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, which were condemned, and racked to confess more of their fellows: but they uttered none. The rest were scourged and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted; but that would not be. Then they, being sent in a cart to Meaux to be burned, by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver called Couberon by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them to be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangine's house, it was told them, that they which would be confessed should not have their tongues cut out; the others should: of whom seven there were, who, to save their tongues, confessed; the other seven would not. Of the first was Stephen Mangine, who, having his tongue first cut, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, "The Lord's name be blessed!" As they were burning, the people sung psalms. The priests seeing that, would also sing their songs: *O salutaris hostia*, and *Salve Regina*, till the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their

wives being compelled to see their husbands iniments, were afterwards put in prison; from wh they being promised to be let go, if they would that their husbands were damned, they refused to say.

Peter Chapot, at Paris, A. D. 1546, apprehended by John Andre, bookseller, promoter; examined by three Sorbonist doctors, M. Nicholas Clerici, doctor of divinity, John Picard, Nicholas Maillard.

Peter Chapot first was a corrector to a printer at Paris. After he had been at Geneva, to do to the church of Christ, like a good man he brought with books of Holy Scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. Which zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by Andre, which was the common promoter to the president, and to the Sorbonists.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith; unto whom he exhibited a supplication or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbon assigned, Nicholas Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him who when they could find no advantage, but only shame at his hands, they waxed angry with the judges for letting them dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting together for his condemnation, could not agree; so that Chapot as it seemed, might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought to wrought his condemnation; which condemnation was at length concluded thus: that he should be burned quick, only the cutting off of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly encumbered; for this friar called upon him still to speak to the people; but he desired him that might pray. Then he bade him pray to our Lady and confess her to be his advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed virgin, and recited the Lord's prayer and the creed, and was about to speak of the mass, but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his execution, and said, unless he would say Ave Maria, he should be burnt quick. Then Chapot prayed, "O Jesus, Son of David! have mercy upon me." Maillard then bade him say, "Jesus Maria!" and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. "Say," said Maillard, "Jesus Maria or else thou shalt be burned quick." As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly, as it happened, Jesus Maria! escaped out of his mouth, b

be, by and by, repressing himself, "O God!" said he, "what have I done? pardon me, O Lord! to thee only have I sinned." Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him; notwithstanding yet he felt something the fire. After all things done, Maillard, all full of anger, went to the council house, called *La Chambre Ardente*, declaring what an uproar there had almost happened amongst the people; saying that he would complain upon the judges for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all who were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut off. Which law diligently afterwards was observed.

Saintinus Nivet, at Paris, A. D. 1546. Persecuted by M. Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris.

After the burning of those fourteen, whose names subscribed before, this Saintinus (who was a lame man) with his wife removed out of Meaux to Melun, where when he had continued a while at liberty of religion, and saw himself there to be good, but to be a burden to the church, cast in mind to return home to Meaux again, and so did. But at last, as he was selling certain small wares in fair, he was there known and apprehended: and when information was given, he, being examined, at once confessed all, and more than they were willing to hear. In the time of this inquiry, as they were examining him of certain points of religion, and asked him whether he would stand for it he said, or not? he gave this answer, worth registered in all men's hearts, saying, "And yet again, lord judges! dare you be so bold to deny, what is so plain and manifest by the words of the Scripture?" So little regard he to save his own life, that he desired the death both at Meaux, and at Paris, for God's sake, they would rather take care of their own lives than, and to consider how much innocent blood they spilled daily, in fighting against Christ and his gospel.

But, being brought to Paris, through the means of Peter Liset, a great persecutor, for that they would not take by him no encouragement, he was detained, and suffered his martyrdom; no kind of cruelty was lacking, which the martyrs of Christ Jesus were wont to be.

Polliot, martyred at Paris, A. D. 1546.

Polliot, coming out of Normandy (where he was) unto Meaux, tarried not there long,

but was compelled to fly, and went to a town called La Fere, where he was apprehended and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison, in which he was kept in bands and fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light. At length, being called for before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his satchel of books hanging about his neck: "O Lord," said he, "is the world in blindness and darkness still?" for he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he, with much patience, ended this transitory life.

John English. A. D. 1547.

He was executed and burned at Sens in Burgundy, being condemned by the high court of Paris for confessing the true word of God.

Michael Michelote, a tailor. A. D. 1547.

This tailor, being apprehended for the gospel's sake, was judged first, if he would turn, to be beheaded; and if he would not turn, then to be burned alive. Who being asked, whether of these two he would choose? he answered, that he trusted that He who had given him grace not to deny the truth, would also give him patience to abide the fire. He was burned at Warden by Tournay.

Leonard de Prato. A. D. 1547.

This Leonard, going from Dijon to Bar, a town in Burgundy, with two false brethren, and talking with them about religion, was betrayed of them, and afterwards burned.

Seven martyrs burned at Langres: John Taffington, and Joan his wife; Simon Mareschal, and Joan his wife; William Michaut; James Bouleau; James Bretany. A. D. 1547.

All these seven, being of the city of Langres, for the word and truth of Jesus Christ were committed to the fire, wherein they died with much strength and comfort: but especially Joan, which was Simon's wife, being reserved to the last place, because she was the youngest, confirmed her husband and all the others with words of singular consolation; declaring to her husband, that they should the same day be married to the Lord Jesus, to live with him for ever.

Four martyrs burned at Paris: Michael Mareschal, John Camus, Great John Camus, and John Seraphin. A. D. 1547.

These also, the same year, and about the same time, for the like confession of Christ's gospel were condemned by the senate of Paris, and in the same city also with the like cruelty were burned.

Octovian Blondel, a merchant of precious stones at Paris, A. D. 1548, betrayed by his host, at Lyons; and by Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur.

This Octovian, as he was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere, so was he a singular honest man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word; who, being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk, and superstitious behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing to him a grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel of Saconnex, presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels, of this Octovian.

Thus these two, consulting together, did suborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns, which because Octovian refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods: but such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated of their purpose. Then Blondel, being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine, which he had learned; for the which he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners there. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to others, raiment. At length, through the importune persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over and changed his confession. Notwithstanding the presenteur, not leaving him so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovian being asked again touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to, he, being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said he would live and die in his first confession, which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned, and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.

Hubert Cheriet, alias Burre, a young man, a tailor, at Dijon, A. D. 1549.

Hubert, being a young man of the age of nineteen years, was burned for the gospel at Dijon; who, neither by any terrors of death, nor allurements of his parents, could be otherwise persuaded, but constantly to remain in the truth unto death.

Master Florent Venote, priest, martyred at Paris A. D. 1549. Persecuted by Peter Liset, president of the council of Paris, and other Sorbonists.

This Florent remained in prison in Paris four years and nine hours. During which time there was no torment which he did not abide and overcome. Among all other kinds of torments, he was put in a narrow prison or break, so strait, that he could neither stand nor lie, which they call the hose or boot, *ad Nectar Hippocratis*; because it is strait beneath, and wider above, like to the instrument wherewith apothecaries are wont to make their hypocras. In this he remained seven weeks, where, the tormentors affirm, that no thief or murderer could ever endure fifteen days, but was in danger of life or madness.

At last, when there was a great show in Paris of the king's coming into the city, and divers of martyrs in sundry places of the city were put to death, he, having his tongue cut off, was brought to see the execution of them all; and last of all, in the Place of Maulbert, was put into the fire, and burned the 9th of July at afternoon.

Ann Audebert, an apothecary's wife and wife, martyred at Orleans, A. D. 1549.

She, going to Geneva, was taken and brought to Paris, and by the council there adjudged to be burned at Orleans. When the rope was put about her neck, she called it her wedding-girdle wherewith she had been married to Christ; and as she should be brought upon a Saturday, upon Michaelmas-even; "I was first married upon a Saturday," said she, "I was first married upon a Saturday I shall be married again." Seeing the dung-cart brought, wherein she was to be carried, she rejoiced thereat, showing such constancy in her martyrdom as made all the beholders to marvel.

A poor godly tailor of Paris, dwelling in the street of St. Anthony at Paris, A. D. 1549. Persecuted by Henry the Second, the French king; and hanged by an officer of the king's household, named by Peter Castellane, bishop of Meaux.

Amongst many other godly martyrs that were in France, the story of this poor tailor is the least nor worst to be remembered. His name is yet sought out in the French stories for his diligence in those writers; more is the pity that the story is this: Not long after the coronation of the Second, the French king, at whose coronation Paris divers good martyrs were there brought and burned for a spectacle, as is above said, this poor tailor, who then dwelt not far

his palace, in the street bearing the name of St. Mary, was apprehended by a certain officer in the king's house, for that upon a certain holy day he followed his occupation, and did work for his living. Before he was had to prison, the officer asked him, why he did labour and work, giving no reason to the holy day?

Whom he answered, that he was a poor man, and lived only upon his labour; and as for the day, he was other but only the Sunday, wherein he lawfully work for the necessity of his living. The officer began to ask of him many questions; and when the poor tailor did so answer, that afterwards he was clapped in prison. After that, the king coming into the court to show what good he had done for the holy church, declared to the states, how he had taken a Lutheran work-day upon a holy day; showing that he had such use of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was noised in the king's ear, through the motion of those who were about the king, the poor man was sent for to appear, that the king might have the hearing of him.

When the king's chamber being voided, save a few of the chiefest peers remaining about the king, the simple tailor was brought. The king, sitting in his chair, commanded Peter Castellane, bishop of Macon, (a man very fit for such inquisitions,) to begin with him. The tailor, being entered, being appalled at the king's majesty, after reverence done unto the prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him being a wretch, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then the bishop, entering talk, began to reason with him touching the greatest and chiefest matter of religion; and unto the tailor without fear, or any halting in speech, with present audacity, wit, and memory, answered for the sincere doctrine and simple use of God's gospel, as was both convenient to the times, and also to his questions aptly and fitly independent.

Notwithstanding, the nobles there present, with taunts and rebukes, did what they could to bring him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified him not, but with boldness of heart, and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ the Lord, neither flattering with their persons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them of singular admiration, to behold that simple poor man stand so firm and bold, answering before the king, to those questions propounded against him. When the king seemed to muse with himself, as one somewhat amazed, and which might soon have been induced, at that present, to further

knowledge, the egregious bishop and other courtiers, seeing the king in such a muse, said, he was an obstinate and stubborn person, confirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the judges, and to be punished. And therefore, lest he should trouble the ears of the said Henry the king, he was commanded again to the hands of the officer, that his cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned, by the high steward of the king's house, to be burned alive. And lest any deep consideration of that excellent fortitude of the poor man might further, peradventure, pierce the king's mind, the cardinals and bishops were ever in the king's ear, telling him, that these Lutherans were nothing else but such as carry vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire, would soon vanish. Wherefore the king was appointed himself to be present at his execution, which was sharp and cruel, before the church of Mary the Virgin; where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his servant, in suffering his martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king than all the other did before.

Claudius Thierry, at Orleans, A. D. 1549.

The same year, and for the same doctrine of the gospel, one Claudius also was burned at the said town of Orleans, being apprehended by the way coming from Geneva to his country.

Leonard Galimard, at Paris, A. D. 1549.

This Leonard, for the confession likewise of Christ and his gospel, was taken and brought to Paris, and there, by the sentence of the council, was judged to be burnt the same time that Florent Venote, above-mentioned, did suffer at Paris.

Macæus Moreou, martyred at Troyes, A. D. 1549.

He was burned at Troyes in Champagne, (a town in France,) remaining constant to the end in the gospel, for the which he was apprehended.

Johan Godeau, and Gabriel Berandine, A. D. 1550.

These two were of the church of Geneva. Afterward, for their friendly admonishing a certain priest, which in his sermon had abused the name of God, they were taken at Chambéry. Godeau standing to his confession, was burned. Gabriel, though he began a little to shrink for fear of the torments, yet being confirmed by the constant death of Godeau, recovered again, and standing likewise to his confession, first had his tongue cut out; who, notwithstanding, through God's might, did speak so as he might be understood. Whereupon the hangman,

Claudius Monerius, at Lyons, A. D. 1551.

His persecutors were, the governor of Lyons, and the official of the archdeacon of Lyons.

This man, being well instructed in the knowledge of God's word, for the which he was also driven from Avernia, came to Lyons, and there taught children. Hearing of the lord president's coming to the city, he went to give warning to a certain familiar friend of his, and so conducted him out of the town. In returning again to comfort the man's wife and children, he was taken in his house; and so he, confessing that which he knew to be true, and standing to that which he confessed, after much affliction in prisons and dungeons, was condemned and burned at Lyons. He was noted to be so gentle and mild of conditions, and constant withal, and also learned that certain of the judges could not forbear weeping at his death.

The said Monerius, being in prison, wrote certain letters, but one especially very comfortable to the faithful, which, the Lord willing, in the end of these histories shall be inserted. He wrote also questions and interrogatories of the official, with answers likewise to the same; which summarily have contracted, as followeth:

The official. "What believe you of the sacrament? is the body of Christ in the bread, or no?"

The martyr. "I worship Jesus Christ in heaven, sitting at the right hand of God the Father."

Official. "What say you by purgatory?"

The martyr. "Forasmuch as there is no mercy after this life, therefore no need there of any purgation; but necessary it is that we be pure before we pass hence."

Official. "Of the pope what think you?"

The martyr. "I say he is a bishop as other bishops are, if he be a true follower of St. Peter."

Official. "What say you of vows?"

The martyr. "No man can vow to God much, but the law requireth much more than can vow."

Official. "Are not saints to be invoked?"

The martyr. "They cannot pray without and therefore it is in vain to call upon them. again, God hath appointed his angels about minister in our necessities."

Official. "Is it not good to salute the Virgin with Ave Maria?"

The martyr. "When she was on this earth she had then need of the angel's greeting; she had need of salvation, as well as other; now she is so blessed, that no more blessing wished unto her."

Official. "Are not images to be had?"

The martyr. "For that the nature of man is a prone to idolatry, ever occupied and fixed in those things which lie before his eyes, rather than upon those which are not seen; images therefore are not to be set before Christians. You know nothing is to be adored, but that which is not seen with eyes, that is, God alone, which is a Spirit, and him we must worship only in spirit and truth."

Official. "What say you by the canonical or ordinary hours for prayer?"

The martyr. "To hours and times, prayer ought not to be tied: but whensoever God's Spirit doth move us, or when any necessity driveth us, then ought we to pray."

Then the official asked, what he thought of holy oil, salt, with such other like? to whom the martyr answered, that all these things were a mere Maranorum, that is, savoured of the law of Maranorum, and of the superstition of the Jews.

René Poyet, at Saumur, in France, A. D. 1552.

René Poyet, the son of William Poyet, which was chancellor of France, for the true and sincere profession of the word of God, constantly suffered persecution, and was burned in the city of Saumur, A. D. 1552.

John Joyer, and his servant, a young man, at Toulouse, A. D. 1552.

These two coming from Geneva to the country for certain books, were apprehended by the way, at length had to Toulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master, saying that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man first going up, began to weep. The master, seeing that he would give over, ran to him, and he comforted, and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master, standing upright to the stake, shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and expired.

Gravier, a schoolmaster and minister, of Neuchâtel, in the country of Neufchatel, at Berg, A. D. 1552.

Berg, in Bresse, a day's journey from Lyons, *Gravier* was burned. He coming from Geneva to Neuchâtel, there was elected to be minister. First, he going to see his wife's friends at Mâcon, as he was coming away out of the town, when upon the bridge, with all his company; in the end, he, willing for the women and the

rest of the company to lay the fault on him for bringing them out, was sentenced to be burned, notwithstanding that the lords of Bern sent their heralds to save his life, and also that the official declared him to be an honest man, and to hold nothing but agreeing to the Scriptures.

Martial Alba, Peter Scribe, Bernard Seguire, Charles Faber, Peter Navihère, at Lyons, A. D. 1553.

Their persecutors were: Tignatius, the governor or deputy of Lyons; Buatherius, official to the archbishop of Lyons; Clepierius, chamberlain; three Orders of Friars; Judge Melierus; Dr. Cunuban, a Grey Friar; Judge Vilard; Primatius, the official; Cortrerius, a judge.

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, consulted amongst themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and other their friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So, taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained awhile. From thence they went to Lyons, where they, sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended and led to prison, where they continued a whole year; that is, from the first of May to the sixteenth of the same month again. As they were learned and well exercised in the Scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed; especially Peter Scribe or Scrivener, and Seguire.

They were examined sundrily of the sacrament of the Lord's body, of purgatory, of confession and invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good Scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they burned in the said town of Lyons. Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews: The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Pastor of the sheep in the blood of the eternal testament, &c. Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened, and so after them the rest. *Martial Alba*, being the eldest, was the last; who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought

to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them: which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, "Farewell, my brother." Likewise the other four, following the same example, bade each one, "Farewell, my brother." With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer, and so departed.

Their examinations briefly touched.

The friar. "Thou sayest, friend! in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church; I will prove contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: ergo, he is supreme head of the church."

The martyr. "I deny first your antecedent."

Friar. "The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: ergo, he is the successor of St. Peter."

The martyr. "I will grant neither of both: first, because that he which succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter, yet should he not therefore be the head of the church, but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul, Eph. i."

Friar. "Although Christ be the head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here on earth is left to supply his room."

The martyr. "Not so, for the power of his Divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence."

Friar. "I will prove, that although Christ be King both of heaven and earth, yet he hath here on earth many vicars under him, to govern his people."

The martyr. "It is one thing to rule in the civil state, another thing to rule spiritually. For in civil regiment we have kings and princes ordained of God by the Scriptures, for the observation of public society: in the spiritual regiment and kingdom of the church it is not so."

Another friar. "Thou sayest St. Peter is not the head of the church; I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, Thou shalt be called Cephas; which Cephas is as much as to say in Latin, *caput*: ergo, Peter is head of the church."

The martyr. "Where find you that interpreta-

tion? St. John, in his first chapter, doth expound it otherwise: Thou shalt be called Cephas, that is as much (saith he) as *petrus*, or stone."

Then the judge Vilard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so: whereupon the friar was utterly dashed, and stood mute.

Friar. "Thou sayest in thy confession, that man hath no free-will; I will prove it. It is written in the Gospel, Luke x., how a man going from Jerusalem to Jericho fell among thieves, and was spoiled, maimed, and left half dead, &c. Thomas Aquinas expoundeth this parable to mean free-will which, he saith, is maimed; yet not so, but that some power remaineth in man to work."

The martyr. "This interpretation I do refuse and deny."

Friar. "What! thinkest thou thyself better learned than St. Thomas?"

The martyr. "I do arrogate no such learning unto myself. But this I say, this parable is not to be expounded, but is set forth for example to the Lord, to commend to us charity towards our neighbour, how one should help another."

Friar. "Thou sayest in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith, I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit, ergo, by works we are justified."

The martyr. "I deny the antecedent."

Friar. "St. Paul, in the last chapter of I Corinthians, saith, Forget not to do good, and to contribute unto others: for by such oblations God is merited. We merit God by our works: ergo, we are justified by our works."

The martyr. "The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: Forasmuch as such sacrifices God is delighted, or is well pleased with."

Vilard, the judge, turned to the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. The friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds: of whom one asked then, What he thought of confession? To whom the martyr answered, that confession only is to be made to God, and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and other, are not expounded of brotherly reconciliation between man and another, and not of confession in the priest's hands. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

A Black Friar. "Dost thou not believe that the body of Christ to be locally and corporally present in the sacrament? I will prove the same. Jesus, when taking bread, said, This is my body: ergo, truly his body."

The martyr. "The verb *est* is not to be

metaphorically in its own proper signification, as the nature of a thing in substance, as in reality it is wont to be taken; but as noting the signification of a thing signified, after the manner and sense of the Scripture; where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the signified by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is the covenant called by the name of the covenant, and not the covenant; so the lamb hath the name of the lamb, yet is not the same; in which two things of the old law, ye see the verb *est* to be used as showing the substance of being, but the signification of being in the thing that is spoken of. Likewise in the sacrament of the new law."

The martyr. "The sacraments of the old law and of the new law do differ greatly; for these give grace, so doth the other."

The martyr. "Neither the sacraments of the old law, nor of the new law, do give grace, but show unto us, which giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth by the operation of the Holy Ghost: of whom it is said, This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Spirit, &c."

The martyr. "The fathers of the Old Testament, they not partakers of the same grace and promise with us?" John ii.

The martyr. "Yes, for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the Old Testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did drink of the same spiritual drink, &c."

The martyr. "Jesus Christ saith, John vi., Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: they were not partakers of the same grace with us of the New Testament."

The martyr. "Christ here speaketh of them which did not eat that manna with faith, which was the true and figure of that Bread of Life that came from heaven; and not of them which did eat the manna with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, Caleb, and such others; who, under the shadows of the Law of the Old Testament, did look for Christ to come. For it is written of Abraham, that he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced;—not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of his faith."

The martyr. "Here the doctish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but "Hear, friend; be not so hot, be not so hasty, tarry a while, tarry a while." At length, after his tarrying, this came out."

The martyr. "I will prove that they of the Old Testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. The law (saith St. Paul) worketh anger; and they that are under the law, are under malediction: ergo, they of the old law and testament were not partakers of the same grace with us."

The martyr. "St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the anger and curse of God thereby, forasmuch as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended; and therefore, we have need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still under malediction: not because the law is cursed, or the times thereof under curse, but because of the weakness of our nature, which is not able to perform the law."

Friar. "St. Paul, Rom. vii., declareth in the Old Testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the New Testament to be grace and mercy, in these words where he saith, Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death? The grace of God, by Jesus Christ."

The martyr. "St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the Old and the New Testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not *gratia Dei*, but *gratias ago Deo, per Jesum Christum*," &c.

Primacius, the official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, "Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?"

The martyr. "No, sir, but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles."

Official. "Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou callest the sacrament bread."

The martyr. "The Scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not on earth; where we read, Col. iii., If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God, &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread, speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, which doth call it bread likewise, four or five times together," 1 Cor. xi.

Friar. "Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life."

Official. "Thou naughty heretic! Jesus Christ said that he was a vine, and a door, &c., where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively; but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded."

The martyr. "Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you."

Official. "What sayest thou, lewd heretic! is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one, and is there no difference between them?"

The martyr. "In nature and substance there is no difference: in quality and in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life."

And this was the effect of their examinations.

Petrus Bergerius, at Lyons, A. D. 1553.

About the same time when these five students above specified were apprehended, this Bergerius also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters. In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, which had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment cried out of God, and cursed his parents that begat him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as dogs and horses had refused to eat: so it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayers of this Bergerius, he was brought to repentance of himself, and knowledge of God; learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached unto him. Touching his conversion, he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above mentioned, wherein he praiseth God for them, and specially for this Bergerius; declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience, according to the same, his lice, which he could pluck out before no less than twenty at once, betwixt his fingers, now were so gone from him that he had not one. Furthermore, so the alms of good men were extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good: such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth. The name of this convert was John Chambone.

Stephen and Dionysius Peloquine, brethren, at Ville Franche, near Lyons, A. D. 1553.

Stephen Peloquine, brother to this Dionysius, was taken about two or three years before, with Ann

Audebert above mentioned, and also martyred for the testimony of the gospel at the same time, with a small fire. After whom followed Dionysius Peloquine, in the same steps of martyrdom, who was his brother. This Dionysius had been sometime a monk, and changing his weed, took a wife, with whom he lived a certain space at Geneva in godly order and modesty of life. Coming afterward to Ville Franche, six miles from Lyons, from thence he was had to Lyons, where he remained in prison ten months. From thence he was reversed to Ville Franche, where he was condemned, degraded, and burned. The articles whereupon he was condemned, were for the mass, the sacrament, auricular confession, purgatory, the Virgin Mary, and the pope's supremacy. He suffered on the eleventh of September, A. D. 1553. In his martyrdom, such patience and fortitude God gave, that when he was half burned, yet he never ceased holding up his hands to heaven, and calling upon the Lord; to the great admiration of them that looked on.

Ludovicus Marsace, and Michael Gerard, his cousin; also Stephen Gravot, carpenter: at Lyons, A. D. 1553. Their persecutors were, the king's lieutenant at Lyons; the official; and the friar.

At Lyons the same year these three also were apprehended and sacrificed. Ludovicus had been of the order of the Demi-lances, which served the king in his wars: afterwards coming to Geneva, he was trained up in the knowledge and doctrine of the Lord. Upon divers articles he was examined: the invocation of saints, and of the Virgin Mary, free-will, merits and good works, auricular confession, fasting, and the Lord's supper. In the second examination, they inquired of him, and of the other two, touching vows, the sacrament of the mass, and the vicar of Christ; in all these articles, because his and their judgment differed from the doctrine of the pope's church, they were condemned. The answers of Marsace to the articles are to be seen at large in the Book of the Martyrs, set out by John Crispine.

The lieutenant, among other blasphemies, said these words: "Of the four evangelists, but three were pure, Matthew and John; the other two, Mark and Luke, were but gatherers out of others. The Epistles of St. Paul, but that the apostles of the church had authorized them, he otherwise esteems them no better than the fables of Æsop."

Item, The said lieutenant said to M. Cope, speaking somewhat of the law, "Cursed be he that keepeth that law."

When the sentence of condemnation was

these three, they were so glad thereof, that
went out praising God, and singing psalms.
The judges sore, to see them so little
fear their death: insomuch that the lieutenant
ordered them to be made to hold their peace; say-
ing, "Shall these vile subjects so vaunt themselves
of the whole state of the realm?" Then as
he was going into a corner by, to pray, one of
them would not suffer him: to whom he said,
"At this time which we have, will you not give
up?" With that the soldier, being astonish-
ed at this way.

They should be brought out of prison to the
executioner, who tied a rope about the necks of
three. Marsace seeing himself to be spared
of his order and degree, called by the way
the lieutenant, that he might also have one of
those chains about his neck, in honour of his
which being granted, so were these three
martyrs committed to the fire, where they,
with much patience, yielded up their lives to the
glory of the Lord, in testimony of his gospel.

Dimonetus, merchant, at Lyons, A. D.
The persecutors were the lieutenant of
the town, Primacius and Buatherius, officials, and
an inquisitor.

The merchant first lived a vicious and detestable
life of much corruption and filthiness. He was
the worst enemy and searcher-out of good men,
and where they convented together; who, be-
lieved, notwithstanding, by the grace of God, to
the knowledge and favour of his word, shortly after
taken by the lieutenant, and Buatherius the
in his own house at Lyons; and so, after a
persecution, was sent to prison. Being ex-
amined by the inquisitor and the officials, he re-
fused to yield any answer to them, knowing no au-
thority they had upon him, but only to the lieutenant.
His answers were, that he believed all that the holy
catholic church of Christ did truly believe, and all
the articles of the creed. To the article of the holy
catholic church, being bid to add also "Romanam,"
that is, the Church of Rome, that he refused. Ad-
ditionally he knew none, but Christ alone. Pur-
suing he knew none, but the cross and passion of
our Lord, which purgeth the sins of all the world.
For confession, he said, ought to be made not to
any priest once a year, but every day to God and to
that whom we have offended. The eating of the
body and blood of Christ he took to be spiritual:
all the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ
to be eaten with the mouth, and that sacrament to
be bread and wine under the name and signification
of the body and blood of Christ; the mass not to be

instituted of Christ, being a thing contrary to his
word and will. For the head of the church, he
knew none, but only Christ. Being in prison, he
had great conflicts with the infirmity of his own
flesh, but especially with the temptation of his
parents, brethren, and kinsfolks, and the sorrow of
his mother: nevertheless the Lord so assisted him,
that he endured to the end. At his burning he
spoke much to the people, and was heard with great
attention. He suffered on the fifteenth of July,
A. D. 1553.

William Neel, an Austin Friar, at Evreux in France,
A. D. 1553. His persecutors were Legoux, the
Dean Ilieriensis; and M. Simon Vigor, the pe-
nitentiary of Evreux.

Henry Pantaleon, and likewise Crispine and
Adrian, make mention also of one William Neel, a friar
Augustine, who suffered in much like sort the same
year, and was burned at Evreux in France. The
occasion of his trouble rose first, for the rebuking
of the vicious demeanour of the priests there, and of
the dean, named Legoux: for the which the dean
caused him to be sent to Evreux, to the prison of
the bishop. The story of this William Neel, with his
answers to their articles objected, is to be read more
at large in the ninth book of Pantaleon, and others.

Simon Laloe, at Dijon, A. D. 1553. His persecutor
was the bailiff or steward of the city of Dijon.

Simon Laloe, a spectacle-maker, coming from
Geneva into France for certain business, was laid
hand of by the bailiff of Dijon. Three things were
demanded of him: first, where he dwelt? secondly,
what was his faith? thirdly, what fellows he knew
of his religion? His dwelling (he said) was at Ge-
neva. His religion was such as was then used at
Geneva. As for his fellows (he said) he knew none,
but only them of the same city of Geneva, where
his dwelling was. When they could get of him no
other answer but this with all their racking and
torments, they proceeded to his sentence, and pur-
sued the execution of the same, which was on the
twenty-first of November, A. D. 1553. The exe-
cutioner, who was named James Silvester, seeing the
great faith and constancy of that heavenly martyr,
was so compuncted with repentance, and fell in such
despair of himself, that they had much ado, with all
the promises of the gospel, to recover any comfort in
him. At last, through the mercy of Christ, he was
comforted, and converted; and so he, with all his
family, removed to the church at Geneva.

Nicholas Nayle, at Paris, A. D. 1553.

This Nicholas, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with

certain fardels of books, was there apprehended; who, stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to utter what fellows he had besides of his profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another; but so constant he was in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face monstrously. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For this the blind people were so grieved, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so smeared his body with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire, all his skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so the blessed martyr departed.

Peter Serre, near Toulouse, A. D. 1553. His persecutors were a woman of Toulouse; the official of the bishop of Toulouse; and the inquisitor and chancellor of the bishop of Cozeran.

Peter Serre was first a priest; then changing his religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the shoemakers' craft, and so lived. Afterwards, upon a singular love, he came to his brother at Toulouse, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, which was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She, in secret counsel, told another woman, one of her neighbours, of this. What doth she, but goeth to the official, and maketh him privy to all. The official thinking to foreslack no time, taking counsel with his fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor; to whom he made such a declaration of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring of what occupation he was, he said, that of late he was a shoemaker: whereby the judge, understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all others in the whole world besides. The judge

and the people, supposing that he had been thief or outpurse, inquired to know what it was; but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth and would not declare it. At last, through importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had been a priest! The judge thereupon was so moved, that he condemned him; first, enjoining him in his condemnation to ask the king forgiveness, he then judged him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned. From this sentence, he appealed to the parliament of Toulouse: not for that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the king's forgiveness, whom he had never offended; also because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he would praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned; only he was pardoned for asking forgiveness of the king, from the cutting off of his tongue, so that he would do nothing against their religion.

As he went to burning, he passed by the church of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; which cause he refused, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut off: and so being put to the fire, he was so quiet, looking up to heaven all the time of burning, as though he had felt nothing; bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said, that way was not the best, to bring Lutherans to the fire, for that would do more harm than good.

Stephen King, and Petrus Denocheus, at Chartres, A. D. 1553. Persecuted by the governor of the Marches.

Stephen King, after he had been at Strasburg while, returned again into his country, dwelling in a town bearing the name of St. George, not far from Chaustors; where he served in the place of a notary and had under him a clerk named Peter Denocheus who also had been at Geneva, and was there zealous in instructing the ignorant, and rebuking blasphemous swearers, and other offenders. These two were not long together but they were both suspected of Lutheranism, and so apprehended by the governor of the Marches, or the marshal, and so were carried to Chartres, where, after their constant confession upon their examination made, they were enclosed in prison, and there sustained long and tedious endurance; during which mean time, Stephen King made many worthy songs and sonnets in the praise of the Lord, whereby to recreate his spirit in the doleful captivity. At length, when, after long persuasions and fair promises of the bishop and of

...they could not be revoked from the doctrine
their confession, they were condemned. From
condemnation they appealed to the court of
...but the council there, confirming their former
...returned them again to Chartres, from
...they came, where they were both executed
...and punishment of fire.

...Magnus, or Magnæus, at Paris, A. D.
...M. Persecuted by the priests of Bruges.

...Magnus was sent by the five who were
...at Lyons, above-mentioned, and by others
...were in captivity at Paris, to Geneva, to
...and them to their prayers unto God for them;
...for certain business there despatched, return-
...into France, and there, within three hours
...coming, was betrayed and taken by certain
...at Bruges, and there delivered by the said
...to the official. After a few days the king's
...took him from the official, and sent him to
...where, after great rebukes and torments he
...in the prison, and firmly persisting in the
...of the truth, by their capital sentence was
...to have his tongue cut out, and so was
...at Maublert Place in Paris.

...Alençon, bookseller; also a certain shear-
...at Montpellièrs, A. D. 1454. Betrayed by
...brethren.

...Alençon did much good in the provinces of
...by carrying books. Coming to Montpel-
...he was there circumvented by false brethren,
...and laid in prison. In his faith he was
...and constant to the end of his martyrdom, be-
...turned the seventh of January, 1554.

...There was the same time at Montpellièrs a cer-
...man or clothworker, who had been long in
...for religion, but at length, for fear and in-
...he revolted; to whom it was enjoined by
...judges to make public recantation, and to be
...also at the burning of Alençon aforesaid:
...the beholding of whose death and constancy, it
...God to strike into this man such boldness,
...he desired the judges, that he might burn with
...Alençon, or else be brought again into prison,
...saying, that he would make no other recantation,
...etc. Wherefore, within three days after he was
...condemned to the fire, and burned in the
...aforesaid.

Paris Panier, a lawyer, at Dol, A. D. 1554.

At Dol was beheaded a good and godly lawyer,
named Paris Panier, for constant standing to the
gospel of Christ, A. D. 1554.

Peter du Val, shoemaker, at Nismes, A. D. 1554.

At Nismes in Dauphiné, Peter du Val sustained
sore and grievous rackings and torments; where-
with his body being broken, dissolved, and maimed,
yet he, notwithstanding, manfully abiding all their
extremity, would name and utter none. Then was
he had to the fire, and there consumed, A. D. 1554.

Johannes Filiolus, or Filiolus, carpenter; and Ju-
lian le Ville, point-maker, at Sanserre, A. D.
1554. Their persecutors were Giles le Pers,
lieutenant for the marshal of St. Andrew, and in-
quisitor for the province of Bourbon; and also
John Bergeronius, another inquisitor or coun-
sellor.

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they
were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons
and a daughter, were apprehended by Giles le Pers;
who, in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly
and Judasly pretending great favour to them, and
to their religion, which he (as he said) supposed
them to be of, with these and many other fair words
circumvented and allured them to confess, what was
their faith? whither they went with their children?
and also that their wives were at Geneva? When
they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a
sign to his horsemen, and so were these simple
saints of Christ entrapped and brought to the castle
of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined
of many things, whereunto they answered uprightly,
according to their faith.

First, touching the sacrament, they affirmed the
transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be
against the article of the Creed, which saith that
Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the
right hand of God: and therefore the bread and the
wine must needs remain in their properties; bear-
ing, notwithstanding, a sacrament, or a holy sign,
of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by
bread and wine the heart of man is comforted, so
the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed,
spiritually hath the like operation in the souls of the
believers.

For the mass, they said it was a thing most su-
perstitious, and mere idolatry; and if we put any
part of salvation therein, (they said,) it was utterly a
robbing of the passion of Christ the Son of God, and
that it was not once to be named out of a Christian
mouth. Also, that those who say that Peter either
was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived.
And as for turning bread into the body of Christ
by the words of consecration, it was an error (they
said) more of madmen, than any of sadmen: foras-
much as God is neither subject to men, nor to the

tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves (said they) will be contented to rob God of his honour only due to him.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and causes of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.

After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of St. Peter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would their goods to be taken by inventory, and them to be banished. But Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass. From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing amended, where behold the judgment of God. In the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more constant.

At last, the decree of the sentence was read against them.

I. For speaking against the sacrament: which they denied.

II. For speaking against baptism: which also they denied.

III. For speaking contumely against the saints: which they in like manner denied.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, threatened them with torments, which they sustained very extreme, the space from after dinner till three of the clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a friar Dominic, a man capacious and sophistical, to press them in disputation: but as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross, which they took with their teeth, and flung away: for which, the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Herein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, "We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter." Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, "Go to," said Filiolus, "salt on,

salt on the stinking and rotten flesh." Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they, persisting constant in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdoms.

Dionysius Vayre, at Rouen, A. D. 1554. Persecuted by William Langlois, under-sheriff, and John Langlois, the king's procurator.

In the same year suffered, at Rouen, Denis Vayre, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of bookbinding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of King Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Feueillet; where he, going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, albeit he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered. First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Rouen; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, that the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that religion: notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them. And as for their torments, he said, he cared not; for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw him so little to care for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning: and first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, "Cut out his tongue:" and so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up; but the flame was so high, that the hangman, being not able to come near him, cried to the people standing by to help, and so did the officers with their staves lay upon the people, to help their tormentors, but never would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who jest to the friars of St. Francis, "You wear

about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope." Upon this the Franciscan Friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant; and so did. The friars, hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, if he continued so, he should be saved; and so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, lest he fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the friars.

To this merchant may also be adjoined the brother of Toner, who, when he had before professed the truth of the gospel, and afterwards by the counsel and instruction of his brother was removed from the same, fell in desperation and such sorrow of mind, that he hanged himself.

Thomas Galbergne, a coverlet-maker, at Tournay, A. D. 1554.

This Thomas had copied out certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which, he said, contained nothing but that was agreeing to the Scripture; and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the town-house, and there adjudged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas! Thou art! yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour." To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort;" and so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.

Add also to this, one Nicholas Paul, beheaded at Antwerp. These two should have been placed among the Dutch martyrs in the table before.

Richard Fearns, a goldsmith, at Lyons, A. D. 1554. Persecuted by the latrunculator, or under-marshal or examiner of Dauphiné; also by the lieutenant, and his attorney, and a scribe, with divers others.

Fearns, a goldsmith, born at Rouen, first being in England, and in London, there received the taste of knowledge of God's word, as in his own epistle he recordeth. Then he went to Geneva, where he remained nine or ten years; and from thence re-

turning to Lyons, there he was apprehended and condemned. Upon this he appealed to the high court of Paris, through the motion of his friends; where, in the way, as he was led to Paris, he was met by certain whom he knew not, and by them taken from his keepers, and so set at liberty; which was A. D. 1551.

After that, continuing at Geneva about the space of three years, he came upon business to the province of Dauphiné, and there, as he found fault with the grace said in Latin, he was detected, and taken in his inn at night, by the under-marshal, or him which had the examination of malefactors. The next day he was sent to the justice, from him to the bishop; who ridding their hands of him, then was he brought to the lieutenant, who sent his advocate with a notary to him in the prison, to examine him of his faith. The whole process of his examinations, with his adversaries and the friars, in his story described, is long; the principal contents come to this effect:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe the Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "No, I do believe the catholic and universal church."

Inquisitor. "What catholic church is that?"

The martyr. "The congregation or communion of Christians."

Inquisitor. "What congregation is that, or of whom doth it consist?"

The martyr. "It consisteth in the number of God's elect, whom God hath chosen to be the members of his Son Jesus Christ, of whom he is also the head."

Inquisitor. "Where is the congregation, or how is it known?"

The martyr. "It is dispersed through the universal world, in divers regions, and is known by the spiritual direction wherewith it is governed, that is to say, both by the word of God, and by the right institution of Christ's sacraments."

Inquisitor. "Do you think the church that is at Geneva, Lausanne, Berne, and such other places, to be a more true church than the holy Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "Yea, verily, for these have the notes of the true church."

Inquisitor. "What difference then make you between those churches and the Church of Rome?"

The martyr. "Much; for the Church of Rome is governed only with traditions of men, but those are ruled only by the word of God."

Inquisitor. "Where learned you this doctrine first?"

The martyr. "In England; at Loudon."

Inquisitor. "How long have you been at Geneva?"

The martyr. "About nine or ten years."

Inquisitor. "Dost thou not believe the Virgin Mary to be a mediatrix and advocate to God for sinners?"

The martyr. "I believe, as in the word of God is testified, that Jesus Christ is the only mediator and advocate for all sinners: albeit the Virgin Mary be a blessed woman, yet the office of an advocate belongeth not unto her."

Inquisitor. "The saints that be in paradise, have they no power to pray for us?"

The martyr. "No; but I judge them to be blessed, and to be contented with the grace and glory which they have; that is, that they be counted the members of the Son of God."

Inquisitor. "And what then judge you of them who follow the religion of the Church of Rome? think you them to be Christians?"

The martyr. "No, for that Church is not governed with the Spirit of God, but rather fighteth against the same."

Inquisitor. "Do you then esteem all them who separate themselves from the Church of Rome to be Christians?"

The martyr. "I have not to answer for others, but only for myself. Every man, saith St. Paul, shall bear his own burden."

And thus the advocate, when he had asked him whether he would put his hand to that he had said, and had obtained the same, departed to dinner.

At the next examination was brought unto him a Franciscan Friar, who, first entering with him touching the words that he spake in his inn, asked him, why grace might not be said in Latin? "Because," said he, "by the word of God, Christians are commanded to pray with heart and with spirit, and with that tongue which is most understood, and serveth best to the edification of the hearers."

Then the friar, bringeth forth his *Benedicite, Agimus tibi gratias, &c., Laus Deo, Pax, vivis, Requies defunctis, &c.*, began thus to reason:

Friar. "God understandeth all tongues, and the Church of Rome hath prescribed this form of praying, receiving the same from the ancient church and the fathers, who used then to pray in Latin. And if any tongue be to be observed in prayer, one more than another, why is it not as good to pray in the Latin tongue, as to pray in the French?"

The martyr. "My meaning is not to exclude any kind of language from prayer, whether it be Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or any other, so that the same be understood, and may edify the hearers."

Friar. "When Christ entered the city of Jerusalem, the people cried, lauding him with *sanna filio David*: and yet understood they what they said, as Jerome writeth."

The martyr. "It may be that Jerome writeth, how they understood not the prophetic meaning, or the accomplishment of these words Christ's coming: but that they understood the phrase of that speech or language which they were speaking in their own language, Jerome doth deny."

Then the friar, declaring that he was no fit person to expound the Scriptures being in the Latin tongue, inferred the authorities of councils and doctors, testimonies of men; which seemed to move the officer not a little, who, then charging him with many things, as with words spoken in contempt of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, also with rebellion against princes and kings, came at last to the matter of the sacrament, and demanded thus:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe the holy sacrament which the priest doth consecrate at the mass or communion?"

The martyr. "I believe neither the host, nor any such consecration."

Inquisitor. "Why? dost thou not believe the holy sacrament of the altar, ordained of Christ Jesus himself?"

The martyr. "Touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, I believe that whensoever we eat and drink of the same according to the representation of St. Paul, we are refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the true spiritual meat and drink of our souls."

The friar then inferred the words of St. John in the Gospel, saying, My flesh is meat indeed, &c. and said, that the doctors of the church had decided the matter already, and had approved the mass to be the holy memorial of the death and passion of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The martyr. "The sacrament of the supper I believe to be ordained of the Lord for a memorial of his death, and for a stirring up of our thanksgiving to him; in which sacrament we have nothing to offer up to him, but do receive with all thanksgiving the benefits offered of God to us most abundantly in Christ Jesus his Son."

And thus the advocate with the friar, bidding the notary to write the words that he had spoken, departed; who after eight days, being accompanied by the said Franciscan, and other friars more of the Dominicans, sent for the said Richard Feurus again to his house, and thus began to inquire:

Inquisitor. "Dost thou believe any purgatory?"

The martyr. "I believe that Christ with his

his blood hath made an end of all purgatory, purgation of our sins."

Questioner. "And dost thou think then that there is no place after this life, where souls of men should remain till they have made satisfaction for their sins?"

The martyr. "No; but I acknowledge one satisfaction once made for the sins of all men, by the blood and sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord, which is the propitiation and purgation for the sins of the whole world."

Friar. "In Matthew xviii., Christ, speaking, gave a parable or similitude, of a certain cruel king, who, because he would not forgive his felon servant, was cast into prison, saith, That he should come out from thence till he hath paid the least farthing: by which similitude is signified that there is a certain middle place, which is left for satisfaction to be made after this life for sins."

The martyr. "First, the satisfaction for our sins by the death of Christ is plain and evident in the Scriptures; as in these places: Come to me, and I will rest you; that labour and be burdened, and I will refresh you. I am the door, he that entereth by me, shall be saved. I am the way, verity, and life. And be they that die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours. Also to the thief who hanged beside the Lord, it was said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, &c. Secondly, as touching the similitude, it hath no other demonstration but the admonition of our duty, in showing charity, and loving one another; which unless we do, there is no mercy to be looked for at the hands of God."

Friar. "If this be true that you say, then it should follow that there is neither purgatory nor Purgatories, which were against our Christian faith and our Creed, which saith, He descended into Hell, &c."

Deputy. "Dost thou not believe there is a Hell?"

The martyr. "Neither do I believe there is any such place, nor doth the Scripture make any mention thereof."

Friar. "Where were the old fathers then, before the death of Christ?"

The martyr. "In life, I say, eternal, which they looked for, being promised before to Adam, Noah, and the patriarchs, in the seed to come."

Deputy. "What, dost thou believe that the Pope hath any power?"

The martyr. "Yea verily."

Deputy. "Dost thou believe that the pope, as the vicar of Jesus Christ, can here bind and loose?"

The martyr. "That I do not believe."

Deputy. "How then dost thou understand the power of the pope?"

The martyr. "I understand the power of the pope so as St. Paul declareth, 2 Thess., saying, that because the world refused to receive the love of the truth unto salvation, therefore God hath given to Satan, and to his ministers, power of illusions and errors, that men should believe lies, and set up to themselves pastors and teachers such as they deserve."

Friar. "Christ gave to St. Peter power to bind and loose, whose successor, and vicar of Christ, is the pope, for the government of the church, that it might have one head in the world, as it hath in heaven. And though the pastors do not live according to the word which they preach, yet their doctrine is not therefore to be refused, as Christ teacheth in the twenty-third of Matthew."

The martyr. "If the pope and his adherents would preach the word purely and sincerely, admixing no other inventions of their own, nor obtruding laws of their own devising, I would then embrace their doctrine, howsoever their lives were to the contrary: according as Christ doth tell us of the scribes and Pharisees, admonishing us to follow their doctrine, and not their lives. But there is great difference, whether they that take the governance of the church do sit in Moses's chair, which is the seat of truth, or else do sit in the chair of abomination, spoken of by Daniel, and also by St. Paul, where he saith, that the man of perdition shall sit in the temple of God, vaunting himself insolently above all that is called God."

"And as touching the keys of binding and loosing, given to Peter, Christ therein assigned to Peter and other apostles the office of preaching the word of the gospel, which they did also well observe, in preaching nothing else but only the word; in the which word is all the power contained of binding and loosing. Neither is it to be granted, the church to have two heads, one in heaven, another in earth; the head whereof is but one, which is Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath appointed to be head alone both in heaven and earth, as St. Paul in many places of his Epistles doth teach."

Friar. "You have no understanding how to expound the Scriptures, but the old doctors have expounded the Scriptures, and holy councils, whose judgments are to be followed. But what say you to auricular confession?"

The martyr. "I know no other confession but that which is to be made to God, and reconciliation towards our neighbour, which Christ and his apostles have commended to us."

Friar. "Have you not read in the gospel, how

Christ doth bid us to confess to the priest, where he commanded the leper, being made whole, to show himself to the priest?"

The martyr. "The true church of the Lord Jesus Christ never observed this strange kind of confession, to carry our sins to the priest's ear. And though the Church of Rome hath intruded this manner of confessing, it followeth not thereby that it is to be received. And as touching the leper whom the Lord sent to the priest, he was not sent therefore to whisper his sins in the priest's ear, but only for a testimony of his health received according to the law.

"Of the other confession which is to be made to God, we have both the examples and testimonies of the prophet David full in the Psalms, where he saith, that he confessed his sins unto the Lord, and received forgiveness of the same."

After this, the friar, proceeding further to make comparison between the Church of Rome and the Church of Geneva, would prove that the pope hath power to set laws in the church without any express word of God: for so it is written, said he, that there were many other things besides, which are not written in this book. Also, where Christ promiseth to his disciples, to send unto them the Holy Ghost, which should induce them into all truth. Moreover, such decrees and ordinances as are in the church, were decided, said he, and appointed by the doctors of the church and by all the councils, directed, no doubt, by the Holy Ghost. Furthermore he inferred, that the Church also of Geneva had their ordinances and constitutions made without any word of God. And for example, he brought forth the order of the Psalms and service publicly observed and appointed upon Wednesday, in the Church of Geneva, as though that day were holier than another.

To this the martyr answered again, declaring that the ordinance of those public prayers and psalms on Wednesday in the Church of Geneva, was not to bind conscience, or for any superstitious observation, or for any necessity which either should bind the conscience, or could not be altered at their arbitrement; but only for an order or commodity for public resort, to hear the word of God, according as ancient kings and temporal magistrates have used in old time to do, in congregating the people together; not to put any holiness in the day, or to bind the conscience to any observation, (as the pope maketh his laws,) but only for order's sake, serving unto commodity.

And as touching that any thing should be left for doctors and councils to be decided, without the express word of God, that is not so; for that all things

be expressed and prescribed by the word, whatsoever is necessary either for government of the church, or for the salvation of men; so that there is no need for doctors of the church, or councils, to decide any thing more than is decided already.

Paul saith, that he durst utter nothing but what the Lord had wrought by him. St. John, speaking of the doctrine of Christ Jesus, willet us to receive no man, unless he bring with him the same doctrine. St. Paul warneth the Galatians, not to believe an angel from heaven, bringing another doctrine than that which they had already received. Christ, calling himself the good shepherd, noteth them to be his sheep which hear his voice, and not the voice of others. And St. Peter admonishing the pastors of the church, forewarns them to teach only the word of God, without any seeking of lordship or dominion over the flock. From this moderation how far the form of the pope's church doth differ, the tyranny which they use doth well declare.

Friar. "In the old church priests and ministers of the church were wont to assemble together for deciding of such things as pertained to the government and direction of the church; whereas in Geneva no such thing is used, as I can prove by thy own testament here in my hands, that you the better may understand what was then the true order and manner of the church."

The martyr. "What was the true order and manner that the apostles did institute in the church of Christ, I would gladly hear, and also would desire you to consider the same; and when you have well considered it, yet shall you find the institution and regiment of the Church of Geneva, not to be without the public counsel and advisement of magistrates, elders and ministers of that church, with such care and diligence as Paul and Silas took in ordering the church of Thessalonica, Berea, wherein nothing was done without the authority of God's word, as appeareth in the 17th chapter of Acts. As likewise also in establishing the church of Antioch, when the apostles were together in council for the same, there was no other law or doctrine followed, but only the word of God, as appear by the words of the council, *Quid te Deum, jugum imponere?* &c. And albe the ministers of the Church of Rome, and the pope were not called to the institution of the church of Geneva, yet it followeth not that there was no lawful order observed, either in establishing that church or any other."

Friar. "You were first baptized in the name of the pope, were ye not?"

The martyr. "I grant I was, but yet nothing hindereth the grace of God; but he

write and call to further knowledge whom he pleaseth."

A councillor. "I would wish you not to stick to your own wisdom and opinion. You see the churches in Germany, how they dissent one from another; so that if you should not submit your judgment to the authority of the general councils, every day you shall have a new Christianity."

The martyr. "To mine own wisdom I do not stick, nor ever will, but only to that wisdom which is in Christ Jesus, although the world doth account it foolishness. And where ye say, that the churches of Germany dissent among themselves one from another: that is not so, for they accord in one agreement altogether, touching the foundation and principal grounds of Christian faith. Neither is there any such fear that every day should rise up a new Christianity, unless the church be balanced with authority of the councils, as you pretend. For so we read in the prophet David, in Psalm xxxiii., and in other places of Scripture more, that the councils of the nations and people shall be overthrown and subverted by the Lord, &c. Wherefore the best is, that we follow the counsel of God and his word, and prefer the authority thereof before all other counsels and judgments of men. And thus doing, I for my part had rather dwell and abide myself in this little Christianity, be it ever so small, than in that populous papality, be it ever so great in multitude."

And thus was this godly Feurus commanded by the deputy to the bishop's prison, and thence shortly after removed to Lyons, not by open and beaten way, but by secret and privy ways, lest perhaps he should be taken from thence again, as he was before.

After he was come to Lyons, he was brought before Tignatus the judge, and a doctor of Sorbonne, and Fumusius, who questioned with him touching many articles of religion. But in conclusion, as they neither with arguments could convict him, nor with promises allure him, nor with threatening terrors stir him, either to betray the truth which he knew, or to bewray those whom he knew, which took him away before from his keepers, proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to have his tongue cut out, and then to be executed. All which he received willingly and cheerfully for righteousness' sake, thus finishing his martyrdom, on the seventh of July, A. D. 1554.

John du Chense, at Gry, near Besançon, A. D. 1554. Persecuted by an inquisitor monk.

The cause and occasion why this Nicholas came to this was, for that he, going from Lausanne,

(where he abode for his conscience,) to fetch his sister, and her husband, and certain other of his friends; as he went from Besançon, toward the town of Gry, did not do homage to a certain cross in the way; where a certain monk, who was an inquisitor, overtook him, and thereby suspected him. He was guided by the same monk, craftily dissembling his religion, to a lodging in Gry; where the justice of the place coming in incontinent took him. Nicholas seeing how he was by the monk, his conductor, betrayed; "O false traitor!" said he, "hast thou thus betrayed me?" Then after examination he was condemned. Being carried to the place of martyrdom, by the way he was promised, that if he would kneel down and hear a mass, he should be let go as a passenger. But Nicholas, armed with perseverance, said, he would rather die than commit such an act; who calling upon the name of the Lord, took his death patiently.

John Bertrand, a forester, or keeper of the forest of Marchenoir, at Blois, A. D. 1556. Persecutors: The seigniors or lords of Estnay and Ciguongnes, dwelling by the town of Marchenoir; and Denis Barbes, councillor of Blois.

For the religion and gospel of Christ this John was apprehended by these persecutors here specified, and led bound to Blois, where he was examined by Denis the councillor, of divers points: as, whether he had spoken at any time against God, against the church, and the he-saints and the she-saints of paradise? whereunto he said, No. Item, Whether at any time he had called the mass abominable? which he granted, for that he, finding no mass in all the Scripture, was commanded by St. Paul, that if an angel from heaven would bring any other gospel besides that which was already received, he should account it accursed. After his condemnation they would have him to be confessed, and presented to him a cross to kiss: but he bade the friars with their cross depart; "That is not the cross," said he, "that I must carry." Entering into the cart before the multitude, he gave thanks to God, that he was not there for murder, theft, or blasphemy, but only for the quarrel of our Saviour. Being tied to the post, he sang Psalm xxv. Of age he was young, his countenance was exceeding cheerful and amiable, his eyes looked up to heaven. "O the happy journey," said he, seeing the place where he should suffer, "and the fair place that is prepared for me!" When the fire was kindled about him, "O Lord," cried he, "give thy hand to thy servant; I commend my soul unto thee;" and so meekly yielded up his spirit: whose patient and joyful constancy so astonished the people, that of

long time before nothing did seem to them so admirable.

Peter Rousseau, A. D. 1556. Persecuted by his own brother-in-law.

Peter Rousseau, coming from Geneva and Lausanne to his country, partly to communicate with certain of his acquaintance in the word of God, partly for other certain affairs, because he required his inheritance of his brother-in-law, was by him betrayed. Then, being constant in his confession which he offered up, he was put to the rack three times, which he suffered constantly with great torments. Afterward he had his tongue cut off, and a ball of iron put in his mouth. He was drawn upon a hurdle, all broken and maimed, to the fire, where he was lifted up into the air and let down three times; and when he was half burned, the ball fell from his mouth, and he with a loud voice called on the name of God, saying, "Jesus Christ, assist me." And so this blessed martyr gave up his life to God.

Arnold Moniere, and John de Cazes, at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1556. The name of his persecutor was Anthony de Lescure, the king's attorney.

After that Arnold Moniere was taken and examined of the justice, and so was laid in prison, John de Cazes, resorting to the same town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished moreover, that if he went to him he should be impeached of heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon a hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, glaves, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, albeit there was no such cause, (they being two simple poor men,) yet the magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many earnest exhortations unto the people. But, to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound, who, during all the time of their suffering, never ceased. The hangman, preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort as the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding, recovering himself, he went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on

fire before the hangman came, suffered the extreme of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, "My God! my Father!" and so gave up his life.

And further, to note the work of God that followed when these two mild and martyred saints almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, out matter or cause, such a fear fell upon the execution, that the justices and the people, withstanding that they had the gates locked to and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took their legs, in such haste fleeing away, that they overran one another. The prior of St. Andrew fell down, so that a great number went over him. The judge Pontacke on his mule, with his red cloak, fleeing as the other did, was overthrown with a press in the street called Poteuin, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a way off, and there cried within, "Hide me; save my life. I am dead! I see even the like matter as at the last commotion! My friends! hide my mule, no man see her nor know her." Briefly, such the fear which came upon them, that every man ran up their houses. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was, but none could tell; neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive who was he that put them so to flight and without any semblance of any adversary about them. This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of the French martyrs, printed by Crispine, lib. vi., also in the book of Dutch martyrs written by Adrian.

Bartholomew Hector, at Turin, A. D. 1556.

persecuted by a gentleman called Perriere; by Bartholomew Eme, president; and by M. Augustine d'Eglise, councillor.

First, this Hector was a traveller about the country, and a seller of books, having his wife and children at Geneva. As he came into the vale of Aoste, in Piedmont, to get his living with selling of books, he was taken by a certain gentleman, there arrested and sent to Turin, then examined and at last condemned. Being condemned, he was threatened, that if he spake any thing to the people, his tongue should be cut off; nevertheless he ceased nothing to speak. After his prayers made wherein he prayed for the judges, that God would forgive them, and open their eyes, he was offered pardon at the stake, if he would convert; which he refused. Then he prepared himself to his death, which he took patiently: whereat many of the people wept, saying, "Why doth this man die, who speaketh of nothing but God?"

fellow, at Dijon,

theary at Geneva, were imprisoned, and with one James his this Philip went to friar, standing by, and. The most part ying, "Be of good aid of this death;" y part heard, he said o you not, see how ple is of their side,

Nicholas du Rous-
D. 1557.

gether with Philip at Dijon. Archam- t of pedlary ware to ards his wife, heard o whom he wrote, to The next day after, nd letters of certain him. Then he was ith the other, called ntantly suffered. een also condemned

three years before at Toul, and as he was led to Bourdeaux, he escaped.

Philbert Hamlin, at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1557. Per-
secuted by the king's attorney of Saintes Ville.

Philbert Hamlin first was a priest: he then went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that he was made minister at the town of Allenart, in Saintonge, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Saintes Ville, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel; and after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president. As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert, seeing to be revested, came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailer, hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him; whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that his legs were swollen withal; and there continued eight days. A little before, perceiving the

priest his host to decline from the truth, he did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, "O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth? Know you therefore, that although you have, by your foolishness, avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates." He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest, going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen which had a quarrel to him: whereof when Master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation of the providence of God, which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

At last the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so, being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body with fire consumed on Palm-Sunday eve.

Nicholas Sartorius, at Aost, by Piedmont, A. D. 1557. His persecutors were Ripet, a secretary; Anthony Eschiaux, bailiff; and the king's procurator.

Nicholas Sartorius, of the age of six and twenty years, born in Piedmont, came to the parts of Chambery in Lent, where a certain warden of the friars in the town of Aost had preached on Good Friday, upon the passion. The report of which sermon being recited to this Sartorius, by one that heard him, Sartorius reprehended the error and blasphemies thereof, which were against the Holy Scriptures. Shortly after, the party that told him went to a secretary, named Ripet, who covertly came to entrap Nicholas, demanding him of the friar's sermon: "And did not our preacher," said he, "preach well?" "No," said Nicholas, "but he lied falsely." Ripet, entering further with him, demanded, "And do you not believe the body of the Lord to be in the host?" to whom Nicholas then answered again, "That is against our Creed, which saith, that he ascended up and sitteth," &c. Incontinently Ripet went to the friar and his companions, to cause him to be apprehended. The friends of

Nicholas, perceiving the danger, willed him to avoid and save himself, and also accompanied him out of the town about the space of three leagues. Then was great pursuit made after him to all quarters, who at length was taken at the town of St. Remy, at the foot of the mountain of Great St. Bernard, where he was examined before Anthony Eschiaux, bailiff of the town, and other justices, before whom he answered with great boldness for his faith. Then they brought him to the rack, and when the serjeant refused to draw the cord, the bailiff himself, and the receiver, with a canon, did rack him with their own hands. Notwithstanding that the lords of Berne wrote for him to the town of Aost, requiring to have their own subject delivered unto them, they hastened the execution, and pronounced sentence that he should be burned; which sentence he received with such constancy, that neither the king's receiver, nor all the other enemies, could divert him from the truth of the gospel, which he manfully maintained while any spirit remained in his body.

George Tardif, with one of Tours, an embroiderer also Nicholas, a shoemaker, of Jenvile, at Tours A. D. 1558.

The printer of the story of the French martyr named Crispine, among others maketh also memory of George Tardif, an embroiderer of Tours, and Nicholas of Jenvile, declaring that all these three were together in prison, and afterwards were discovered, to suffer in sundry places, one from the other; of whom, first, George Tardif was executed in Sens.

The embroiderer of Tours, as he was coming with five or six others out of a wood, being at prayer was taken, and thereupon examined. Before he should be examined, he desired the judges that he might pray; which being granted, after his prayer made, wherein he prayed for the judges, for the king, and all estates, and for the necessity of Christ's saints, he answered for himself with grace and modesty, that the hearts of many were broken, unto the shedding of tears; seeking (seemed) nothing else but his deliverance. Notwithstanding he at last was sent unto Tours, where he was crowned with martyrdom.

The third, who was Nicholas, being but young of years, and newly come from Geneva to his country, for certain money, by means of a lady dwelling, was caused to be apprehended. When he was condemned and set in a cart, his coming with a staff, would have beaten him, the officers not suffering it, would have struck the old man. The son, crying to the officers, &c.

to let his father alone, saying, that his father
power over him to do with him what he would.
going to the place where he should suffer,
a ball of iron put in his mouth, he was
at length to the fire, in the town of Jen-
where he patiently took his death and martyr-
A. D. 1558.

gregation of Paris persecuted, to the num-
of three or four hundred, A. D. 1558; by
priests of the college of Plessis; the doctors
Sorbonne; Dr. Demochares; Cenalis, bishop
Mouches; Martin, the king's attorney; the
of Lorraine; Maillard; and lastly, Hen-
Second, the French king.

1558, the fourth of September, a company of
ful, to the number of three or four hundred,
together convented at Paris, in a certain house
before it the college of Plessis, in the street
James, and behind it the college of Sorbonne,
there assembled in the beginning of the
to the intent to communicate together the
supper: but incontinently that was discover-
certain priests of Plessis, who, gathering
such as were of that faction, came to beset
one, and made an outcry, that the watch might
and take them; so that in short time almost
the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking
conspiracy to have been in the city; who then
hearing the noise, and perceiving that they were
armour, a great part of them were in extreme
furiously seeking to have their blood, and
had stopped the streets and lanes with carts,
made fires to see that none should escape. The
albeit God had given them leisure to finish
administration and prayers with such quietness
they never had better, seeing the suddenness of
thing, were struck with great fear; who then,
exhorted by the governors of the congrega-
tion, fell to prayer. That done, through the coun-
sel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the
multitude, this order was taken, that the men who
had weapons should adventure through the press.
Only the women and children remained in the house,
and a few men with them who were less bold than
the others, to the number of six or seven score.
There appeared the admirable power of God in
those that went out with weapons, who, notwith-
standing that the lanes and passages were stopped,
and the fires made, did all escape save only one, who
was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed.
Certain that remained in the house with the women,
afterwards leaped into gardens, where they were
stayed till the magistrates came. The women, who
were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six

or seven excepted, seeing no other hope, and per-
ceiving the fury of the people, went up to the win-
dows, crying, "Mercy!" and showing their inno-
cent intent, required ordinary justice. Thus as they
were enclosed about six or seven hours, at last came
Martin the king's attorney, with force of commissa-
ries and sergeants, who, with much ado appeasing
the outrage of the people, entered into the house;
where he, viewing the women and children, and the
other furniture there being prepared for that con-
gregation, perceived testimonies sufficient of their
innocency, insomuch that in considering thereof, for
pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears.
Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had
them all to prison within the little castle. I omit
here the furious usage of the people by the way,
how despitefully they plucked and haled the women,
tore their garments, thrust off their hoods from their
heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt.
Neither were they better treated in prison than they
were in the streets; for all the villains and thieves
there were let out of their holes and stinking caves,
and the poor Christians placed in their room.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions
done to these poor innocents, followed then (which
was worst of all) the cruel and slanderous reports
of the friars and priests, who, in their railing ser-
mons, and other talk, cried out on the Lutherans,
persuading the people most falsely, that they assem-
bled together to make a banquet in the night, and
there, putting out the candles, they intended to
commit most filthy abominations: adding more-
over, (to make the lie more likely,) that certain nuns
also and monks were with them. Also that they
should conspire against the king, and other like
heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could in-
vent for defacing of the gospel. With such-like
malicious misreports and slanders, Satan went about
to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the
primitive time, accusing the innocent Christians then
of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out
of candles, and filthy whoredom, &c. These sinister
rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner
given out, but they were as soon received, and
spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but
also among the estates of the court, and even to the
king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine the same
time bare a great sway in the court, who then pro-
cured a certain judge of the castle to come in, de-
claring to the king, that he found there lying on the
floor of the aforesaid house divers couches and pal-
lets, which they intended to use for evil purposes;
also much other furniture and preparation ap-
pointed for a sumptuous feast or banquet: where-
with the king was mightily inflamed against them,

neither was there any one person that durst contrary it.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, was overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation were among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but, as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families: secondly, to stop the running bruits of their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people: thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles: wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleared themselves of those reports, and showed the malice of their enemies, especially of Satan, who ever, from the beginning of the church, hath gone, and still doth go, about to overrun the right way of the Lord. Declaring further, by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive time, how the nature of the church hath ever been to suffer vexations, and slanderous reports and infamation by the malignant adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the king, they craved that their cause might not be condemned, before it had had indifferent hearing, &c.

Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose; forasmuch as the adversaries continually denied all that was written to the king, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretended; neither was there any person that durst reply again. But the other apology, to the people, did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumours, and defending the true cause of the gospel. Whereupon certain doctors of Sorbonne began to write both against the apology and the persons, of whom one was called Demochares, who, taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all heretics, cried out for justice, with bills, gloves, fire, and sword.

Another Sorbonist, more bloody than the first, not only exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them as men who maintained that there was no God, and denied the Divinity and hu-

manity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, resurrection of the flesh; and briefly, all the articles of true religion. And thus he charged them with any proof, moving both the king and people, with any form of law, to destroy and cut them in pieces.

The third that wrote against them was Cardinal de Selve, bishop of Avranches, who debated the same matter but with less vehemency than the others, defending impudently, that their assemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the judges because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their business was the cause why the number of them so increased. Among other points of his book this thing he disputeth marvellous pleasantly, touching the signs and marks of the true church; first supposing this one thing, which is true, that the church hath its signs, by the which it may be known from the false church: and thereupon (making mention at all either of preaching, or ministrations of sacraments) thus he inferreth: that their church, which was the catholic church, had bells by which their assemblies be ordinarily called together; the other church, which is of the Lutherans, uses claps of harquebusses and pistolets for signs, whereby they (as it is commonly bruited) are wont to assemble together. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, he grounding his matter, he defended and triumphed as one having gotten a great conquest, and made a long antithesis or comparison, which he would prove that bells were the mark of the true church. "The bells," said he, "do sound; harquebusses do crack or thunder. The bells give a sweet tune and melodious; the signs of Lutherans make a foul noise and terrible. Bells do open heaven; the others do open hell. Bells chase away clouds and thunder; the others engender clouds, and counterfeit thunder;" and many other properties more, which he brought to prove that the Church of Rome is the true church because it hath those bells.

Mark, good reader! the profound reasons and arguments which these great doctors had, either to defend their own church, or to impugn the apology of the Christians.

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story: as faithful Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again in their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other convenient places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of those whose religion they hated.

Finally, the seventeenth day of September, 1525,

mission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and councillors appointed to oversee the expedition of the matter. Whereupon divers of the poor afflicted gospellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, as anon, Christ willing, you shall hear.

Henry Pantaleon, partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to A. D. 1557, which the French chronicles do assign to the year 1558; and addeth moreover, that the Germans being at the same time in a certain colloquy at Worms, divers learned men resorted thither from Geneva and other quarters, desiring of the princes and protestants there, that they, by their ambassadors sent to the French king, would become suitors unto him for the innocent prisoners, who, for the cause abovesaid, were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of their intercession, (saith he,) and especially for that the French king was then at war, as God provided, with Philip king of Spain, a great part of the captives were rescued and delivered; albeit certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the German ambassadors, the names and martyrdom of whom hereunder do ensue.

Nicholas Clinet, at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by certain priests of the college of Plessis; and by Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist.

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was Nicholas Clinet, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster to youth at Saintonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where, for his godly conversation, he was made one of the elders or warden of the church. For his age he was suspected of the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chiefest of the Sorbonists, and especially Maillard, whom he did so confute both in the Scriptures, and also in their own Sorbonical divinity, (wherein he had been well exercised and expert,) in the presence of the lieutenant-civil, that the said lieutenant confessed that he never saw a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

Jean Gravelle, a lawyer, at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Dr. Maillard, a Sorbonist.

Taurin Gravelle first was a student of the law at Paris: after that he was made an advocate in court of Paris: lastly, for his godliness, he was made an elder to the said congregation, with the above mentioned. This Taurin, having in charge the keeping of a certain house of one M. Mosnier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of a room, received them into the said

house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, albeit he might have escaped with the rest, yet he would not, but did abide the adventure, to the intent he would answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard, especially, he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well, even from his youth upwards, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts, &c., that neither they who heard could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of immorality, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as were their holy assemblies clear from all impurity. In fine, these two godly elders, in cruel pains of the fire, finished their martyrdom.

Philippe de Luns, a gentlewoman, at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by the lieutenant-civil; Dr. Maillard, Sorbonist; Mosnier, lieutenant; evil neighbours; Bertrand, lord-keeper of the seal, and cardinal of Sens; and the marquis of Trane.

Next unto these abovesaid, was brought out Mme. Philippe, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years. She came first from the parts of Gascony with her husband, who was lord of Graveron, unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been a senior or elder; who, in the month of May before, was taken with an ague, and deceased, leaving this Philippe a widow, who nevertheless ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and also in the house was taken with the said company. Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, especially Maillard; but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the others did before, and bade him, "Avaunt wretch!" saying she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this: that she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and die. And being demanded whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament: "How is that possible," said she, "to be the body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it, and tear it in pieces?" Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort

herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could touch her conversation with no part of dishonesty, yet many things they laid to her charge, as that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and that twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also when her husband was dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their infant to be baptized, for it was baptized in the church of the Lord. Among her other neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germain in the suburbs; between whom, incontinent, arose a strife, wherein one of them struck the other with a knife. The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened of the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trane, for to have the confiscation of her goods.

These three holy martyrs above recited, were condemned on the twenty-seventh of September, by the process of the commissioners and the lieutenant-civil: and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them, but their valiant constancy remained unmovable. After that they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever cried by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked of a doctor, whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, "Yea;" and that he had said nothing but what he would prove by his authority.

The gentlewoman, seeing a priest come to confess her, said, that she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in Scripture. And when certain councillors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every one to bear his cross, she answered, "My lords!" said she, "you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of."

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and showed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he passed for his condemnation; and being asked of his friends to what death he was condemned, "I see well," said he, "that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not." And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would return, he said, that was not so contained in the ar-

rest, and therefore he was unwilling to grant it; but afterward, perceiving the same so agreed by the court, he offered his tongue will to be cut, and incontinent spake plainly these words, "I pray you pray to God for me."

The gentlewoman also, being required to her tongue, did likewise, with these words: "I do not stick to give my body, shall I stick to my tongue? No, no." And so these three, with their tongues cut out, were brought to Marston Place. The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groanings to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection by praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the other, in constancy, which neither changed countenance nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to live in mourning weed, after the manner of the country; but the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse Jesus Christ. And these three, with singular constancy, were burnt. Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philip the gentlewoman, was strangled, after she had a little tasted the flame with her feet and visage; so she ended her martyrdom.

Nicholas Cene and Peter Gabart, at Paris, A. D. 1558. Their persecutors: the lieutenant, Maillard, councillors, and friars.

Of the same company was also Nicholas Cene, a physician, brother to Philip Cene above mentioned, and martyred at Dijon, and Peter Gabart; who, two, about five or six days after the other two, before, were brought forth to their death, on the second of October.

Nicholas Cene was but newly come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which then was congregated in the street of St. James; and (as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God) came thither even as he was bootied, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was Peter Gabart, a solicitor of processes, about the age of thirty years, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a great number of scholars in the castle, whom when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy, "No, no," said he, "let us forget these worldly matters, and learn how to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, which lies before us in defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour."

And so he began to instruct them how to go to every point of Christian doctrine, as well as he had done no other thing in all his life, but studied divinity; and yet was he but very young. Then was he sent from them apart to a prison, full of filthy stench and vermin; notwithstanding, he ceased not to sing psalms, so that others might well hear him. He had a nephew in the prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had said to the judges? He said, he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix, and said, "O thou naughty boy!" said he, "have I taught thee the commandments of God? dost thou not how it is written, Thou shalt not make thyself any graven image," &c. And so he went to expound to him the commandments; unto which he gave good attention.

In their examinations, many questions were proposed by the doctors and friars, touching matters of religion, and also to know of them what persons and gentlewomen were there present at administration of the sacrament: whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for the defence of their own cause, and also to save their brethren from blame, saying that they would die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they asked that the judges had intended, that if they did relent, they should be strangled; if not, they should be burnt alive, and their tongues be cut from them: which torments being content to suffer for the Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison in the night to the suburbs of St. Germain; whom the people in rage and madness followed with cruel blows and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, maugre the hangmen. The cruelty of their death was such that hath not lightly been seen; for they were holden up in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before the higher parts were much smothered with the fire. Nevertheless these blessed souls ceased not in all these torments to turn up their eyes to heaven, and to show forth infinite testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles at the same time also were burnt.

Upon the sight of this cruelty, the friends of the other prisoners who remained behind, fearing the severity of these judges, presented certain causes of appeal against the said judges, requiring other commissioners to be placed. But the king, being hereof

advertised by his solicitor, sent out his letters patent, commanding the said causes of refusal to be frustrated, and willed the former judges to proceed, all other lets and obstacles to the contrary notwithstanding: and that the presidents should have power to choose to them other councillors, according to their own arbitrement, to supply the place of such as were absent; amongst whom also the said solicitor was received, instead of the king's procurator, to pursue the process. By these letters patent it was decreed, that these stubborn Sacramentaries (as they were called) should be judged accordingly, save only that they should not proceed to the execution, before the king were advertised. These letters aforesaid stirred up the fire of this persecution not a little, for that the judges at this refusal took great indignation, and were mightily offended for that reproach. Notwithstanding so it pleased God, that a young man, a German, called Albert Hartung, born in the country of Brandenburg, and godson to Albert, marquis of Brandenburg, by the king's commandment was delivered, through the importunate suit of the said marquis.

Frederic Danville, and Francis Rebezies, at Paris, A. D. 1558. Persecutors: two presidents, twenty-five councillors, the lieutenant-civil, doctors, friars, Sorbonists, Benedict, Jacobin, Demochares, and Maillard.

Mention was made above of certain young scholars and students who were in the little castle with Peter Gabart. Of the which number of scholars were these two, Frederic Danville and Francis Rebezies, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbonne, their own letters left in writing do make record; the effect whereof briefly to touch is this: and first touching Frederic Danville.

The lieutenant-civil, who before was half suspected, but now, thinking to prove himself a right catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of Scripture, "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father," &c.: that done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament. To whom Frederic answered, that if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words, (as they call them,) then should he believe a thing contrary to the Holy Scripture, and to the Creed, which saith that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father: also to the testimony of the angels, who spake both of the ascending of Christ,

and of his coming down again. After this he questioned with him touching invocation of saints, purgatory, &c., whereunto he answered so that he rather did astonish the enemies, than satisfy them.

Furthermore, on the twelfth of September, the said Frederic again was brought before Benedict Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, called Noster Magister; who thus began to argue with him.

The doctor. "What think you to be the true church, the church of the protestants, or the church of Paris?"

The martyr. "I recognise that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly administered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles."

Doctor. "And is the church, think you, of Geneva such a one as you speak of?"

The martyr. "I so judge it to be."

Doctor. "And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?"

The martyr. "Yea, if you will prove it by the Scripture."

Doctor. "Or will you believe St. Austin and other holy doctors innumerable?"

The martyr. "Yea, so they dissent not from the Scripture and the word of God."

Doctor. "By the authority of St. Austin the church is there where is the succession of bishops; whereunto I frame this argument: There is the church, where is the perpetual succession of bishops: in the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: ergo, the church of Paris is the true church."

The martyr. "To your *major* I answer, that if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, who truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly administered, and not in the church of Paris. But otherwise, if St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted."

Doctor. "Calvin is there by his own thrusting in, and only by the choosing of the people."

The martyr. "And that soundeth more for him to be of God's divine election, forasmuch as by him the gospel of God is preached truly, and from this no man shall bring me."

After this disceptation, the ninth of the same month came against him another doctor with two Sorbonists, who bringing forth a scroll out of his bosom, pretended that a certain scholar, coming from Geneva, made his confession, wherein was contained, that in receiving of the bread and wine, the

body and blood of Christ is received really. Whereupon they demanded of him, whether he would receive the same confession.

The martyr. "Whatsoever I have said unto that will I hold. And as touching this word, I know right well, that they of Geneva do not use it for any carnal presence, as you do; but meaning is, to exclude thereby only a vain imitation."

Doctor. "I marvel much that you so refuse the word *really*, and use only *spiritually*, seeing Calvin himself doth use the same word *really*."

The martyr. "Calvin meaneth thereby nothing but as we do."

Doctor. "What say you of confession auricular?"

The martyr. "The same that I said before, Monsieur Lieutenant, that is, that I take it for a plantation, not planted by God in his word."

Doctor. "The Almaines, in their confession, which they sent to our king to be approved, use these words: We do not reject auricular confession for it is a gospel secret and privy. And also Calvin, in his Book of Common Places, doth call it *Evangelium Secretum*."

Another time the said Frederic was called before the lords, the twentieth of the said month, where they did nothing but demand of him certain questions, as where he was born, and whether he had heard in his country at Oleron, that M. G. the bishop there, did sing mass. "Yea," said he. "And why do not you also," said they, "sing the same?" He answered, "Because he died, and I to retain and keep his bishopric." The martyr, for lack of paper, could proceed herein no further.

The examinations of the aforesaid French Rebezies.

Rebezies had three sundry examinations: first with the lieutenant-civil; the second with presidents and the councillors; the third with friars. First, the lieutenant, inquiring of his country, and parents, asked whether he was at communion, whether he received with them bread and wine, and whether he was a servant to M. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation. Whereunto he said, "Yea." Also whether he was a distributor of the tokens, whereby they were given in that came? That he denied.

Then he was brought into the council chamber before two presidents, and twenty-five councillors, who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with the plague in the house? He answered, Yea. What he did to do there? To hear the word of God, and to

with them. Who brought him thither? Him-
 Whom there he knew? No man. How he
 or would enter, knowing no person there?
 it was, (said he,) that he knew there two or
 Who were they? M. Gravelle, Clinet,
 John Sansot, feigning that name of himself.
 he knew the preacher? That he denied.
 he be allowed the act there done to be good?
 Whether he did not better like to resort
 their beautified temples, to hear mass, or
 he did not take the mass to be a holy thing,
 of God? He answered again con-
 believing that it was a great blasphemy against
 and a service set up of the devil. Whether
 acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that pur-
 which is the death and passion of Christ,
 taketh away the sins of the whole world. The
 of Christ is the principal thing, (said they,) but
 must also believe another. Alas, (said he,)
 we never content ourselves with the simplicity
 the gospel, but man always will be putting to
 of his own brain: in so many places of
 scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be
 shed, as John i., Apocalypse v., Hebrews ix.,
 &c., where the Lord himself saith, that it is
 shed for his own sake, putteth away our iniqui-
 ties. As St. Paul also saith, that God was in
 Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, &c.
 On the contrary, when they objected the words
 of the parable, Thou shalt not come out till thou
 have paid the last farthing: to this he answered,
 the words of that parable had no such relation,
 to matters civil; and this word "until" meaneth
 as much as never.
 After that he was charged there by one, for read-
 ing the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The
 object asked, if he were not afraid to be burned
 were the others before, and to bring his parents
 to such dishonour? He answered, that he knew
 that all who would live godly in Christ Jesus
 should suffer persecution; and that to him either to
 live or to die were advantage in the Lord. And as
 touching his parents, Christ himself (said he) doth
 command, that whosoever loveth father or mother
 more than him, is not worthy to be his, &c. "Je-
 su Maria!" said the president, "what youth are
 you now-a-days, who cast themselves so headlong
 into the fire!" And so was he commanded away.
 Finally, He was brought before Benet, master of
 the doctors of Sorbonne, and another called Jacobin,
 in the fourteenth of October; where he chancing
 to speak of the Lord, the doctor began thus to ob-
 ject as followeth:

The doctor. "See how you, and all such as
 are of your company, simply name the Lord, with-

out putting to the pronoun, *our*. So may the de-
 vils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face."

The martyr. "The devils call the Lord in such
 sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the
 adulteress before him, and called him master; yet
 neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended
 to be his disciples: whose case I trust is nothing
 like to ours, which know, and confess (as we speak)
 him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as
 true Christians ought to do."

Doctor. "I know well you hold the church to
 be, where the word is truly preached, and the sacra-
 ments are sincerely administered, according as they
 are left by Christ and his apostles."

The martyr. "That do I believe, and in that
 will I live and die."

Doctor. "Do you not believe that whosoever
 is without that church, cannot obtain remission of
 his sins?"

The martyr. "Whosoever doth separate him-
 self from that church, to make either sect, part, or
 division, cannot obtain, as you say."

Doctor. "Now let us consider two churches, the
 one wherein the word is rightly preached, and the
 two sacraments are administered accordingly as they
 be left unto us: the other, wherein the word and
 sacraments be used contrarily. Which of these
 two ought we to believe?"

The martyr. "The first."

Doctor. "Well said. Next is now to speak
 of the gifts given to the said church: as the power
 of the keys, and confession for remission of sins after
 we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe
 the seven sacraments in the same church truly ad-
 ministered, as they be here in the churches of Paris,
 where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and
 the gospel is truly preached."

The martyr. "Sir, now you begin to halt. As
 for my part, I do not receive in the church more
 than two sacraments, which be instituted in the
 same for the whole commonalty of Christians. And
 as concerning the power of the keys, and your con-
 fession, I believe, that for the remission of our sins,
 we ought to go to none other but only to God, as
 we read in 1 John i., If we confess our sins, God is
 faithful and just to pardon our offences, and he will
 purge us from all our iniquities, &c. Also in the
 prophet David, in the nineteenth and thirty-second
 Psalms: I have opened my sin unto thee," &c.

Doctor. "Should I not believe that Christ,
 in the time of his apostles, gave to them power to
 remit sins?"

The martyr. "The power that Christ gave to
 his apostles, if it be well considered, is nothing dis-
 agreeing to my saying: and therefore I began to

say (which I here confess) that the Lord gave to his apostles to preach the word, and so to remit sins by the same word."

Doctor. "Do you then deny auricular confession?"

The martyr. "Yea, verily I do."

Doctor. "Ought we to pray to saints?"

The martyr. "I believe no."

Doctor. "Tell me what I shall ask, Jesus Christ being here upon the earth? Was he not then as well sufficient to hear the whole world, and to be intercessor for all, as he is now?"

The martyr. "Yes."

Doctor. "But we find that when he was here on earth, his apostles made intercession for the people: and why may they not do the same as well now also?"

The martyr. "So long as they were in the world, they exercised their ministry, and prayed one for another, as needing human succours together; but now, they being in paradise, all the prayer that they make, is this: that they wish that they who be yet on earth, may attain to their felicity; but to obtain any thing at the Father's hand, we must have recourse only to his Son."

Doctor. "If one man have such charge to pray for another, may not he then be called an intercessor?"

The martyr. "I grant."

Doctor. "Well then, you say there is but one intercessor: whereupon I infer, that I, being bound to pray for another, need not now to go to Jesus Christ to have him an intercessor, but to God alone, setting Jesus Christ apart; and so ought we verily to believe."

The martyr. "You understand not, sir, that if God do not behold us in the face of his own well-beloved Son, then shall we never be able to stand in his sight: for if he shall look upon us, he can see nothing but sin; and if the heavens be not pure in his eyes, what shall be thought then of man, so abominable and unprofitable, who drinketh iniquity like water, as Job doth say?"

Then the other friar, seeing his fellow to have nothing to answer to this, inferred as followeth.

Doctor. "Nay, my friend! as touching the great mercy of God, let that stand; and now to speak of ourselves, this we know, that God is not displeased with them which have their recourse unto his saints."

The martyr. "Sir, we must not do after our own wills, but according to that which God willeth and commandeth: For this is the trust that we have in him, that if we demand any thing after his will, he will hear us.

Doctor. "As no man cometh to the presence of an earthly king, or prince, without means made some about him; so, or rather much more, to the heavenly King above," &c.

The martyr. "To this earthly example, answer with another heavenly example of the only begotten son, who sought no other means to his Father's grace, but came to the Father himself."

Then they came to speak of adoration, which said Rebezies disproved by the Scripture, A. xiii. xiv.; Apocalypsee xix. xxii.: Hebrew xii.: where is to be noted, that where the doctors alleged the twelfth chapter to the Hebrew doctors answered, that it was in the eleventh chapter, when the place indeed is neither in the eleventh nor in the twelfth, but in the fourteenth chapter of the Acts. So well seen were these doctors in divinity.

Doctor. "Touching the mass, what say you? believe you not that when the priest hath consecrated the host, our Lord is there as well in as ample sort, as he was, hanging upon the cross?"

The martyr. "No, verily; but I believe Jesus Christ is sitting at the right hand of his Father; as appeareth by Hebrews x., 1 Cor. xv. 20. Colossians iii. And therefore (to make short of it) I hold your mass for none other, but for a counterfeit and counterfeited service, set up by Satan, and maintained by his ministers, by the which you do dishonour the precious blood of Christ, and his oblation once made of his own body; and you know well that the same is sufficient, and ought not to be reiterated."

Doctor. "You deceive yourselves in the reiteration, for we do not reiterate it so as you think, as by example I will show. You see me now in this religious garment; but if I should put upon me a soldier's weed, then should I be disguised, yet for all that I should remain the same still within. So is it with the sacrifice: we confess and grant that *naturaliter*, that is, naturally, he was once offered in sacrifice; and also in sitting, *naturaliter*, that is, naturally, at the right hand of his Father; *supernaturaliter, et subscriptive*, that is, supernaturally, we sacrifice the same without reiteration. *Supernaturaliter* we sacrifice him; but that sacrifice is only disguised, to understand that he is contained under that curtain and whiteness which you see."

The martyr. "Sir, this I say, that such a disguised sacrifice is a diabolical sacrifice; and you may take for a resolution."

Doctor. "And how is your belief touching the holy supper?"

The martyr. "That if it be ministered unto by the minister, in such usage as it hath been of Christ and his apostles; preaching also the purely withal; I believe that, in receiving the bread and wine, I receive with lively faith body and blood of Jesus Christ spiritually."

Doctor. "Say corporally."

The martyr. "No, sir, for his words be spirit; and let this content you."

Doctor. "What say you, Is it lawful for a man to marry?"

The martyr. "I believe it to be lawful for such sort as the apostle saith, Whosoever receiveth the gift of continency, let him marry; for it is better to marry than to burn. And if this do not satisfy you, further you may read what he saith of bishops and elders, 1 Tim. iii. and Tit. i." Thus these doctors, affirming that he denied God, gave him leave to depart, saying, "God bless you!" "So be it," said he.

On this, about the twenty-second of October, Rebezies and Frederic Danville, were brought up to a chamber in the castle, to be racked, that they should utter the rest of the confession; in which chamber they found three doctors, who thus began with them: "Lift up thy hand. Thou shalt swear by the passion of Christ, whose image here thou seest" (showing a great marmoset there painted on paper);

Rebezies answered, "Monsieur, I swear by the passion of Christ, which is written in the scriptures."

"Why dost not thou swear to us," said the doctors, "as we say unto thee?"

Rebezies answered, "it is a great blasphemy against Christ."

Then the councillors read their deposition, first beginning with Rebezies, said:

"I cannot tell you the truth, what companions I have been of this assembly?"

Rebezies answered, "I did before, Gravel, Clinet, (which were doctors), and John Sansot. To whom they

the court had ordained, that if he would not answer but so, he should be put to the rack: and so he was commanded to be

stripped of his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, and to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary. But he neither would receive the

commendment himself to the Virgin Mary, nor to God was able enough to guard him,

and so, when he was stretched in the air, he began to cry, "Lord! and show thy strength, that thy word prevail," &c. But they cried, "Tell the truth! and thou shalt be let down."

Nevertheless he continued still in his invocation and prayer to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the councillors said, "Wilt thou say nothing else?"

"I have nothing else," said he, "to say." And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side. Who, being loosed, said to them, "Do you handle thus the poor servants of God?" And the like was done to Frederic Danville also, his companion, (who at the same time was also very sick,) of whom they could have no other answer but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen his servants, as ever he did any else, as by their own letters and confession it doth appear.

These constant and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederic did sigh oftentimes, and being asked of his fellows, why he so did? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterward.

"Notwithstanding," said he, "be strong, brethren! and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, who hath succoured us, and also will comfort you." Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself: and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, "Away from me, Satan!" Frederic, being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course? Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; "but by the grace of God," said he, "he shall do nothing against me."

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the councillors, and required to show what fellows they had more of the said assembly: which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maulbert Place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterwards be strangled; and so be turned into ashes.

Afterwards came the friars and doctors, Demochares, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss, which they refused. Then Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiss it whether he would or no, crying to them moreover,

that they should believe in the sacrament. "What," said Frederic, "will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of the Father?" Demochares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederic asked them, if they required any miracle? "No," said they; and so stood mute, save only that Demochares prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would gage his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederic answered, that he knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them, which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. "Let God," saith they, "reign alone." The people standing by, "Ah mischievous Lutheran!" said they. "Nay, a true Christian I am," said he. When they were tied to their stakes, after their prayers made, when they were bid to be despatched, one of them comforting the other, said, "Be strong, my brother! be strong: Satan, away from us!" As they were thus exhorting, one standing by said, "These Lutherans do call upon Satan." One John Morel, (who afterwards died a martyr,) then standing by at liberty, answered, "I pray you let us hear," said he, "what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God." Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said: they crying still as much as their mouths being stopped could utter, "Assist us, O Lord." And so they, rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom.

After the martyrdom of these two abovesaid, the intention of the judges was to despatch the rest one after another in like sort, and had procured already process against twelve or thirteen ready to be judged. But a certain gentlewoman, then prisoner amongst them, had presented causes of exceptions or refusals against them, whereby the cruel rage of the enemies was stayed to the month of July following. In the mean time, as this persecution was spread into other countries, first the faithful cantons of the Switzers perceiving these good men to be afflicted for the same doctrine which they preached in their churches, sent their ambassadors to the king to make supplication for them. The same time also came letters from the county palatine, elector, tending to the same end, to solicit the king for them. The king, standing the same time in great need of the Germans for his wars, was contented at least that they should proceed more gently with them; and so the fire for that time ceased. Most of them

were sent to abbeys, where they were kept at the charge of the priors, to be constrained to be present at the service of idolatry, especially the young scholars; of whom some shrunk back; others, being more loosely kept, escaped away. The most part were brought before the official to make their confession, and to receive absolution ordinary. Divers made their confession ambiguous and doubtful, &c.

Rena Seau and John Almarick, at Paris. A. D. 1558.

These two young men were also of the company above specified, and were in prison, where they sustained such cruelty, being almost racked to death, that Almarick could not go when he was called to the court to be judged. And being upon the rack, he rebuked their cruelty, and spake so freely, as though he had felt no grief; and as they said, who came to visit him, he testified unto them, that he felt no dolour so long as he was upon it. Both these died in prison, continuing still firm and constant in the pure confession of Christ's church.

John Bordel, Matthew Vermeil, Peter Bourdour Andrew de Fou, in the country of Brasil, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Villegaignon, a French captain.

Mention is made in the French story of one Villegaignon, lieutenant for the French king, who made a voyage into the land of Brasil with certain French ships, and took an island nearly to the same adjoining, and made therein a fortress. After they had been there a while, Villegaignon (for lack of victuals, as he pretended) sent certain of them away in a ship to the river Plata, towards the pole arctic, a thousand miles off. In this ship were the four here mentioned; who, forsaking their ship on occasion of tempest, were carried back again, and so came to the land of Brasil, and afterwards to their own countrymen. Villegaignon, being much grieved thereat, first charged them with departing without his leave. Moreover, being terrified in his mind with false suspicion and vain dreams, fearing to dream lest they had been sent as privy spies to the Brasilians, because they came from thence, had been friendly entertained of them; he began to devise how he might put them to death under colour of treason: but the cause was religion. Albeit sometime he had been a professor of the gospel, yet afterwards, growing to some dignity, he became to be an apostate, and cruel persecutor of his fellow-christians. But when no proof or conjecture probable could be found to serve his cruel purpose, he, knowing them to be earnest protestants, drew out certain questions of religion for them to answer, and so entered

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upon their confession, he laid them in irons in prison, and secretly with one executioner and page, he took one after another, beginning with a Bordel, and first brought him to the top of a gallows, and there being half strangled, without any more he threw him into the sea: and after the like

Benet Romaine, a mercer or haberdasher, at Draguignan in Provence, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by Lanteaume Blanc; De Lauris, councillor and son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the cruel persecutor; Anthony Revest, the lieutenant; Barbosi, judge-ordinary of Draguignan; Joachim Partavier, the king's advocate; Caval and Cavalieri, consuls; the official; Gasper Signiere, officer in Draguignan; and also a friar observant.

The lamentable story of Benet Romaine is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer: the brief recital whereof here followeth. This Benet, having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living used to go about the country to sell certain mercenary ware, having cunning also, amongst other things, how to dress corals. As he was coming toward Marseilles, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he happened upon one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc, who, being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was one of Geneva, went to a councillor of the court of Aix, being then at Draguignan, whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miniers, lord of Opede, the great persecutor against Merindol, &c. This De Lauris, consulting together with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral which he saw to be very fair, and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred crowns, incontinent after his departing from him, he sent to the officer of the town to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, which sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods; and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise. Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romaine examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other councillors, where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent. Also he was bid to say his Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave Maria; which two first he did, but refused to say Ave Maria. Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women-saints and men-saints, and when he heard mass? He said, he would worship none but God alone: mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would. Whereupon he was committed to a stinking and loathsome place, with iron chains upon his legs, De Lauris thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see

the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry, that he did so usurp upon his office, denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding, the same day the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romaine to come before him, of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and the cause of his coming; also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto, being required, (because he could not write,) he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answer taken, certain faithful brethen of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to escape out from his enemies, which sought nothing but his death; and showed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant. But he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to see him, and asked, "What, do they believe," said he, "in any God in Geneva?" Romaine looking upon him, "What art thou," said he, "that so wretchedly dost blaspheme?" "I am," said he, "the judge-ordinary of this place." "And who hath put thee," said Romaine, "such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva do deny their God? No! no! we believe in God, we invoke his name, and repose all our trust in him," &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romaine, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi and other, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was at the same time an Observant Friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He, being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intente about the business, to set the matter forward, said, that he would go and say mass of the Holy Ghost, to illuminate their intents to have the said Romaine condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would complain of him to the high court of parlia-

ment, if he would not after that sort condemn to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing lest by his rash danger might happen to the brethren, sent to maine again in the prison certain instructions means how he might be aided, such as should be against God: but when the lieutenant came poor man forgot his instructions; so simple he and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.

When the time came that the judges were and the process should be read, Barbosi, with whom the friar had procured, had agreed that he should be fired alive, and put to the rack disclose his fellows, and also gagged, that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part one there was of the advocates, (albeit a man who superstitious,) seeing the rage of the others, to the contrary advice, saying, that he should be sent to prison again, for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, who had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, or had they any informations against him; and that which he had spoken, was that he was constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. As touching his opinion, it was no other but as the young men did follow, which were either of the part, or of the other; and therefore that here remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give verdict, &c. Thus much being spoken, and because the lieutenant was before suspected, the time of dinner drew near, they arose for the time, deferring the matter to another season. The Friar Observant in this mean while was not idle, citing still the consuls and the people, who, at ringing of a bell being assembled together with the official and the priests in a great rout, came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in semblable wise did the same to the other judges and advocates: the official moreover added, that if it were not better seen unto than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges to their minds, in all post-haste the people contributed together, that at their own charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix, and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process unto judgment, every man crying, "To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!"

The lieutenant, being not able otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix, and so he did. They, being the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and the prison

them. This went greatly against the minds of Draguignan, which would fain have had condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was brought down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined him to him such ancient advocates, as their order required, and to certify them again within six days. And so Romaine, by the sentence of several judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he did not; if he did, then to be strangled, before the execution, to be put upon the rack, the intent he should disclose the rest of his company; from the which sentence Romaine then appealed, saying that he was no heretic. Whereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the Commandments he passed by the town of Draguignan: which the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, that he was one of them who concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him; Romaine answered again, and said, "God will forgive us all in the last day of judgment." After he came to Aix, he was brought before the parliament, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a fumish sent, who, being three hours with him, and could not remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned: by reason whereof, the sentence given before his condemnation was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came. At this return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes unto the curates, that they should signify unto their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; he caused to be cried through the town by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the heretic. The day being come, which was Saturday, the sixteenth of May, the poor servant of God was first brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, iron, and weights, to terrify him. Then, said they, thou must utter his complices, and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered with a constant heart, that he had no other accomplices nor companions, neither would he hold any other faith but that which Jesus Christ did teach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province to be of his faith? He said, No. Item, What he had to do in that town? He said, To sell his coral. Item, Who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this he was put upon the gin or rack, where he, being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary, but that he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead; for which they sent him to the barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, were afraid lest he had been past, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So, after they had essayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron which was let down upon the faggots. Romaine, seeing himself to be alone lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say Ave Maria: which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but so soon as they descended down from the wood, he began to pray to God again in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romaine thought at first that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romaine lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great temptation. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out and said, "He blasphemeth! he blasphemeth! he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!" Whereat Barbosi cried, "Stop his mouth, let him be gagged!" The people cried, "To the fire! let him be burned!" Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which incontinent were set on fire. Romaine still remained hanging in the air till he died. When all his nether parts were burnt well near, he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips, without any cry: and so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God!

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and sundry bruits. Some said, that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him; and that those priests and monks which were about him, were whoremasters and infamous.

Others said, that he had wrong, and that a hun-

dred of that company there were, who more deserved death than he, especially among those who condemned him. Other went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished of this valiant and thrice blessed martyr and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.

Francis Civaux, at Dijon, A. D. 1558. Persecuted by the convent of the Jacobin Friars at Dijon, and a priest of that place.

This Francis Civaux was secretary to the French ambassador here in England in Queen Mary's time, who afterwards, being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was placed to be secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year. Having then certain business, he came to Dijon.

There was the same time a priest that preached at Dijon such doctrine, that the said Francis, being worthily offended thereat, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, showing by the Scriptures how and where he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well instructed to dispute, but he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest incontinent went to the Jacobin Friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast-time Francis there unawares should be apprehended.

When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin Friar, who, pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content, and to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis with his fellow were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar. Moreover, the same night Francis had a dream, that the said friar should commit him to justice. But he, either not caring for his dream, or else not much caring for the danger, committed himself to the hands of God, and

went. As they were together disputing in the convent of the Jacobins, Francis, thus betrayed of the priest, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned. And as touching the fellow and companion of this Francis above mentioned, he was also apprehended with him, and put in prison; but because he was but a young novice, and yet not fully confirmed, he recanted, and was delivered.

Peter Arondeau, at Paris, A. D. 1559. His persecutors were the priests of Rochelle, Manroy a priest, the lieutenant of Rochelle, the cardinal of Lorraine, and two presidents, to wit, Magister and St. Andre.

The town of Rochelle, as it is a place of great commodity because of the sea, so was it not inferior to other good towns in France, for nourishing and supporting the holy assemblies of the Lord. Unto the which town, about A. D. 1559, resorted one Peter Arondeau, a man of base condition, with a little packet of mercery ware there to sell: who then being known to join himself to the church and congregation of the faithful, was demanded of certain ministers of antichrist, whether he would go to be mass or no? He said, that he had been there too oft to his great grief; and that since the time that the Lord had taken the veil from his eyes, he knew the mass to be abominable, forged in the shop of an enemy of all mankind. They to whom he thus answered were priests; amongst whom was one named Manroy, who, taking the others there present for witnesses, brought him straight to the lieutenant. The deposition being taken, and information made, it was decreed incontinent, that his body should be attached. And although by one of his friends he was admonished to save himself, and to avoid danger, yet he ceased not to put himself into the enemy's hands; and so was led prisoner. And while he was in prison, many of the faithful came to comfort him, but rather he was able to comfort not only those which came to comfort him, but also the other prisoners with him. The priests took diligence unsought to stir up the lieutenant, who was of himself too much inflamed in such matters.

Arondeau, after many interrogations, and threatening words, and also fair promises of his pardon, still continued one man. Then the lieutenant, seeing his constancy, condemned him to death. Arondeau, praising God for his grace given, did a little rejoice that he might suffer in that quarter in token of rejoicing, did sing a psalm, being resolved to accept the said condemnation,

appeal. But his friends, not pleased with his resolution, came to him; and so persuaded with him not to live his life so good cheaply over to his enemies' hands, that he was turned from that, and made his appeal. The appeal being entered, the lieutenant, to gratify the adversaries of the gospel, and to satisfy the cardinal of Lorraine, secretly, by the help of the town, and out of the highway, conveyed the poor prisoner unto Paris; who, being brought unto Paris by privy journeys, as is said, was put into prison, committed to the custody of the presidents, to wit, Magister, and St. Andre; by means of whom the sentence of the lieutenant was confirmed, and also put in execution the fifteenth of November, in the year abovesaid; on the same day the said Arondeau was burned quick at a place called St. John, in Greve, at Paris. The happy heroical which God gave him, and where he endured victorious unto death, was a mirror of patience unto M. Anne du Bourge, councillor in the parliament of Paris, and to divers other prisoners; and was to them a preparation toward the like death, which shortly after they died.

Not long after the happy end of this blessed man, the aforesaid Manroy, which was the principal accuser and party against him, was struck with a disease called apoplexia, and thereupon suddenly died.

By this, and many other such-like examples, the just judgment of God most evidently may appear; who, albeit commonly he doth use to begin judgment with his own household in this world, neither do his adversaries themselves always escape the terrible hand of his justice.

As for the lord lieutenant which was his condemner, not long after the priest, but he was arrested usually to appear before the king's council, through the procurement of a certain gentleman of France, called Anthony de l'Eglise, against whom the said lieutenant had given false and wrong judgment before; by reason whereof the aforesaid gentleman so instantly did pursue him before the lords of the council, that all the extortions and pollings of the lieutenant were there openly discovered, and so he was condemned to pay to the gentleman a thousand French crowns of the sum, within fourteen days, upon pain of double as much. Also he was deprived of his office, and there declared unworthy to exercise any royal office hereafter for ever, with infamy and shame perpetual.

Thomas Moutard, at Valenciennes, A. D. 1559.

Persecuted by a priest of that town.

In the town of Valenciennes, not far from France,

in the same year, which was 1559, in the month of October, suffered Thomas Moutard; who, first being converted from a disordered life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great gracious mercy toward his elected Christians. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus: That his god of the host was nothing but an abomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as spoken in drunkenness; but the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or no, he said, "Yea; for it is an abuse," said he, "to seek Jesus Christ any otherwhere than in heaven, sitting at the glory and right hand of God his Father: and in this he was ready to live and die." His process being made, he was condemned to be burned quick. But, as he was carried from the town-house to the place of punishment, it was never seen a man with such constancy to be so assured in heart, and so to rejoice at that great honour which God had called him unto. The hangman hastened as much as was possible, to bind him, and despatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, cried to the Lord that he would have mercy on his soul; and so in great integrity of faith and perseverance, he gave up his life to God.

This Dutch story should have gone before with the Dutch martyrs; but seeing Valenciennes is not far distant from France, it is not much out of order to adjoin the same with the French martyrs; who, at length, shall be joined altogether in the kingdom of Christ: which day the Lord send shortly. Amen!

Thus have we (through the assistance of the Lord) deduced the table of the French, and also of the Dutch martyrs, unto the time and reign of Queen Elizabeth, that is, to the year 1560. Since the which time divers also have suffered both in France and in the lower country of Germany; whose story shall be declared (the Lord willing) more at large, when we come to the time of Queen Elizabeth. In the mean season, it shall suffice for this present to insert their names only, which here do follow.

The residue of the French martyrs.

Anne du Bourge, councillor of Paris; Andrew Coffier, John Isabeau, John Indet, martyrs, of Paris; Geffery Guerien, John Morel, John Barbeville, Peter Chevet, Marin Marie, Margarite Rich, Adrian Daussi, Giles le Court, Philip Parmentier, Marin Rosseau, Peter Milot, John Berfoy; besides the

tumult of Amboise, and the persecution of Vassy; also Austin Marlorat, and Master Mutton.

The residue of the Dutch martyrs.

James de Lo, of the isle of Flanders; John de Buissons, at Antwerp; Peter Petit, John Denys, Guymon Guilmein, Simeon Herme, of the Isle of Flanders; John de Lannoy, at Tournay; Andrew Michel, a blind man, at Tournay; Francis Varlut, at Tournay; Alexander Dayken, of Bramcastle; William Cornu, in Hainault; Anthony Caron, of Cambray; Renaudine de Francville. Certain suffered at Tournay: Michel Robilert, of Arras; Nicaise de le Tombe; Roger du Mont.

To the catalogue of French martyrs above rehearsed, the story of Merindol and Cabriers, with

the lamentable handling of them, is also to be annexed. But because the tractation thereof is long and cannot well be contracted into a short discourse, therefore we have deferred the same to a more convenient room, after the table here following: the Spanish and Italian martyrs, where better opportunity shall be given to prosecute more fully that tragical persecution, the Lord so permit.

A table of such martyrs, as, for the cause of religion, suffered in Spain.

The Spanish martyrs.

Franciscus San Romanus, at Burgos, in Castile. Persecuted by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, and also by the friars of that city.

In the year 1540 this Francis was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen, to take up money due, to be paid by certain merchants there; where he, being at a sermon, hearing Master Jacobus (prior some time of the Austin Friars of Antwerp) preach, was so touched and drawn, through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, albeit having no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home, (all his other worldly business set apart,) there recited the whole contents of his sermon, every thing (as they

said, which heard the said minister of Bremen preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space he was grown to great towardness and ripe knowledge in the study of life. The minister, marvelling at the mutation of the man, and also seeing the vehemence of his zeal joined withal, began to exhort him to temper himself with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel, which he greedily did receive, as one that could never

and; and so remained he with the minister days together, committing his worldly business, the message that he was sent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with other desire, he ceased to seek for temporal seeking rather for such French or Dutch as he could get to read; and again, read the diligently, that partly by the reading thereof by Master Jacobus, and also by Master (which was there the same time,) he in a short time to judge in the chief articles of our religion; insomuch that he took upon him to write letters unto his countrymen the merchants of Antwerp. In the which letters first he thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy which he had received: secondly, he bewailed the cruelty and gross blindness of his country; desiring God to open their eyes and ears, and understand the word of their salvation: thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of which he had received: fourthly, declareth to his purpose in going also to Spain, intending likewise to impart to his parents, and other of Burgos, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord bestowed upon him.

While this, he addressed other letters also to the emperor, opening to him the calamities and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to seek the quietness thereof: especially that he should reform the miserable corruption of the church in Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote his confessions, and divers other treatises, in the which tongue. And all this he did in one month's time.

In the same time the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters, both his change of religion, and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly the countenance of much good will, but secretly intending his destruction; for at the day appointed for his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, who took him coming down from his horse, took his books, and had him into a merchant's house in the hand, where they examined him; with whom he began disputed mightily: and when they found he was not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him infidel; and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn him also. At this disputation within the house, divers Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to show of what faith and religion he was; "My faith," said he, "is to confess and preach Christ crucified only, and him crucified, which is the true

faith of the universal church of Christ through the whole world; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into blindness most miserable." And to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the Creed.

This done, then the friars asked, whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, and being able to bind and loose? also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his own will and arbitrement? Hereunto Francis answered again, that he believed none of all this, but contrary did affirm that the pope was antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour; and who, moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory. The friars could suffer him meanly well to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis, seeing that, began to thunder out against them again. The Spaniards then, supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep cave or dungeon, with much misery, the space of eight months; in which time of his imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own importunity; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Hereupon the Spaniards, thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of prison, which was about the time when the emperor was in his council at Ratisbon, A. D. 1541.

San Romanus, being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, unto a certain friend of his, named Francis Dryander, (who also afterwards died a martyr,) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion; who gave him counsel not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state

he might exercise with a good conscience, and do much good. And as touching religion, his counsel was, that he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but so that he required notwithstanding in the same, a sound and right judgment, conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might chance to him as it doth to many, who, being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good, and to edify, destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. "It is God," said he, "that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such which rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling."

This advertisement of Dryander Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerably. But this promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear; for, passing from Dryander he went to Ratisbon, and there, having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring and protesting, that the princes and protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God; with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider upon the matter, and so do therein as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered to him no little encouragement of better hope; and albeit he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged not him, but he went the second, and also the third, time unto the emperor, who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with a greater arduency the fourth time to speak to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who, incontinent, without all further hearing or advising in the cause, would have thrown him headlong into the river Danube, had not the emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By this commandment of the emperor he was reserved and detained with other malefactors in bonds, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa. Then Francis, with other captives following the court, after the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the

ground. Oft and many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and contumelies, but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmovable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned were these:

That life and salvation in the sight of God, come to no man by his own strength, works, or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists do account available, *ex opere operato*, for the remission of sin both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

That auricular confession with the numbering up of sins, also that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, be mere blasphemy against the living God.

Item, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid.

After the inquisitors perceived that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for a heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution, but all they were pardoned and dismissed: only for the gospel, being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned. As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise.

Furthermore, as he was brought out of the gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by way, whereunto Francis was required to do homage, which he refused, answering, that the manner of Christians is not to worship wood, and he was, he, a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to kiss the wooden cross. But this was turned into a miracle. Such was the blindness of that people, that they did impute this to divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped by a heretic: and immediately, for the opinion of great miracle, the multitude with their swords hew it in pieces, every man thinking himself who might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

When he was come to the place where he was to suffer, the friars were busy about him to make him recant, but he continued ever firm. As he was upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little, at the feeling of the heat, to lift up his head toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the cross. But when they perceived nothing less in

adversaries, being frustrate of their expectation, willed him to be thrown in again; and so was he immediately despatched.

After that the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummate, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics, who-soever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless certain of the emperor's soldiers gathered of his ashes; also the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr. Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor; wherefore the soldiers, going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was upon the same sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a space. And thus much concerning the notable martyrdom of this blessed San Romanus.

Rochus, at St. Lucar in Spain, A. D. 1545. Persecuted by an inquisitor.

Rochus was born in Brabant, his father dwelling in Antwerp. By his science he was a carver or maker of images; who, as soon as he began first to carve the gospel, fell from making such images as were to serve for idolatry in temples, and occupied himself in making seals, save only that he kept upon his stall an image of the Virgin Mary continually graven, for a sign of his occupation. It happened unhappily, that a certain inquisitor passing in the street, and beholding the carved image, asked of Rochus what was the price thereof? which Rochus had set, (not willing belike to sell it,) the inquisitor bade him scarce half the money. Rochus answered again, that he could not so live for bargain. But still the inquisitor urged him to his offer; to whom Rochus again: "It shall be," said he, "if you give me that which my bread and charges stand me in, but of that price I will not afford it: yea, I had rather break it in pieces." Then said the inquisitor, "break it? let me see." Rochus with that took up a chisel, and struck upon the face of the image, wherewith either some other part of the face, was blemished, or the inquisitor, seeing that, cried out that

he was mad, and commanded Rochus forthwith to prison: to whom Rochus cried again, that he might do in his own works what he listed; and if the workmanship of the image were not after his fantasy, what was that to them? But all this could not help Rochus, but within three days after, sentence was given upon him, that he should be burned, and so was he committed to the executioners. As Rochus was entering the place there to be burned, he cried with a loud voice, asking among the multitude which there stood by, if any man of Flanders were there? It was answered, Yea; and also that there were two ships already fraught, and appointed to sail to Flanders. Then said he, "I would desire some of them to signify to my father dwelling in Antwerp, that I was burned here in this city, and for this cause which you all have heard." And thus, after his prayers made to God, this good man, being wrongfully condemned, after his godly life made this blessed end, A. D. 1545.

And lest this so rare and strange example of cruelty should seem to lack credit, in the fifth book of the History of Pantaleon there is recorded, that a certain Spaniard, coming to Antwerp, made diligent inquisition there amongst the image-makers, to find out the parents of this Rochus, and signified to them what had happened toward their son, as hath been by his said parents and friends declared; inso-much that it is also testified, that his father, at the hearing of the said message, for sorrow thereof, died shortly after.

Furthermore, besides these above-recited, and also before their time, I hear and understand by faithful relation, that divers other have been in the said country of Spain, whose hearts God had marvellously illuminated, and stirred up, both before, and also since, the coming in of the inquisition, to stand in defence of his gospel, and who were also persecuted for the same, and are said to have died in prison; albeit their names as yet are unknown, for the stories of that country be not yet come to light, but, I trust, shortly shall, as partly some intelligence I have thereof. In the mean time we will come now to the inquisition of Spain, speaking something of the ceremonial pomp and also of the barbarous abuse and cruelty of the same.

~~with~~ is the poor prisoner ever advertised of any ~~thing~~ heretic. And so yet the sentence is not executed
if he can guess who accused him, whereof by and by, but after that he hath endured imprison-
~~ment~~ and therefore, he may be pardoned peradventure ment in some heinous prison.

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prince of the synagogue of the inquisitors, with the council of the inquisition ; also other bishops of the land, and the king's council with them.

After that the princes and other spiritual judges and councillors were thus set in their places, with a great guard of archers and halberdiers, and harnessed soldiers, with four heralds-at-arms also giving their attendance to the same, and the earl of Buendia bearing the naked sword, all the market-place where the stages were being environed with an infinite multitude of all sorts of the world there standing, and gazing out of windows and houses to hear and see the sentences and judgments of this inquisition : then, after all, were brought forth, as a spectacle and triumph, the poor servants and witnesses of Jesus Christ, to the number, as is aforesaid, of thirty, clothed with their *Sanbenito*, as the Spaniards do call it, which is a manner of vesture of yellow cloth, coming both before them and behind them, spangled with red crosses, and having burning cierges in their hands ; also before them was borne a crucifix covered with black linen cloth, in token of mourning. Moreover they which were to receive the sentence of death, had mitres of paper upon their heads, which the Spaniards call *coracas*. Thus they being produced, were placed in their order, one under another, according as they were esteemed culpable ; so that first of all stood up Doctor Cacalla, an Austin Friar, a man notable and singular in knowledge of divinity, preacher sometime to Charles the Fifth, emperor both in higher and lower Germany.

These things thus disposed, then followed a sermon made by a Dominic friar, which endured about an hour. After the sermon finished, the procurator-general, with the archbishop, went to the stage where the princes and nobles stood, to minister a solemn oath unto them upon the crucifix painted in the mass-book ; the tenor of which oath was this :

"Your Majesties shall swear, that you will favour the holy inquisition, and also give your consent unto the same ; and not only that you shall by no manner of way hinder and impeach the same, but also you shall employ the uttermost of your help and endeavour, hereafter, to see all them to be executed, which shall swerve from the Church of Rome, and adjoin themselves to the sect of the Lutheran heretics, without all respect of any person or persons, of what estate, degree, quality, or condition soever they be."

And thus much for the first article of the oath ; the second was this that followeth :

Item, "Your Majesties shall swear, that you shall constrain all your subjects to submit themselves to the Church of Rome, and to have in reverence all the laws and commandments of the same ; and also

to give your aid against all them, whosever hold of the heresy of the Lutherans, or take part with them."

In this sort and manner, when all the prisoners, every one in their degree, had received oath, then the archbishop, lifting up his hands, gave them his benediction, saying, "God bless you, and give you long life !" This solemnity being thus finished, at last the poor captive prisoners were called out, the procurator-general, the pope's great collector, first beginning at Cacalla, and so proceeding to the others in order hereafter, in the table which followeth, with names and their judgments, is described :

1. Dr. Cacalla, a Friar Augustine. The procurators of Dr. Cacalla and the twenty-seven others that followed, were these : The pope's great collector, the procurator-fiscal ; the archbishop of Seville, the bishop of Valencia, the bishop of Orense, and lastly, the inquisitors of Spain.

Before the pope's great proctor, or collector, first was called forth Doctor Austin Cacalla. This doctor was a friar of Austin's order, and preacher in the town of Valladolid, and preacher sometime to the Emperor Charles the Fifth, a man well esteemed of for his learning ; who for that he was taken to be as the standard-bearer of the gospellers, (they call Lutherans,) and preacher and doctor to them ; therefore, he being first called for, was brought from his stage nearer to the procurator-fiscal, to hear the sentence of his condemnation ; which was, that he should be degraded, and publicly burned, and all his goods confiscated to the use and advancement of justice.

2. Francis de Bivero, priest of Valladolid, and brother to the aforesaid Cacalla.

The second prisoner, and next to Doctor Cacalla that was called, was Francis de Bivero his brother, a priest also of Valladolid, who received likewise the same sentence of condemnation. And to the end he should not speak any thing to the prejudice against the abuse, of the sacred inquisition, as he before had done both within and without the prison, with much boldness ; and also because he was much beloved of the people ; to the end therefore that no commotion should come by his speaking, his mouth was so stopped and shut up, that he could speak one word.

3. Dame Blanche de Bivero.

The third was Dame Blanche, sister to the two aforesaid, against whom also was pronounced the like sentence, as upon her brethren before.

4. John de Bivero.

The fourth was John de Bivero, brother to the same kindred, who was also judged a heretic, and condemned to perpetual prison, and to bear his *Sanbenito* all his life long; which is an habiliment of dishonour.

5. Dame Constance de Bivero, sister to the same aforesaid.

Dame Constance de Bivero, was the fifth sister to the others before specified, and widow of Ferdinando Otis, dwelling sometime at Valladolid, who was also condemned, with the like sentence with her husband, to be burned.

6. The coffin with the dead corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, the mother of these aforesaid.

The sixth thunderbolt of condemnation was thundered out against a poor coffin, with the dead corpse of Dame Leonore de Bivero, mother to these above-mentioned, being herself the sixth, and being already laid long before at Valladolid. Above her coffin was her picture laid, which was also condemned with her dead corpse to be burned for a heretic; yet I never heard of any opinion that this picture should hold, either with or against the Church of Rome. This good mother, while she lived, was a firm maintainer of Christ's gospel, with great integrity of life; and retained divers assemblies of priests in her house for the preaching of the word of God. In fine, her corpse and image also, being laid before the fiscal, was condemned likewise the mother with her seven children in the manner of Maccabees) to be burned for a Lutheran heretic, and all her goods to be seized to the behoof of superior powers, and also her house utterly to be pulled down and cast down to the ground; and for a memorial of the same, a marble stone was appointed to be set up in the house, whereon the said picture of her burning should be engraved.

Master Afonse Perez, priest of Valencia.

The seventh place was condemned Master Afonse Perez, priest of Valencia, first to be degraded, afterwards to be burned as a heretic, and all his goods likewise confiscated, and seized, to the behoof of the superiority.

These seven aforesaid had received their sentences when the bishop of Valencia, in his pontifical robes, caused Doctor Cacalla, Francis his brother, to be apparelled and receive the priestly vesture. Which done, he took from them the chalice out of their hands, and so laid their trinkets in order, according to their

accustomed solemnity. And thus they, being degraded, and all their priestly unctions taken from their fingers, also their lips and their crowns raised, so were their yellow habits of *Sanbenito* put over their shoulders again, with their mitres also of paper upon their heads. This done, Doctor Cacalla began to speak, praying the princes and the lords to give him audience: but that not being granted to him, he was rudely repulsed, and returned again to his standing. Only thus much he protested clearly and openly, that his faith, for which he was so handled, was not heretical, but consonant to the pure word of God; for the which also he was pressed and ready to suffer death as a true Christian, and not as a heretic: besides many other worthy sentences of great consolation, which he there uttered in the mean space, while the judges were busy in their sentences against the residue of the martyrs.

8. Don Peter Sarmiento, knight of the order of Alcanta.

9. Dame Mencia, wife of the said Don Peter.

10. Don Lovis de Roxas, son and heir of the marquis de Poza.

11. Dame Anne Henriques.

12. Christopher Dell Campo.

13. Christopher de Padilla.

14. Anthony de Huezuello.

15. Katharine Romain.

16. Frances Errem.

17. Katharine Ortega.

18. Isabell Strada. 19. Jane Valesques.

20. A smith.

21. A Jew.

22. Dame Jane de Silva.

23. Leonore de Lisueros, wife of Huezuello.

24. Marina de Sajavedra.

25. Daniel Quadra.

26. Dame Mary de Royas.

27. Anthony Dominick.

28. Anthony Basor, an Englishman.

After these sentences had been thus pronounced, they which were condemned to be burned, with the coffin of the dead lady and her picture upon the same, were committed to the secular magistrate and to their executioners, which were commanded to do

their endeavour. Then were they all incontinent taken, and every one set upon an ass, their faces turned backward, and led with a great garrison of armed soldiers unto the place of punishment, which was without the gate of the town, called Del Campo.

When they were come to the place, there were fourteen stakes set up of equal distance one from another, whereunto every one severally being fastened according to the fashion of Spain, they were all first strangled, and then burned and turned to ashes, save only Anthony Huezuello, who, forasmuch as he had, both within and without the prison, vehemently detested the pope's spirituality, therefore he was burned alive, and his mouth stopped from speaking. And thus these faithful Christians, for the verity and pure word of God, were led to death as sheep to the shambles; who not only most Christianly did comfort one another, but also did so exhort all them there present, that all men marvelled greatly, both to hear their singular constancy, and to see their quiet and peaceable end.

It is reported that, besides these aforesaid, there remained yet behind thirty-seven other prisoners, at the said town of Valladolid, reserved to another tragedy and spectacle of that bloody inquisition.

Furthermore, whereas the story of the said inquisition, being set out in the French tongue, doth reckon the number of the martyrs above-mentioned to be thirty, and yet, in particular declaration of them, doth name no more but eight and twenty; here is therefore to be noted, that either this number lacked two of thirty, or else that two of the said company were returned back without judgment into the prison again.

And thus much for this present, touching the proceeding of the church of Spain in their inquisition against the Lutherans; that is, against the true and faithful servants of Jesus Christ. Albeit there be other countries also, besides Spain, subject unto the same inquisition, as Naples and Sicily; in which kingdom of Sicily, I hear it credibly reported, that every third year are brought forth to judgment and execution a certain number, after the like sort, of Christian martyrs; sometimes twelve, sometimes six; sometimes more, and sometimes less. Among whom there was one, much about the same year above-mentioned, A. D. 1559, who, coming from Geneva to Sicily, upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hands on; and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said that he would feel the fire. And so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of speech

and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which, being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also doth now testify what he then saw.

Now it remaineth further, according to my promise, in like order of a compendious table, to comprehend also such martyrs as suffered for the verity and true testimony of the gospel, in the places and countries of Italy; which table consequently here next ensueth.

A table of such martyrs as suffered for the testimony of the gospel in Italy.

The Italian martyrs.

N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, martyred at Rome, A. D. 1546. Persecuted by certain popish Spaniards at Rome.

This Encenas, or Dryander, a Spaniard, born at Burgos, was brother to Franciscus Encenas, the learned man so oft before mentioned; and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of religion to Diazus, the godly martyr above recorded. He was sent of his superstitious parents, being young, unto Rome; who there, after long continuance, growing up in age and knowledge, but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, as he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken of certain of his own countrymen, and sent of his own household friends at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey, his brother Francis Encenas, in Germany. Then he, being betrayed and taken by his own countrymen, was brought before the cardinals, and then committed straight to prison. Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which, in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, he boldly and courageously defended; so that not only the cardinals, especially the Spaniards, being therewith offended, cried out upon him that he should be burned. But the cardinals first, before the sentence of death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would turn (after the manner of the Spaniards,) to the reconciliation, which hath the name of San cloth, made in form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the cross. But Encenas, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the matter was brought

that the faithful servant and witness of Christ judged and condemned to the fire; where he, in sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the multitude, pretended, gave up his life for the glory of the gospel.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made both in this story, and many others before, of Franciscus, his brother, here is not to be pretermitted, the said Franciscus, being a man of notable piety as ever was any in Spain, being in the employment at Brussels, offered unto the emperor the Fifth the New Testament of Christ, translated into Spanish. For the which he was cast into prison, where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking nothing more than present death. At last, by the marvellous providence of Almighty God, on the first of February, A. D. 1545, at eight o'clock in the morning, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and he secretly was moved in his mind on the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and, issuing out of the prison, without any haste, but going as leisurely as he could, he escaped the prison, and went straight to Germany.

At Ferrara, A. D. 1550. Persecuted by Pope Julius the Third.

Franciscus, born in Faventia, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, (having no perfect skill in the Latin,) was delivered from great blindness, to the wholesome knowledge of Christ and of his word; wherein he found such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord: being so in his mind resolved, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his verity, was in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel. And therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, albeit he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to such, he was at length by the pope's clients espied, apprehended, and committed to prison. Albeit he tarried not long in prison, for by the earnest persecutions and prayers of his wife, his children and other friends, he was so overcome, that he gave over, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison. After this, it was not long but he fell into horrible persecution of mind; insomuch that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earn-

estly before had professed. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind, to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Whereupon, he being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, he went about all the country of Romania, publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great fruit and effect in places as he went. As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, A. D. 1547, in a place called Bagnacavallo, where also he was condemned to be burned; but he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was; for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the inquisitors of the pope's heresies condemned him to death, A. D. 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, A. D. 1550. In the mean time many faithful and good men came to visit him, for which the pope commanded him to be enclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater, if the Dominic Friars might have got him into their house, as they went about. Thus Faninus, removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where were divers great lords, captains, and noble personages there committed, for stirring up commotions and factions, (as the country of Italy is full of such,) who at first, hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him, supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain. Whereupon, such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council. To whom Faninus again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the doctrine which he professed was no humour or opinion of man's brain, but the pure verity of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored; which verity he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fantasies of men. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage; so likewise as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence or authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his

gospel, which he both preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, &c. With these and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and accounted him for a holy person: to whom he proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins were forgiven: like as all their sins also should be remitted to them through their faith in Christ only, they believing his gospel.

There were others also besides these, who, having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not well away with the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Faninus, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in this their captivity, by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor family; to whom he answered again, that his Lord and Master had commanded him, not to deny Him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein, for his end, he said, he knew to draw near: and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died Pope Paul the Third, and after him succeeded Julius the Third, which then sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed; whereof when one of the magistrates' officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced thereat, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long sermon to them that were about him, of the felicity and beatitude of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him that, in case he would change his opinion, he should save both this life, and enjoy that to come. Another asked him in what case he should leave his little children and his wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them: wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them. Faninus answered, that he had left them with an overseer, which would see unto them sufficiently: and being asked who he was? "The Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "a faithful keeper, and a conservor of all that is committed to him." After that the messenger was thus departed from Faninus, all full of

tears and sorrow, the next day following he was moved into the common prison, and delivered to a secular magistrate. Who in all ways, by his gestures, and his countenance, declared his constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, tranquillity of mind, that they that before were treme against him, thinking him rather to be a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him to commend him. With such grace and sweet he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, divers of the magistrates' wives, in hearing him, could not abstain from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes came to him, and said, that if he would relate his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved: but that he refused. This was marvellous, that he, having but small skill in the law, yet recited so many and sundry places of the scripture without book, and that so truly and precisely, as though he had studied nothing else. One, seeing him so jocund and merry going to his death, asked, why he was so merry at his death, as Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? "Christ," said he, "sustained in his life all the sorrows, and conflicts with hell and death due unto us; by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all." Finally, in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer, who, after his prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake, where, with a cord drawn round his neck, he was secretly strangled of the hangman in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after, about dinner-time, his body in the same place was burned. At the burning there was of such a fragrant and odoriferous scent, that to all them there present, and so struck their senses, that the sweetness thereof seemed to refresh them no less than his words would have done if they had heard him speak.

The custom is of that city, that the bones and ashes which be left, should be carried out of the city; but neither the magistrate, nor the bishop, his great vicar or chancellor, nor any divine would take any charge thereof, every man transferring that burden from themselves, to him who was the cause of his death. Whereby it may appear, what secret judgment and estimation all men had of that good and blessed man. At last, the people took his burned bones, with the cinders, and carried them out of the street of the city.

Dominicus de Basana, at Placentia, A. D. 1550.

The same year that the aforesaid Faninus suffered

in Ferrara, Dominicus also suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominicus was a citizen in Bagnolo, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor of Germany, where he received the first taste of the gospel, wherein he increased more and more in preferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in a short time he was able to instruct many; and did, working and travelling in the church, at length, in the year 1550, he, coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeded to Placentia, preached there likewise to the people, of true confession, of purgation of pardons. Furthermore, the next day he preached of true faith and of good works, how these were necessary to salvation, promising more the next day to speak of antichrist, and to paint him in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market-place, and deliver himself to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, that he did much marvel that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of bondage. From thence he was led to the bishop's palace, and asked whether he was a priest, and whether he was placed in that function? He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, and that he was lawfully called to that office. Then he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, and that also he was ready to seal with his blood, and gave hearty thanks to God, which so accepted him as worthy to glorify his name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison, where after he had remained a few days, he was exhorted divers times to revoke, and cease he should suffer; but still he remained constant in his doctrine: whereupon when the time was assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market-place, where he preached, and there he languished; who, most heartily praying for his persecutors, so finished his days in this miserable, wretched world.

Lucius Trecius, at the city called Laus Pompeia, in Italy, A. D. 1551. Accused by the bishop of St. Angelo and his priests.

St. Angelo is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, in the Lombardy, not far from the city called Laus Pompeia, belonging also to the same diocese. In the town of St. Angelo was a house of Augustine monks, unto whom used much to resort a certain monk of the same order, dwelling at Pavia, named Michael, a man well expert in the study of Scrip-

ture, and of a godly conversation. By this Michael, divers not only of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of good calling, and wealthy in worldly substance, and very beneficial to the poor, who, first by conference with the friars, and also with his brother-in-law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more thoroughly by Coelius Secundus Curio, who, then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to the said place of St. Angelo. In process of time, as this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forward the wholesome word of God's grace, as a light shining in darkness, could not so lie hid, but at last, A. D. 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed city of Laus Pompeia to lay hands upon him, who brought him to the bishop's palace; where he was kept in bands, having under him only a pad of straw. Although his wife sent unto him a good featherbed with sheets to lie in, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons and causes of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of Scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Albeit not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his kinsfolk and friends, the other cold gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance, and bewailing of his fact, that he became afterwards (according to the example of Peter, and St. Cyprian, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's quarrel; neither did he ever desire anything more than occasion to be offered to recover again by confession, that he had lost before by denial; affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the constant confession of the truth; and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped afterwards from the same by dissimulation: declaring, moreover, to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with testimony of the verity, than life with the least denial of truth, and loss of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius, mourning for his fall in prison, after he heard of his friends that nothing was yet so far past, but that he might recover himself again, and that his

infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance, to God's glory, and admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort; and when they would have left with him a book of the New Testament for his comfort, he refused it, saying, that he had in his heart whatsoever Christ there spake to his disciples: also what happened both to Christ and himself, and to his apostles, for confessing the word of truth.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they who talked with him continued all the day without meat or drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

As Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for some occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it followed in short time that the inquisitors and priests repaired to him again in the prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them; and required him so to do. Galeazius, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former doctrine with much more boldness of spirit, confessing Christ, as he did before, and detesting images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and verity: also to be no more mediators but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently, by his suffering, hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they which depart hence in this faith, are ascertained of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation; with such other like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the pope's proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled; who, at last, perceiving that he in no case could be revoked, caused him to be committed to the secular judge to be burned.

Thus Galeazius, early in the morning being brought out of prison to the market-place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In the which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it. And if he cared not for his life, nor for his country where he should live, nor for his goods and possessions, which should be confiscated, yet he should somewhat respect his wife whom he loved so well, and his young children; at least he should consider his own soul. This counsel gave they, which more esteemed the commodities of this present life, than any true soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude, nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr: wherefore fire was commanded at last to

be put to the dry wood about him, wherewith he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, saving only these words heard in the middle of the flame, "Lord Jesu!" This was A. D. 1551, November 24.

Touching the story of this blessed martyr, this by the way is to be given for a memorandum, that a little before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city, and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should go to his burning. He, hearing thereof, sent word to both the parties to agree, for he himself, of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note, moreover, here is to be added, that while Galeazius was in captivity, certain of the papists, perceiving that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, under colour to release her husband, that she should lay out a sum of money to be sent to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, called Ferrarus Gonzaga, to the end that she should treat both with her husband, and with the senate, for Galeazius's life; which move when they had thus juggled unto their hands, Galeazius notwithstanding was burned; and so was this silly woman robbed and defeated, both of her husband, and also of her money.

D. Johannes Mollius, a Grey Friar; also a certain weaver of Perugia; at Rome, A. D. 1553. Persecuted by the following parties: Cornelius professor of Bologna; Cardinal Campeius, and Cardinal del Campo: also by Bonaventure general; six cardinals, and Pope Julius Third.

Johannes Mollius Montilcinus, being but twenty years old, with his brother Augustine, was sent by his parents in the house of the Grey Friars, where he in short time, having a fresh wit, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal sciences. Growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that he was sent to Ferrara to study, where he so profited in space of six years, that he was assigned, by Vice-general of that order, to be doctor, and then lecturer in divinity; who then, with his sophistry, opposed himself as an utter enemy against the gospel. Thence he went to Breschia, and the next year came to Milan, where he read or professed publicly. Again, from thence he was taken by Francesco Sfortia, and brought to the university of Pavia, where he openly to profess philosophy, where he remained four years. After that he was called to the university of Bologna, by Laurentius Spatharius, of that order, where he was occupied in reading

of Aristotle De Anima. In the mean time brought in his soul such light of his word, of true religion, that he, waxing weary of profane philosophy, began secretly to expound the words of St. Paul to the Romans to a few; which unknown, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. Where, the number of his audience daily augmented, so that the fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his own ink to write, and great diligence was betaken how to come betimes to take up the first place, where they might best hear; which was in the year A. D. 1538. There was the same time, at Rome, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler, who, seeing the doings of Johannes, took upon him, at the request of Cardinal Campeius, to expound the Epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of the said Johannes, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Contrary, Johannes did and commended only Christ and his merits to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to no effect. For the auditors which first came to him, began by little to fall from him; and the number of the other man's auditors more and more increased.

Which when Cornelius perceived, he persuaded Campeius, that unless he provided that man to be punished, the estimation of the Church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this was devised, that Cornelius and Johannes should come to open disputation; which disputation lasted till three o'clock after midnight. At length, as neither party could agree, Johannes was bid to return home to his house, who, as he was come to the lower steps where the place was straitened, that his friends could not come to rescue him, (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills,) was there taken and laid in prison. When the day came, such tumult and noise was in the whole city, that Cornelius was forced to hide himself; also Campeius the cardinal, and the bishop there, were both contemned of the people. The next day the bishop of Bologna sent an ambassador to Johannes in the prison, to signify to him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he, being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing moved him, that he should be condemned, his cause being not heard.

In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha, above-mentioned, being general of that order, in most ready wise posted up to Rome, and there so practised with the cardinal St. Crucis, the proctor in the

court of Rome for the Grey Friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to Campeius, that he should deliver the said John out of prison; so that he, notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus, the thirtieth day of his imprisonment, he was delivered: who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollius, Cornelius also was cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by the cardinal St. Crucis, till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollius gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, that the gospel must also be preached at Rome. After he was come to Rome, and appeared before Pope Paul the Third, humbly he desired, that the cause, being so weighty, might come in public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs; which he diligently performed, treating of original sin, justification by faith, free-will, purgatory, and other such like; proving the said articles by the authority of the Scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to have the cause in hearing; who disputed with him three days, and could not refel what he had proved. At last answer was made unto him thus: That it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time; for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see; wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the Epistles of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bologna, and there profess philosophy. Thus as he was returned to Bologna, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campeius, being more offended than before, obtained of the pope, that the general of the order should remove the said John Mollius from Bologna, and place him some other where. So Mollius from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Peter, the viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life; and so, departing from thence, he went wandering into Italy, from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when Cardinal Campeius was dead, he was called again unto Bologna, by a good abbot named De Grassis, A. D. 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's Epistles

after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered. Whereupon, by means of Cardinal de Capo, and by Bonaventure the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and laid there in a filthy and stinking prison, where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. During which time of his endurance, he wrote a commentary upon the books of Moses; but that labour, by the malignity of the adversaries, was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the Earl Petilianus, and of the aforesaid good abbot De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the abbot of St. Vitale, and there again taught the gospel of Christ as before; and whensoever he spake of the name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears, for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, his sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so was he again now the third time reduced into prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority, who, being stirred up of God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison; of whom, one of the said sureties took the said Mollius home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the same of this man, such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the Church of Rome: whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate to lay hands upon him, and to send him up fast bound to Rome, where again, now the fourth time, he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give over his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock. Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, was brought, with certain other men, (which were also apprehended for religion,) into the temple of St. Mary, called *De Minerva*, on the fifth day of September, A. D. 1553; either there to revoke, or to be burned. There sat upon them six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge, before whom preached a Dominic Friar, which, cruelly inveighing against the poor prisoners, incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands, of whom some for fear of death revolted: but this Doctor Mollius, with a weaver of Perugia,

remained constant. Then Mollius began an sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confuted the articles of the faith by the sacred Scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but antichrist, and that his sect figured the whore of Babylon. Moreover, he brought them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and took away the burning taper from him: whereupon being replenished with anger, condemned him to the weaver to the fire, and commanded them to carry him away. So were they carried incontinent to a camp or field, called *Florianum*, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the weaver was hanged. Mollius then, willing the hangman to execute his office likewise upon him, began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to rely on no other saviours but Christ alone; for he was the mediator between God and man. And so he also hanged, commending his soul to God. Afterwards laid in the fire and burned. They having divers judgments upon him, some said he died a heretic, some said he was a good man.

Two monks of the house of St. Austin in Italy, A. D. 1554; having being impeached by the senate of Milan.

Furthermore, in the same city of Rome, about the same time, in the monastery of St. Andrew were found two monks in their cells, with their tongues and their heads cut off, only for rebellion against the immoderate and outrageous excess of the cardinals, as witnesseth Manlius. Such was the cruelty then of the malignant adversaries.

Francis Gamba, at Como. Persecuted in the same excess, and by the senate of Milan, A. D. 1553.

Francis Gamba, born in the city of Brechia in Lombardy, after he had received the knowledge of the gospel, went to Geneva, to confer about certain necessary affairs with them that were wise and learned in that church, which was about the time when the Lord's supper there was administered at Pentecost, who there also at the same time did commune with them. Afterwards, on his return home, as he was passing over the lake of Como, he was taken and brought to Como, and there committed to prison. During the time of which imprisonment, divers sundry, as well nobles as others, with doctors especially priests and monks, resorted unto him, labouring by all manner of means, and most flattering promises, to reduce him from his opinions, which seemed to some but fantasies coming of some delirious humour. To some they seemed uncatholic or heretical. But he, constantly disputing with them by the most sacred Scriptures, declared the opinions which he

not to be any vain speculations or imaginary
of man's dotting brain, but the pure verity
and the evident doctrine of Jesus Christ,
in his word, necessary for all men to be-
lieve, and also to maintain unto death : and therefore
his part, rather than he would be found false to
his word, he was there ready, not to
stand to, Christ's gospel, to the effusion
of blood.

When he could in no wise be reclaimed from
the doctrine of truth, letters came from the senate
of Milan, that he should be executed with death ;
and execution, as they of Como were about to
perform, in the mean while came other letters from
the emperor's ambassador, and
the senate of Milan, by the which his death was
deferred for a time, till at length other letters were
received from the senate of Milan, requiring exe-
cution of the sentence. Nevertheless, through in-
tercession of his friends, one week's respite more
was granted him, to prove whether he might be won
to the pope's church ; that is to say, lost from
it. Thus he, being mightily and long assailed
by friends, and by enemies terrified, yet by no
means would be expugned, but gave thanks to
God that he was made worthy to suffer the rebukes
of the world, and cruel death, for the testimony of
the truth ; and so went he cheerfully unto his death.
Some certain Franciscan Friars to him to hear
confession, which he refused. Also they brought
their hands a cross for him to behold, to keep
him from desperation at the feeling of the fire ; but
he said, he was so replenished with joy and
comfort in Christ, that he needed neither their cross
nor pain. After this, as he was declaring many com-
fortable things to the people, of the fruition of those
eternal joys above which God hath prepared for
his people, because he should speak no more to the people,
his tongue was bored through ; and so immediately
he was tied to the stake, there he was strangled till
he was dead ; every man there giving testimony,
that he saw his constancy, that he died a good man.

Pomponius Algerius, at Rome. Persecuted by Pope
Paul the Fourth, and the magistrates of Venice,
A. D. 1555.

Pomponius Algerius, born in Capua, a young man
of great learning, was student in the university of
Padua, where he, not being able to conceal and
deny the verity of Christ's gospel, which he
learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace,
was persecuted, both by doctrine and example of life, to
the intent that as many as he could in the same doctrine,
should be brought to Christ. For the which he was
accused of heresy to Pope Paul the Fourth, who,

sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice,
caused him to be apprehended at Padua, and carried
to Venice, where he was long detained in prison and
bonds, till at last the pope commanded the magis-
trates there to send him up bound unto Rome, which
the Venetians estoons accomplished. After he
was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and al-
lurements were essayed to remove the virtuous and
blessed young man from his sentence : but when
no worldly persuasions could prevail against the
operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he ad-
judged to be burned alive ; which death most con-
stantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all
that beheld him.

Being in prison at Venice, he wrote an epistle to
the afflicted saints ; which for the notable sweetness
and most wonderful consolation contained in the
same, in showing forth the mighty operation of God's
holy power working in his afflicted saints that suffer
for his sake, I have thought good and expedient to
communicate, as a principal monument amongst all
other martyrs' letters, not only with the other letters
which shall be inserted hereafter (the Lord willing)
in the end of the book, but also in this present place
to be read, to the intent that both they which be,
or shall be hereafter, in affliction, may take conso-
lation ; and also they that yet follow the trade of
this present world, in comparing the joys and com-
modities thereof with these joys here expressed, may
learn and consider with themselves, what difference
there is between them both, and thereby may learn
to dispose themselves in such sort, as may be to
their edification, and perpetual felicity of their souls.
The copy of the letter, first written in Latin, we
have translated into English, the tenor whereof
here ensueth :

*A comfortable letter of Pomponius Algerius,
an Italian.*

" To his most dearly beloved brethren and fellow
servants in Christ, which are departed out of
Babylon into Mount Sion ; grace, peace, and
health, from God our Father, by Jesus Christ
our Lord and Saviour !

" To mitigate your sorrow which you take for
me, I cannot but impart unto you some portion of
my delectations and joys, which I feel and find, to
the intent you with me may rejoice and sing before
the Lord, giving thanks unto him. I shall utter
that which no man will believe when I shall declare
it. I have found a nest of honey and honey-comb
in the entrails of a lion. Who will ever believe
that I shall say ? or what man will ever think in
the deep dark dungeon to find a paradise of pleasure ?
in the place of sorrow and death, to dwell in tran-

quillity and hope of life? in a cave infernal, to be found joy of soul? and where other men do weep, there to be rejoicing? where others do shake and tremble, there strength and boldness to be plenty? Who will ever think, or who will believe this? in such a woeful state, such delectation? in a place so desolate, such society of good men? in strait bands and cold irons, such rest to be had? All these things the sweet hand of the Lord, my sweet brethren! doth minister unto me. Behold, he that that was once far from me, now is present with me; whom once scarce I could feel, now I see more apparently; whom once I saw afar off, now I behold near at hand; whom once I hungered for, the same now approacheth and reacheth his hand unto me. He doth comfort me, and heapeth me up with gladness; he driveth away all bitterness; he ministereth strength and courage; he healeth me, refresheth, advanceth, and comforteth me. Oh how good is the Lord, who suffereth not his servants to be tempted above their strength! Oh how easy and sweet is his yoke! Is there any like unto the Highest, who receiveth the afflicted, healeth the wounded, and nourisheth them? Is there any like unto him? Learn, ye well-beloved! how amiable the Lord is, how meek and merciful he is, which visiteth his servants in temptations, neither disdaineth he to keep company with us in such vile and stinking caves. Will the blind and incredulous world, think you, believe this? or rather will it not say thus: No, thou wilt never be able to abide long the burning heat, the cold snow, and the pinching hardness of that place, the manifold miseries, and other grievances innumerable. The rebukes and frowning faces of men, how wilt thou suffer? Dost thou not consider and revolve in thy mind thy pleasant country, the riches of the world, thy kinsfolk, the delicate pleasures and honours of this life? dost thou forget the solace of thy sciences, and the fruit of all thy labours? Wilt thou thus lose all thy labours which thou hast hitherto sustained? so many nights watched? thy painful travails, and all thy laudable enterprises, wherein thou hast been exercised continually even from thy childhood? Finally, fearest thou not death, which hangeth over thee, and that for no crime committed? Oh what a fool art thou, which for one word speaking mayst save all this, and wilt not! What a rude and unmannerly thing is this, not to be entreated at the instant petitions and desires of such, so many and so mighty, so just, so virtuous, so prudent and gracious senators, and such noble personages, &c.

“But now to answer: Let this blind world hearken to this again, What heat can there be more burning, than that fire which is prepared for thee

hereafter? and likewise what snow can be so cold than thy heart which is in darkness, and no light? What thing is more hard, and sharper crooked, than this present life which here we live? what thing more odious and hateful than this world here present? And let these worldly men here answer me, What country can we have more pleasant than the heavenly country above? what treasure more rich or precious than everlasting life? who be our kinsmen, but they which bear the image of God? Where be greater riches, or dignity more honourable, than in heaven? And as touching the sciences, let this foolish world consider they not ordained to learn to know God, whom less we do know, all our labours, our night watchings, our studies, and all our enterprises serve to no use or purpose; all is but lost labour.

“Furthermore, let the miserable worldly man answer me, What remedy or safe refuge can there be unto him, if he lack God, who is the life and medicine of all men? and how can he be said to fly from death, when he himself is already dead in sin? Christ be the way, verity, and life, how can there be any life then without Christ? The sultry heat of the prison to me is coldness; the cold winter to me is a fresh spring-time in the Lord. He that feareth not to be burned in the fire, how will he fear the heat of weather? or what careth he for the pinching frost, who burneth with the love of the Lord? The place is sharp and tedious to them that be guilty, but to the innocent and guiltless it is mellifluous. Here droppeth the delectable dew; here floweth the pleasant nectar; here runneth the sweet manna; here is plenty of all good things. And although the place itself be desert and barren, yet to me it seemeth a large walk, and a valley of pleasure; to me is the better and more noble part of the world. Let the miserable worldling say and confess, if it be any plot, pasture, or meadow so delightful to the mind of man, as here. Here I see kings, princes, cities, and people; here I see wars, where some are overthrown, some be victors, some thrust down, some lifted up. Here is the Mount Sion; here I am already in heaven itself; here standeth Christ Jesus in the front. About him stand old fathers, prophets, and evangelists, and apostles, and all the servants of God: of whom some do embrace and cherish me, some exhort me, some open the sacraments unto me, some comfort me, others sing about me. And how then shall I be thought to be alone, among so many, and such as these, the beholding of whom to me is both solace and example: for here I see some crucified, some stoned, some cut asunder and some quartered, some roasted, some broiled, some put in hot c

drons, some having their eyes bored through, some their tongues cut out, some their skin plucked over their heads, some their hands and feet chopped off, some put in kilns and furnaces, some cast down headlong and given to the beasts and fowls of the air to feed upon: it would ask a long time if I should recite all.

"To be short, divers I see with divers and sundry torments excruciate; yet, notwithstanding, all living, and all safe. One plaster, one salve, cureth all their wounds: which also gives to them strength and life, so that I sustain all these transitory anguishes and small afflictions with a quiet mind, having a greater hope laid up in heaven. Neither do I fear mine adversaries which here persecute me and oppress me; for He that dwelleth in the heaven shall laugh them to scorn, and the Lord shall deride them. I fear not thousands of people which compass me about. The Lord my God shall deliver me, my hope, my supporter, my comforter, who exalteth my head. He shall smite all them that stand against me without cause, and shall dash the teeth and jaws of sinners asunder; for he only is blessedness and majesty. The rebukes for Christ's cause make us jocund; for so it is written, *Be rebuked and scorned for the name of Christ, and ye shall be glorified; for the glory and Spirit of God rest upon you*, 1 Pet. iv. Be you therefore certain that our rebukes which are laid upon us, redound to the shame and harm of the rebukers. In this world there is no mansion firm to me; and before I travel up to the New Jerusalem which is in heaven, and which offereth itself unto me without paying any fine or income. Behold, I have already on my journey, where my house is ready for me prepared, and where I shall have my kinsfolks, delights, honours never failing. In these earthly things here present, they are but airy shadows, vanishing vapours, and ruinous shadows. Briefly, all is but very vanity of vanities, and the hope and the substance of eternity to come waiting; which the merciful goodness of the Lord hath given as companions to accompany me, to comfort me: and now do the same begin to labour and to bring forth fruits in me. I have hitherto, laboured and sweat early and watching day and night, and now my travails shall come to effect. Days and hours have I bestowed upon my studies. Behold, the true counsel of God is sealed upon me; the Lord hath written in my heart; and therefore in the same shall I lie down in peace and rest, Psal. iv. And shall I dare to blame this our age consumed, that our years be cut off? What man can say that these our labours are lost, which have

followed and found out the Lord and Maker of this world, and which have changed death for life? My portion is the Lord, saith my soul, and therefore I will seek and wait for him. Now then, if to die in the Lord be not to die, but to live most joyfully, where is this wretched worldly rebel, which blameth us of folly, for giving away our lives to death? Oh how delectable is this death to me, to taste the Lord's cup, which is an assured pledge of true salvation! for so hath the Lord himself forewarned us, saying, *The same that they have done to me, they will also do unto you*. Wherefore let the foolish world, with its blind worldlings, (who in the bright sunshine yet go stumbling in darkness, being as blind as beetles,) cease thus unwisely to carp against us for our rash suffering, as they count it: to whom thus we answer again with the holy apostle, *Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor nakedness, nor jeopardy, nor persecution, nor sword, shall be able ever to separate us from the love of Christ*. We are slain all the day long; we are made like sheep ordained to the shambles, Rom. viii. Thus do we resemble Christ our Head, who said, that the disciple cannot be above his master, nor the servant above his lord. The same Lord hath also commanded that every one shall take up his cross and follow him, Luke ix. Rejoice, rejoice, my dear brethren and fellow servants! and be of good comfort, when ye fall into sundry temptations. Let your patience be perfect on all parts; for so is it foreshowed us before, and is written, that they that shall kill you, shall think to do God good service. Therefore afflictions and death be as tokens and sacraments of our election and life to come. Let us then be glad and sing to the Lord, when we, being clear from all just accusation, are persecuted and given to death: for better it is, that we in doing well do suffer, if it so be the will of the Lord, than doing evil, 1 Pet. iii. We have for our example Christ and the prophets, who spake in the name of the Lord, whom the children of iniquity did quell and murder; and now we bless and magnify them that then suffered. Let us be glad and joyous in our innocency and uprightness. The Lord shall reward them that persecute us; let us refer all revenge to him.

"I am accused of foolishness, for that I do not shrink from the true doctrine and knowledge of God, and do not rid myself out of these troubles, when with one word I may. Oh the blindness of man! who seeth not the sun shining, neither remembereth the Lord's words. Consider therefore what he saith, *You are the light of the world*. A city builded on the hill cannot be hid; neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, th-

it may shine, and give light to them in the house. And in another place he saith, You shall be led before kings and rulers; fear ye not them that kill the body, but him which killeth both body and soul. Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in heaven; and he that denieth me before men, him will I also deny before my heavenly Father. Wherefore seeing the words of the Lord be so plain, how, or by what authority, will this wise counsellor then approve this his counsel which he doth give? God forbid that I should relinquish the commandments of God, and follow the counsels of men; for it is written, Blessed is the man that hath not gone in the ways of sinners, and hath not stood in the counsel of the ungodly, and hath not set in the chair of pestilence, Psalm i. God forbid that I should deny Christ, where I ought to confess him. I will not set more by my life, than by my soul; neither will I exchange the life to come for this world here present. Oh how foolishly speaketh he which argueth me of foolishness!

"Neither do I take it to be a thing so uncomely, or unseemly for me, not to obey in this matter the requests of those so honourable, just, prudent, virtuous, and noble senators, whose desires (he saith) were enough to command me: for so are we taught of the apostles, that we ought to obey God before men. After that we have served and done our duty first unto God, then are we bound next to obey the potentates of this world; whom I wish to be perfect before the Lord. They are honourable; but yet are they to be made more perfect in the Lord: they are just; but yet Christ, the seat of justice, is lacking in them: they are wise; but where is in them the beginning of wisdom, that is, the fear of the Lord? they are called virtuous; but yet I wish them more absolute in Christian charity: they are good and gracious; but yet I miss in them the foundation of goodness, which is the Lord God, in whom dwelleth all goodness and grace: they are honourable; yet have they not received the Lord of glory, which is our Saviour, most honourable and glorious. Understand, ye kings, and learn, you that judge the earth. Serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Harken to doctrine, and get knowledge, lest you fall into God's displeasure, and so perish out of the way of righteousness. What fret you, what fume you, O Gentiles? O you people! why cast you in your brains the cogitations of vanity? You kings of the earth, and you princes, why conspire you so together against Christ, and against his Holy One? Psalm ii. How long will you seek after lies, and hate the truth? Turn you to the Lord, and harden not your hearts: for this you

must needs confess, that they that persecute the Lord's servants, do persecute the Lord himself: for so he saith himself, Whatsoever men shall do to you, I will count it to be done not as unto you, but to myself.

"And now let this carnal, politic counsellor and disputer of this world tell, wherein have they to blame me, if in my examinations I have not answered so after their mind and affection as they required of me? seeing it is not ourselves that speak, but the Lord that speaketh in us, as he himself doth forewarn, saying, When ye shall be brought before rulers and magistrates, it is not you yourselves that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that shall be in you, Matt. x. Wherefore if the Lord be true and faithful of his word, as it is most certain, there is there no blame in me: for he gave the words that I did speak; and who was I, that could resist his will? If any shall reprehend the things that I said, let him then quarrel with the Lord, whom it pleased to work so in me. And if the Lord be not to be blamed, neither am I herein to be accused, who do that I purposed not, and that I forethought not. The things which there I did utter and express, they were otherwise than well, let them show, and then will I say, that they were my words, and not the Lord's. But if they were good and approved, and such as cannot justly be accused, must it needs be granted, spite of their teeth, that they proceeded of the Lord; and then who be they that shall accuse me? a people of prudence? who shall condemn me? just judges? And then if they so do, yet, nevertheless, the word shall not be frustrated, neither shall the gospel be foolishly therefore decay; but rather the kingdom of God shall the more prosper and flourish unto the latest ages, and shall pass the sooner unto the elect of Christ Jesus: and they who shall so do, shall receive the grievous judgment of God; neither shall they escape without punishment, that be persecutors and murderers of the just. My well-beloved! lift up your eyes, and consider the counsels of God, which he showed unto us of late an image of his punishment, which was to our correction: and if we shall not receive him, he will draw out his sword, and with sword, pestilence, and famine, the nation shall rise against Christ.

"These have I written to your comfort, my brethren! pray for me. I kiss in my heart, my holy kiss, my good masters, Sylvius, Pergulatus; also Fidel Rocke, and him that beareth the name of Lelia, whom I know, although he be absent. Item, the governor of the university, and all others whose names be written in the book of life. Farewell, all my fellow ser-

and persecution in the kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many noble men, with their wives and others, are reported there to be slain.

Eighty-eight martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, slain like sheep.

Sixteen hundred others also, condemned at Calabria, A. D. 1560.

In Calabria, likewise, the same time, suffered a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, put together in one house, to the number of eighty-eight persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife were all killed in order: a spectacle most tragical for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore, for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit, to believe that is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Master Simon Florellus, preacher of God's word at the city of Clavenna, among the Rhetians, unto a certain friend of his named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and doctor of physic in the university of Basil. Which Gratalorus translated the same into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th book of Pantaleon, p. 337, the English whereof is this as followeth:

The end of a certain letter of Simon Florellus, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian saints in the parts of Calabria.

"As concerning news I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Cosenza, the one called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalto, under the seigniorship of the duke of Montalto; the other called Guardia, situate upon the sea-coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus: which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, or, as some write from the city of Rome, no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter, was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there, I well know to have taken the first original of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses; for before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters, and two preachers. The last year the two preachers were

martyred; the one at Rome, named Johannes Aloysius Pascalis, a citizen of Cunio; the other at Messina, named James Bovell; both of Piedmont. This year the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy, will bring forth good and plentiful fruit."

Now followeth the copy of the letter sent from Montalto, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Cosenza, bearing date the eleventh of June, 1560. The writer of this letter, as ye may perceive, was one of them that call themselves catholics, and followers of the pope. The words of the letter be these, as here follow.

Here followeth the copy of a letter sent from Montalto in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's people in Calabria, by the new pope, Pius the Fourth, A. D. 1550.

"Hitherto, most noble lord! have I certified you,

what here daily hath been done about these bent
Now cometh next to signify unto your Lordship
horrible judgment begun this present day, being
eleventh of June, to be executed very early in
morning against the Lutherans; which when
think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And
the manner of their putting to death was to be
pared to the slaughter of calves and sheep; for
being all thrust up in one house together, as
sheep-fold, the executioner cometh in, and
them taketh one, and blindfoldeth him with a rag
about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a
place near adjoining, where he commandeth him
kneel down; which being so done, he cutteth
throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking
butcher's knife and muffler all of gore-blood, (as
the Italians call *benda*,) cometh again to the
and so leading one after another, he despatched
all, which were to the number of eighty-eight. A
spectacle to behold how doleful and horrible it
I leave to your Lordship's judgment; for to
of it, I myself cannot but weep: neither was

any of the beholders there present, which seeing one
to die, could abide to behold the death of another.
But certes so humbly and patiently they went to
death, as is almost incredible to believe. Some of
them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they be-
lieved even as we do: notwithstanding the most

part of them died in the same their obstinate opinion.
All the aged persons went to death more cheerfull
the younger were more timorous. I tremble a
shake even to remember how the executioner be
his bloody knife between his teeth, with the blood
muffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore-blood

the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so leading them all no otherwise than doth a shepherd kill his calves and sheep.

He is moreover appointed (and the carts be come ready) that all those so put to death should be led, and so be conveyed in the carts to the remotest parts of Calabria, where they will be laid upon poles in the highways and other places, to the confines of the same country. Unless Pope's Holiness and the lord viceroy of Naples give in commandment to the lord marquis of Calabria, governor of the said province, to stay his march and go no further, he will proceed with the same torture, examining all other, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh kill them all.

This day it is also determined, that a hundred more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, the mixture may be perfect, for so many men and women: and thus have you what I can say of justice. Now is it about two o'clock in the afternoon: shortly we shall hear what some of them did when they went to execution. There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix, nor be confessed to the priest; they shall be burned alive.

The heretics that be apprehended and condemned are to the number of sixteen hundred, but as yet more but these aforesaid eighty-eight are already executed. This people have their original of the city named Angrogne, near to Subaudia, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples there are four other places of the same name, of whom whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant, without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen: but as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake.

"From Montalto, the eleventh of June."

And thus much writeth this Romanist.

Here moreover is to be noted, that the aforesaid Marquis Buccianus above specified, had a son or brother, unto whom the said new pope (Pius the Fourth, belike) is reported to have promised a cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian blood, in the remotest country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides these godly Italian martyrs in this table above contained, many others also have suffered in the same country of Italy, of whom some before have

been specified, some peradventure omitted. But many more there be, whose names we know not; whereof as soon as knowledge may be given unto us, we purpose, God willing, to impart the same, loving reader! unto thee.

Now in the mean time it followeth, (according to my promise made before,) next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, here to insert also the tragical persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ, inhabiting in Merindol in France, and in the towns adjacent near unto the same, in the time of Francis the First, the French king. The furious cruelty of this miserable persecution, although it cannot be set forth too much at large, yet because we will not weary too much the reader with the full length thereof, we have so contracted the same, especially the principal effect thereof we have comprehended in such sort, that as we on the one part have avoided prolixity, so on the other, we have omitted nothing which might seem unworthy to be forgotten. The story here followeth.

A notable history of the persecution and destruction of the people of Merindol and Cabriers, in the country of Provence:

Where not a few persons, but whole villages and townships, with the most part of all the aforesaid country, both men, women, and children, were put to all kinds of cruelty, and suffered martyrdom for the profession of the gospel.

They that write of the beginning of this people, say, that about two hundred years ago, A. D. 1360, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit in Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars, and other desert places: wherein they used such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corn, wine, oils, honey, almonds, with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much cattle. Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert, and not inhabited: but these good people, (in whom God always had reserved some little seed of piety,) being dispersed and separated from the society of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts in that waste and wild desert, which, notwithstanding, through the blessing of God, and their great labour and travail, became exceeding fruitful. Notwithstanding, the world in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies railed against them in such despiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the earth should bear them: for they of a long continuance and custom had refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of doctrine than

others, delivered unto them from the father to the son, ever since the year of our Lord 1200.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the king, as contemners and despisers of the magistrates, and rebels: wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the countries and places where they dwelt. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the Poor People of Lyons; in the borders of Sarmatia, and Livonia, and other countries towards the north, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turrelupines, of a desert where wolves did haunt. In Dauphiné, with great despite, they were called Chagnards, because they lived in places open to the sun, and without house or harbour. But most commonly they were called Waldois, of Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued until the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most hated and abhorred.

Notwithstanding, in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabouts, always lived so godly, so uprightly, and so justly, that in all their life and conversation there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure books of the Holy Scriptures, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towardly wits in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries, yea, even to the farthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, born in Dauphine, a godly preacher of their own, and whom they had of their charges brought up in learning, and Petrus Latomus, a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the church of God, namely with Ecolampadius at Basil; at Strasburg, with Bucer and Capito; and at Berne, with Bartholdus Hallerus, as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dijon, and cast into prison; Maurellus escaped,

and returned alone to Merindol, with the book of letters which he brought with him from the chief of Germany; and declared to his brethren the points of his commission, and opened unto them how many and great errors they were in, in which their old ministers, whom they call monks (that is to say, uncles,) had brought them, and led them from the right way of true religion.

When the people heard this, they were filled with such a zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, the chiefest in knowledge and experience, from Calabria and Apulia, to consult with them touching the reformation of the church. This matter was so handled, that it stirred up the bishops, and monks, in all Provence, with great rage against them. Amongst others, there was one cruel man called John de Roma, a monk, who, obtaining commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldois or Lutheran profession, with ceased not to afflict the faithful with all sorts of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. As for other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised: he filled boots with boiling grease, and put upon their legs, tying them backward to a wall, with their legs hanging down over a small fire, and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

The first whom he thus tormented, were Melchior Serrà and W. Melius, with a number of others. Wherefore Francis the French king, being informed of the strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monk, sent letters to the court of France, that forthwith he should be apprehended, and by form of process, and of law, he should be condemned, and advertised sent unto him with all speed of his condemnation. The monk, being advertised hereof by his friends, conveyed himself to Avignon, where he thought to enjoy the spoilings, which he, like a notorious thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the Christians: but shortly after, he which he had shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of himself, together, by his own household servants; whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, strange and unknown to any physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his body, that notwithstanding, no fomentation, nor any thing else, could ease him one minute of an hour: neither was there any man that could tarry near about him, nor would any one of his own friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For

which cause he was carried from the Jacobins to an hospital, there to be kept; but the stench and infection so increased, that no man there durst come near him: no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by piecemeal.

While he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, "Oh! who will deliver me? who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions that I have done to the poor men?" And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself, but he had not the power. In these horrible torments and anguish, and fearful despair, this blasphemer and most cruel homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come near him to bury him; but a young man, newly come to his order, instead of a more honourable sepulture, caught hold with a hook upon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official Perionet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison, of whom some by force of torments revolted to the truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were cast into the hands of the judge ordinary, who at that time was one Meiranus, a notable cruel persecutor, who, without any form of process or order of law, such as the official had pronounced to be here, put to death with most cruel torments; but after he received a just reward of his cruelty in the same manner.

After the death of the good president Cusinetus, and of Revest, being chief president of the parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death; afterwards, being put out of his office, returned to the place of Revest, where he was stricken with a terrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his wife, or any that were near him, durst not come near him; and so he, in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his cruel and cruel dealing.

After him succeeded Bartholomew Chassanee, a pestilent persecutor, whom God at length visited with a fearful and sudden death. In the reign of this tyrant, those of Merindol, in the province of Vaucluse, were cited personally to appear before the attorney. But they, hearing that the

court had determined to burn them without any further process or order of law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For which cause the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitants to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, no, not the little children and infants; the town to be razed, and their houses beaten down to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, as well olive-trees as all others, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness.

This bloody arrest or decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all Provence there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the advocates, and men of learning and understanding; insomuch that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea, to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn oath which all such as are received to office in courts of parliament, are accustomed to make; that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every man's right regarded, without respect of persons.

Some of the advocates or lawyers, defending the said arrest to be just and right, said, that in the case of Lutheranism, the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, that upon their sayings it would ensue, that the judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form, in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesseth that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees, in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning, our Lord Jesus Christ.

By these and such other like talks, the said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assembly or banquet where it was not disputed or talked of: and namely, within twelve days after the arrest was given out, there was a great banquet in the town of Aix; at which banquet were present M. Bartholomew Chassanee, president, and many other councillors and other noble personages and men of authority. There was also the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of A

with divers ladies and gentlewomen, amongst whom was one which was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix's concubine. They were scarce well sat at the table, but she began thus to talk: "My lord president! will you not execute the arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol?" The president answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain gentleman asked of her, what arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory: whereunto they that were at the banquet gave diligent ear, without any word speaking, until she had ended her tale.

Then the lord of Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! you have learned this tale either of some that would have it so, or else it is given out by some parliament of women." Then the lord of Senas, an ancient councillor, said unto him; "No, no, my lord of Alenc! it is no tale which you have heard this gentlewoman tell; for it is an arrest given out by a whole senate: and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the court of Provence a parliament of women." Then the lord of Alenc began to excuse himself, with protestation that he would not speak any thing to blemish the authority of that sovereign court; notwithstanding, he could not believe all that which the said gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the arrest of the said court of parliament of Provence, and especially the women, and little children and infants; and the town to be razed for the fault of ten or twelve persons, which did not appear before the said court at the day appointed. And the Lord Beauvieu also answered, that he believed not the said court to have given out any such arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the most tyrants in the world, would judge to be a thing most detestable: and said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol, who seemed unto him to be men of great honesty: and my lord president (said he) can certify us well what is done in this matter, for we ought not to give credit unto women's tales. Then the gentlewoman who had rehearsed the arrest, stayed not to hear the president's answer, but suddenly looking upon the bishop of Aix, said, "I should greatly have marvelled, if there had been none in all this company who would defend these wicked men." And lifting up her eyes to heaven, in a great womanly chafe and fume, she said, "Would to God that all the Lutherans who are in Provence, yea, and in all France, had horns growing on their foreheads;

then we should see a goodly many of horns!" To whom the Lord Beauvieu suddenly answered, saying, "Would to God all priests' harlots should chatter like pies!" Then said the gentlewoman, "Ah, my Lord Beauvieu! you ought not so to speak against our holy mother the church, for that there was never dog that barked against the crucifix, but he waxed mad;" whereat the bishop of Aix laughed, and clapping the gentlewoman on the shoulder, said, "By my holy orders, my minion! well said; I commend you thank. She hath talked well unto you, my Lord Beauvieu! remember well the lesson which she hath given you." Here the Lord Beauvieu, being wholly moved with anger, said, "I care neither for her school nor yours, for it would be long before a man should learn of either of you either any honesty or honour. For if I should say, that the most part of the bishops and priests are abominable adulterers, blind idolaters, deceivers, thieves, seducers, I should not speak against the holy church, but against a heap and flock of wolves, dogs, and filthy swine. In speaking these things I would think no man not to be mad at all, except he be mad in speaking of the truth."

Then the archbishop in a great fury answered, "My Lord Beauvieu! you speak very evil, and must give account, when time and place serve, for this your talk, which you have here uttered against the churchmen." "I would," said the Lord Beauvieu, "that it were to do even this present day, I would bind myself to prove more abuses and naughtiness in priests than I have yet spoken of." Then said the president Chassanee, "My Lord Beauvieu! let us leave off this talk, and live as our fathers have done, and maintain their honour." Then said he in great anger, "I am no priest, and will not maintain their wickedness and abuse:" and afterward he said, "I am well content to honour the pastors of the church, and will not blame them, but show good example in their doctrine and living. I demand of you, my Lord of Arles! and my Lord of Aix! when our Lord Christ Jesus saw the priests, deceiving hypocrites, blind seducers, and thieves, did he them any outrage or wrong? And they answered, "No; for the most part of them were such men." Then said the Lord Beauvieu, "Even so it is with the bishops and whom I have spoken of, for they are such wicked men, or rather worse: and I so abhor their life, and abominable life, that I dare not speak half of that which I know; and therefore I will speak the truth, to cool the babbling of such men, and do them no injury."

Then the Monsieur de Senas, an ancient councillor, said, "Let us leave off this contentious talk."

are here assembled and come together to make good cheer." And afterwards he said, "M. de Beauvieu! for the love and amity which I do bear unto you, I will advertise you of three things, which, if you will do, you shall find great ease therein. The first is, that you, neither by word nor deed, aid or assist those which you hear to be Lutherans. Secondly, that you do not intermeddle openly to reprove ladies and gentlewomen for their pastime and pleasures. Thirdly, that you do never speak against the life and living of priests, how wicked soever it be, according to this saying, Do not touch mine anointed."

To whom M. de Beauvieu answered, "As touching the first point, I know no Lutherans, neither what is meant by this word Lutheranism, except you do call them Lutherans, who profess the doctrine of the gospel; neither yet will I ever allow any arrest which shall be given out to death against men, whose cause hath not been heard, especially against women and young infants: and I am assured, that there is no court of parliament in all France, which will approve or allow any such arrest. And whereas you say, that I should not meddle to reprove ladies and gentlewomen, if I knew any woman of mine, which would abandon herself to a priest or clerk, yea, albeit he were a cardinal bishop, I would not do her so much honour as rebuke her for it, but at least I would cut her nose. And as touching priests, as I am assured not to meddle with their business, so likewise I will not that they meddle with mine here; or come from henceforth within mine house; as many as I shall find or take there, I will set crowns so near their shoulders, that they shall be more to wear any hoods about their necks."

She also said the president Chassanee. When the bishop of Aix's sweetheart, which had been in the quarrel, said, "I shall not be in quiet, till I speak yet one word more unto M. de Beauvieu." "Do you think," said she unto him, "that all the cardinals, bishops, abbots, priests, and all the holy religious men, which go oftentimes to women's houses, and haunt the castles and palaces and noblemen, that they go thither for wickedness? Also you must not think that those ladies and gentlewomen that go to the houses of devotion, and to reveal those things which they know to be Lutherans, as it was common at the pulpit upon pain of excommunication, that you will maintain those words, I will not accuse you of crime, and also of treason against God and man; for here be those in this company who shall make you give an account thereof." She had not so soon ended her talk, but

M. Beauvieu said unto her, "Avaunt, O Herodias! thou filthy and impudent harlot! is it thy part to open thy mouth to talk in this company? Dost thou well understand and know what treason to God and man meaneth? Is it not sufficient for thee to be as thou art, but thou must solicit others to shed innocent blood?" With these words the gentlewoman was somewhat amazed. All men thought that this talk had been at an end, and every man began to invent some merry communication, that the former matter should be no more talked of.

At the last the gentlewoman, advising herself, and thinking that she was too much injured, to be said that she went about to shed the innocent blood, she brake off all their talk, and with a loud voice said, "Monsieur Beauvieu! if I were a man, as I am a woman, I would offer you the combat, to prove that I am no such manner of woman as you say I am, that I desire to shed innocent blood. Do you call the blood of these wicked men of Merindol, innocent blood? True it is, that I desire and offer with my whole power, that these naughty packs of Merindol, and such-like as they are, should be slain and destroyed, from the greatest even unto the least. And for to see the beginning of this work, I have employed all my credit, and all my friends, and do not spare neither body nor goods to work the ruin and destruction of these people, and to rase out and to deface their memory from amongst men. Do you then, Monsieur Beauvieu! call the slaughter of these Lutherans, the effusion of innocent blood? And say you what you will, I will not refrain for no man living, to go either by day or by night unto the houses of bishops, in all honesty and honour, for the devotion which I bear unto our holy mother the church, and also I will receive into my house all religious men, to consult and devise the means how to put these Lutherans to death." But as Monsieur Beauvieu took no more regard unto her talk, so likewise all that were at the table dispraised her, and were weary of her prating.

Then there was a certain young gentleman, which, merrily jesting, said unto her, "Gentlewoman! it must needs be that these poor people, unto whom you do wish this cruel death, have done you some great displeasure." Then said she, "I may well take an oath, that I never knew one of these wretched people, neither (that I wot of) ever saw any of them; and I had rather to meet ten devils than one of those naughty knaves, for their opinions are so detestable, that happy and blessed are they which never heard tell of them. And I was not then well advised at what time by curiosity, I, seeing the bishop of Aix so much troubled and angry that he could not eat nor drink, did desire him and con-

strain him to tell me the cause thereof. Then he, perceiving that I would not be well contented if he should not tell me, declared unto me some part of the cause, that is to say, that there were certain heretics, who spake against our holy mother the church, and among other errors they maintained, yea, to death, that all bishops, priests, and pastors, ought to be married, or else they should be basely handled: and hearing this I was marvellously offended, and ever since I did hate them to the death. And also it was enjoined unto me by penance, that I should endeavour with all my power to put these heretics to death." After these frivolous talks, there was great trouble and debate amongst them, and many threatnings, which were too long here to describe.

Then the president Chassanee and the councillors parted aside, and the gentlemen went on the other part. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater than that of John, the Jacobin monk of Rome: "for otherwise," said they, "our state and honour is like to decay; we shall be reprov'd, contemned, and derided of all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many doctors of divinity and men of the religious order, divers senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the nobility, (if we may so say,) and that of great renown, yea, even of the chiefest peers in all Europe, begin to contemn and despise us, counting us to be no true pastors of the church; so that except we see to this mischief, and provide for remedy betimes, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now wealthily enjoy; but also the church, being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to miserable ruin, and utter desolation. This matter therefore now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celerity."

Then the archbishop of Arles, not forgetting his Spanish subtleties and policies, gave his advice as followeth:

"Against the nobility we must, said he, take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress, and defence. And albeit we know that many of them do both speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprove them, or exasperate them, in any case; but seeing they are

too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win them, and to make them our friends again by gifts and presents: and by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught."

The bishop of Aix then answered,—

"It is well said, but I can show you a good remedy for this disease: we must go about with all our endeavour, and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolians and rustical peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whatsoever they be, yea, although they be of the blood royal, once to open their mouths against us, or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon, in the which city we shall find many bishops, abbots, and other famous men, which will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother the church."

This counsel was well liked of them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon, there to assemble out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to treat of this matter. In this pestilent conspiracy, the bishop of Aix, a valiant champion, and a great defender of the traditions of his fathers, taking upon him to be the chief orator, began in a manner as followeth:

"O ye fathers and brethren! ye are not ignorant that a great tempest is raised up against the bark of Christ Jesus, now in great danger and ready to perish. The storm cometh from the north, whereof all these troubles proceed. The seas and the waters rush in on every side, the winds blow beat upon our house, and we, without speed of remedy, are like to sustain shipwreck and loss together. For oblations cease, pilgrimage and devotion waxeth cold, charity is clean gone, our jurisdiction and authority is debased, our jurisdiction decayed, and the ordinances of the church despised. And wherefore are we set and ordained over many kingdoms, but to root out and destroy, to overthrow and overthrow, whatsoever is against our mother the church? Wherefore let us now stand stoutly in the right of our own position, that we may root out from the memory for ever the whole rout of the wicked Lutherans, those foxes (I say) which destroy the vine of the Lord; those great whales which go about to drown the little bark of the Son of God. We have already well begun; and have procured a

arrest against these cursed heretics of Merindol : now then resteth no more, but only the same to be put in execution. Let us therefore employ our whole endeavour, that nothing happen which may let or hinder that we have so happily begun ; and let us take good heed that our gold and silver do not witness against us at the day of judgment, if we refuse to bestow the same, that we may make so good a sacrifice unto God. And for my part I offer to wage and furnish of my own costs and charges, a hundred men well horsed, with all other furniture to them belonging ; and that so long, until the utter destruction and subversion of these wretched and cursed castles be fully performed and finished."

This oration pleased the whole multitude, saving one doctor of divinity, a friar Jacobin, named Bassinet, who then answered again with this oration.

"This is a weighty matter," said he, "and of great importance ; we must therefore proceed wisely, and in the fear of God, and beware that we do nothing rashly. For if we seek the death and destruction of some poor and miserable people wrongfully, when the king and the nobility shall hear of such a horrible slaughter, we shall be in great danger lest they do as we read in the Scriptures was done to the priests of Beal. For my part I must say, and unfeignedly confess, that I have too rashly and lightly begun many processes against those which have been accused of heretical doctrine : but now I do stand before God, which seeth and knoweth the hearts of men, that seeing the lamentable end and state of mine assignments, I have had no quietness of my conscience, considering that the secular judges, the report of the judgment and sentence given by them and other doctors my companions, have condemned all those unto most cruel death, whom we judged to be heretics. And the cause why in conscience I am thus disquieted, is this ; that now when, since I have given myself more diligently to reading and contemplation of the Holy Scriptures, I have perceived that the most part of those articles, which they that are called Lutherans do maintain, are conformable and agreeing to the Scriptures, for my part I can no longer gainsay them, except I should even wilfully and maliciously resist and strive against the holy ordinances of God. Alas ! hitherto, to maintain the honour of our holy church, and of our holy father the pope, and of our order, I have consented to the opinions of other doctors, as well through ignorance as because I would not seem to attempt anything against the will and pleasure of the prelate and vicars general : but now it seemeth unto me we ought not any more to proceed in this way as we have done in time past. It shall be

sufficient to punish them with fines, or to banish them which shall speak too intemperately or rashly against the constitutions of the church, and of the pope ; and such as shall be manifestly convicted by the Holy Scriptures to be blasphemous or obstinate heretics, to be condemned to death according to the enormity of their crimes or errors, or else to perpetual prison. And this my advice and counsel I desire you to take in good part."

With this counsel of Bassinet all the company were offended, but especially the bishop of Aix, who, lifting up his voice above all the rest, said thus unto him ; "O thou man of little faith ! whereof art thou in doubt ? dost thou repent thee of that thou hast well done ? Thou hast told here a tale, that smelleth of faggots and brimstone. Is there any difference, thinkest thou, between heresies and blasphemies spoken and maintained against the Holy Scriptures, and opinions holden against our holy mother the church, and contrary to our holy father the pope, a most undoubted and true god on earth ? Art thou a master in Israel, and knowest not these things ?" Then said the bishop of Arles, "Could any man treat better of the little bark of Christ Jesus, than my lord of Aix hath done ?"

Then stood up Bassinet again, and made this oration :

"It is true that my lord, the bishop of Aix, hath very well set out the manners and state of the clergy, and hath aptly reprov'd the vices and heresies of this present time : and therefore, so soon as mention was made of the ship of Christ Jesus, it came into my mind first of all, of the high bishop of Jerusalem, the priests, the doctors of the law, the scribes and Pharisees, which sometime had the governance of this ship, being ordained pastors in the church of God : but when they forsook the law of God, and served him with men's inventions and traditions, he destroyed those hypocrites in his great indignation ; and having compassion and pity upon the people which were like sheep without a shepherd, he sent diligent fishers to fish for men, faithful workmen into his harvest, and labourers into his vineyard, which shall all bring forth true fruits in their season. Secondly, considering the purpose and intent of the reverend lord bishop of Aix, I called to mind the saying of the apostle, 1 Tim. iv., that in the latter day some shall fall away from the faith, following after deceitful spirits, and the doctrine of devils. And the apostle giveth a mark whereby a man shall know them. Likewise our Lord Jesus Christ saith, Matt. vii., that the false prophets shall come clothed in sheep-skins, but inwardly they are ravening wolves, and by their fruits they shall be known. By these two, and divers such othe

it is easy to understand, who are they that go about to drown this little bark of Christ. Are they not those which fill the same with filthy and unclean things, with mire and dirt, with puddle and stinking water? are they not those which have forsaken Jesus Christ, the fountain of living water, and have digged unto themselves pits or cisterns which will hold no water? Truly even those they are, who vaunt themselves to be the salt of earth, and yet have no savour at all; which call themselves pastors, and yet are much less than true pastors, for they minister not unto the sheep the true pasture and feeding, neither divide and distribute the true bread of the word of life. And (if I may be bold to speak it) would it not be at this present as great a wonder to hear a bishop preach, as to see an ass fly? Are not they accursed of God, who glory and vaunt themselves to have the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and neither enter in themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, to come in? They may be known right well by their fruits; for they have forsaken faith, judgment, and mercy; and there is no honest, clean, or undefiled thing in them but their habit, their rochet, and their surplice, and such other. Outwardly they are exceeding neat and trim, but within they are full of all abomination, rapine, gluttony, filthy lust, and all manner of uncleanness; they are like painted sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful and fair, but within are full of filth and corruption. A man shall know (I say) these ravening wolves by their fruits, which devour the quick and the dead under pretence of long prayer. And forasmuch as I am enforced to give place to the truth, and that you call me a master in Israel, I will not be afraid to prove by the Holy Scriptures, that your great pilot and patron the pope, and the bishops the mariners, and such others, which impudently forsake the ship of Christ Jesus, to embark themselves in pinnaces and brigandines, are pirates and robbers of the sea, false prophets, deceivers, and not true pastors of the church of Jesus Christ."

When Doctor Bassinet had thus freely and boldly uttered his mind, the whole multitude began to gather about him, and spitefully railed at him; but the bishop of Aix, above others, raging and crying out as he had been mad, "Get thee out," said he, "from amongst us, thou wicked apostate! thou art not worthy to be in this company. We have burned daily a great many which have not so well deserved it as thou hast. We may now perceive, that there is none more stedfast and fervent in the faith than the doctors of the canon law; and therefore it were necessary to be decreed in the next general council, that none should have to do in matters of religion but they alone: for these knaves, and beg-

garly monks and friars, will bring all to nought. Then the other doctors of the same order boldly proved the bishop of Aix for the injury he had done unto them. After this there arose a great division amongst them, insomuch that there was not at that time determined. After dinner all the reverend prelates assembled together again, but suffered neither friar nor monk to be amongst them, except he were an abbot. In this assembly was made a general composition, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself that the said arrest of Merindol should be executed with expedition, every man offering to furnish out of war, according to his ability. The charge of war was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all means possible the presidents, councillors of the said court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest with the ensigns displayed, artillery, and all kind of furniture of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determined, the bishop of Aix departed incontinent from Avignon, to go unto Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding they desired him to be, the next day after the council was ended, at a banquet which should be made at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet were known to be the fairest and most beautiful women in all Avignon, were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pain and travail which they had taken for our holy mother the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a pedlar, which sold base images and pictures, with such rhymes and ballads annexed to the same, to please and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops, which were as many as a mule could carry; and if there were any obscure sentences hard to understand in those rhymes or ballads, the same these learned prelates did readily explain and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller, which had set out to sale certain Bible in French and Latin, with divers other books; when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, "Darest thou so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell be-

this town? dost thou not know that such books are forbidden?" The bookseller answered, "Is not the Holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you have bought for these gentlewomen?" He had scarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix said, "I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran!" "Let him be taken," said he, "and examined what he is." And incontinently the bookseller was taken and carried unto prison, and spitefully handled; for a company of knaves and ruffians, which waited upon the prelates, began to cry out, "A Lutheran! a Lutheran!" "To the fire with him! to the fire with him!" And one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor man was all imbrued with blood before he came to prison.

The morrow after he was brought before the judges in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined in this form as followeth: "Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French?" The prisoner answered that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he understood or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in Latin? he answered, that he knew the contrary, and that he had many Bibles in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege, and many others printed at Paris; also New Testaments imprinted by the king's privilege. Furthermore, he said, that he saw no nation throughout all Christendom, which forbade the Holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue: whereupon, with a bold courage, thus he spake to them:

"O you inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone in Christendom those men who despise and abhor the Testament of the heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power to his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, and that his holy gospel should be taught to all creatures in every language? And why do ye forbid those books and pictures, which are the brightness and abomination to move and stir the people to crimes and to uncleanness, and to God's vengeance and great indignation against all? What greater blasphemy can there be to forbid God's most holy books, which he hath instructed the ignorant, and to reduce and bring into the way such as are gone astray? Is it this, to take away from the poor their nourishment and sustenance? But, ye shall give a heavy account, which call

sweet sour, and sour sweet, who maintain abominable and detestable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy."

Then the bishop of Aix and the other bishops began to rage, and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. "What need you," said they, "any more examination? let him be sent straight unto the fire, without any more words." But the judge Laberius and certain others were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death; but went about to have him put to his fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and others his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered, that he could do it with a good conscience, forasmuch as he did see before his eyes, that these bishops maintained filthy books, and abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God; and therefore he judged them rather to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ. Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day; and for a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before, and the other behind him: but this poor man had also the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until that he came to the place of execution, to exhort and monish the people to read the Holy Scriptures; insomuch that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth. The prelates, seeing a great dissension among the people of Avignon, and that many murmured and grudged against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in fear, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet throughout the whole town and country of Venice, that all such as had any books in the French tongue, treating upon the Holy Scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners appointed for that purpose: contrariwise they which had any such books found about them, should be put to death.

Then, after these prelates had taken advice to raise great persecution in Venice, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol, travelling earnestly with the president Chassanee to that effect; declaring unto him the good-will of the prelates of Avignon and Provence, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered

him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindol in execution; also that the said arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, which were in great numbers in Provence, than to execute it in effect, as it was contained in the said arrest. Moreover, he said, that the arrest of Merindol was not definitive, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution thereof without further process. Then said the bishop, "If there be either law or statute which doth hinder or let you, we carry in our sleeves to dispense therewithal." The president answered, "It were a great sin to shed the innocent blood." Then said the bishop, "The blood of them of Merindol be upon us, and upon our successors." Then said the president, "I am very well assured, that if the arrest of Merindol be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects." Then said the bishop, "Although the king at first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done: for we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Tournon, the which will take upon him the defence of our cause; and we can do him no greater pleasure, than utterly to root out these Lutherans: so that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we shall be well assured of him. And is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of these Lutherans, that is in all Christendom?"

By this and such other like talk the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and councillors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded through all Provence, the captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, well horsed and furnished, against Merindol, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol, being advertised hereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves and their cause unto God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as sheep led unto the butchery.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how, or by what means; notwithstanding afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in the Scrip-

tures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared unto the president Chasseanee, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by way of force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the not guilty. And furthermore he said:

"I desire you, my lord president! call to remembrance the counsel which you have written in your book entitled *Catalogus Gloriæ Mundi*, in which book you have treated and brought forth the processes which were holden against the rats, by the officers of the court and jurisdiction of the bishop of Autun. For as it happened, there was almost throughout all the bailiwick of Laussois such a great number of rats, that they destroyed and devoured all the corn of the country; whereupon they took counsel to send unto the bishop of Autun's official, to have the rats excommunicated. Whereupon it was ordained and decreed by the said official, after he had heard the plaintiff of the procurator-fiscal, that before he would proceed to excommunication, they should have admonition and warning according to the order of justice. For this cause it was ordained that by the sound of a trumpet, and open proclamation made throughout all the streets of the town of Autun, the rats should be cited to appear within three days; and if they did not appear, then to proceed against them. The three days were passed, and the procurator came into the court against the rats, and for lack of appearance obtained default by virtue whereof he required that they would proceed to the excommunication; whereupon it was judicially acknowledged that the said rats, being present, should have their advocate appointed to hear their defence, forasmuch as the question was for the whole destruction and banishing of the rats. And you, my lord president! being at that time the king's advocate at Autun, were then charged to be the advocate to defend the rats; and he taken the charge upon you in pleading the matter, it was by you there declared, that the citation of no effect, for certain causes and reasons by there alleged. Then was it decreed that the rats should be once again cited throughout the parishes where they were. Then after the citations were duly served, the procurator came into the court as before; and there it was declared by you, my lord president! how that the appearance given unto the rats was too short, that there were so many cats in every town and village which they should pass through, that it was just cause to be absent.

"Wherefore, my lord president! you ou

so lightly to proceed against these poor men, but you ought to look upon the Holy Scriptures, and there you shall find how you ought to proceed in this matter. And you, my lord! have alleged many places of the Scripture concerning the same, as appeareth more at large in your said book; and by this plea of a matter which seemeth to be but of small importance, you have obtained great fame and honour, for the upright declaration of the manner and form how judges ought gravely to proceed in criminal causes. Then, my lord president! you which have taught others, will you not also learn by your own books? the which will manifestly condemn you, if you proceed any further to the destruction of these poor men of Merindol: for are they not Christian men, and ought you not as well to minister right and justice unto them, as you have done to the rats?"

By these and such-like demonstrations, the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given out, and caused the army to retire, which was already come near unto Merindol, even within a mile and a half.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient unto his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto his providence; patiently attending and looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life and the everlasting riches, having always before their eyes, for example, our Lord Jesus Christ, the very Son of God, who hath entered into glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them; and such was their answer to all those that incited, or else sought their destruction: whereas the bruit and noise was so great, as well of the arrest, as of the enterprise of the execution, and of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from Francis the First, a king of noble courage and great judgment; who gave commandment unto his bold and virtuous lord, M. de Langeay, which was his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the chief of all this matter. Whereupon the said M. de Langeay sent unto Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring with them the copy of the arrest, and diligently to set out all that followed and ensued thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition into the life and manners of the said Merindolians

and others, which were persecuted in the country of Provence.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said M. de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against them of Merindol, and others. As touching the behaviour and disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Provence affirmed them to be men given to great labour and travail; and that about two hundred years past (as it is reported) they came out of the country of Piedmont to dwell in Provence, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert and waste places; which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wines, oils, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and holpen. Besides that, before they came into the country to dwell, the place of Merindol was taxed but at four crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the lord, for taxes and tallages, above three hundred and fifty crowns, beside other charges.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and divers other places of Provence; whereas there was nothing but robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the country of Provence affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the others that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved of all their neighbours, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping of their promise, and paying of their debts without traversing or pleading of the law: that they were also charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and suffered none amongst them to lack, or be in necessity. Also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harbouring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the country of Provence, that they would not swear, or name the devil, nor easily be brought to take an oath, except it were in judgment, or making some solemn covenant. They were also known by this, that they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters; but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go unto their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Provence furthermore affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or mar-

that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they held not; and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God, but, in a fury, cursed, and gave him to the devil that first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet showed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the Confession, which, after he had read, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy." Then they of Merindol demanded, "In what point?" whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sore agrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said Confession: whereunto the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed; for when he had beholden the articles of the Confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the Holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities therein alleged.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Pater-noster and the Creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater-noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could give no reason of that which they spake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary that they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater-noster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merin-

dol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, to what purpose it would serve to say the Pater-noster and the Creed, and not to understand the same? for in so doing they should but mock and deride God. Then said the bishop unto him, "Do you understand what is signified by these words, I believe in God?" The bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable, if I did not understand it:" and then he began orderly to give an account of his faith. Then said the bishop, "I would not have thought there had been such great doctors in Merindol." The bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I; but I pray you, question with one or two of these young children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at least he would not.

Then one, named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir! one of these children may question with another, if you think it so good;" and the bishop was contented. Then one of the children began to question with his fellows with such grace and gravity, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children one after another answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four religious men, that came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the bishop, "I must needs confess that I have often been at the common schools of St. bonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much as I have done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, "Did you never see that which is written in Matthew xi., where it is said, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth! I render thanks unto thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but I will hold, O Father! such was thy good will and purpose." Then every man marvelled at the simple and witty answers of the children of Merindol.

When the bishop saw he could not thus proceed, he tried another way, and went about, by fair flattering words, to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the strangers to go apart, he said that he now perceived they were not so simple as many thought them to be: notwithstanding, for contentation of them which were their persons, it was necessary that they should make some abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two or three might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of

of reproof, which, after diligent inquiry made, was found to be nothing else but false reports and slanders. As touching the rest of your articles, I beseech you to send unto me, that there are many words in which might well be changed without prejudice unto your Confession : and likewise it seemeth unto me that it is not necessary that you should speak so manifestly against the pastors of the church. For I desire your welfare, and would be sorry if you should be so spoiled or destroyed, as they pretend. And to the end you shall the better understand my amity and friendship towards you, I will be at my house by Cabriers, whither you may resort unto me either in greater or smaller numbers, as you will, and return safely without any damage ; and there I will advertise you of all that I think meet for your profit and health." At this time, which was A. D. 1542, the legate of Avignon assembled a great number of soldiers of war, at the suit of the bishop of Cavaillon, to destroy Cabriers. When the army was come within a mile of Cabriers, the Cardinal Sadolet went forth unto the vice-legate, and showed him a list of the inhabitants of Cabriers, with the contents of their Confession, and the offers that they had made, so that for that present the army retired, without any hurt or damage done unto the inhabitants of Cabriers. After this, the Cardinal Sadolet returned unto Rome ; but before his departure he sent for divers of Cabriers, and certain farmers of the town, whom he knew to be of the number of those which were called Lutherans, and told them that he would have them in remembrance as soon as he came unto Rome, and communicate their sins and Confession unto the cardinals, trusting that he might be a mean to have some good reformation, that might thereby be glorified, and all Christians brought to unity and concord ; at least, notwithstanding all doubting but that the foulest abuses should be corrected and amended : advertising them that it was a mean time to be wise and circumspect, to pray and pray, for that they had many enemies. At this oration of Cardinal Sadolet, they of Cabriers were greatly comforted, trusting that at the return of Cardinal Sadolet they should have answered for their Confession : but at his return, they understood that he found all things so corrupt at Rome, that there was no hope of any reformation there to be had, but rather mortal war against all such as would not live according to the ordinances of the Church of Rome. Likewise said the treasurer of the Chamber, who albeit he paid out money to furnish soldiers that were hired for the destruction of Cabriers, notwithstanding he did aid them secretly all that he might. Howbeit he could not do it so

secretly, but that it came to the knowledge of the legate ; whereupon he was constrained to withdraw himself.

On the other part, the bishops of Aix and Cavaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, that, according to the king's letters, John Durand, councillor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go unto Merindol, and there declare unto the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their Confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information ; and having so convicted them by the word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said heresies : and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the court for the execution of this matter ; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol, to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, that he enterprised against the authority of parliament, and that it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstanding he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required that he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, that the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them ; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, that they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, wherein he commanded that first the errors should be declared unto them, whereof they were accused : wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed thereof by the word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters ; otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it so appear unto them by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the word of God, they would willingly abjure ; or if in their Confession there were any word contrary to the Scriptures, they would revoke the same. Contrariwise, if it were not made manifest unto them, that they had holden any heresies, but

that they had always lived according to the doctrine of the gospel, and that their Confession was grounded upon the same, then they ought by no means to move or constrain them to abjure any errors which they held not; and that it were plainly against all equity and justice so to do.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God, but, in a fury, cursed, and gave him to the devil that first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol, for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet showed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the Confession, which, after he had read, the bishop of Cavaillon said, "What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy." Then they of Merindol demanded, "In what point?" whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the Confession, and to consider whether they were against the Scriptures or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sore agrieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said Confession: whereunto the doctor answered, that he was never so much abashed; for when he had beholden the articles of the Confession, and the authorities of the Scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the Holy Scriptures; and that he had not learned so much in the Scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities therein alleged.

Shortly after the bishop of Cavaillon came unto Merindol, and calling before him the children both great and small, gave them money, and commanded them with fair words to learn the Pater-noster and the Creed in Latin. The most part of them answered, that they knew the Pater-noster and the Creed already in Latin, but they could give no reason of that which they spake, but only in the vulgar tongue. The bishop answered, that it was not necessary that they should be so cunning, but that it was sufficient that they knew it in Latin; and that it was not requisite for their salvation, to understand or to expound the articles of their faith; for there were many bishops, curates, yea, and doctors of divinity, whom it would trouble to expound the Pater-noster and the Creed. Here the bailiff of Merin-

dol, named Andrew Maynard, asked, to what purpose it would serve to say the Pater-noster and Creed, and not to understand the same? for doing they should but mock and deride God. said the bishop unto him, "Do you understand is signified by these words, I believe in God?" bailiff answered, "I should think myself very miserable, if I did not understand it:" and then began orderly to give an account of his faith. said the bishop, "I would not have thought had been such great doctors in Merindol." bailiff answered, "The least of the inhabitants of Merindol can do it yet more readily than I; pray you, question with one or two of these children, that you may understand whether they be well taught or no." But the bishop either knew not how to question with them, or at least would not.

Then one, named Pieron Roy, said, "Sir, if any of these children may question with another, I think it so good;" and the bishop was content. Then one of the children began to question his fellows with such grace and gravity, as if he had been a schoolmaster; and the children one by one answered so unto the purpose, that it was marvellous to hear: for it was done in the presence of many, among whom there were four or five of the most famous men, that came lately out of Paris, of whom one said unto the bishop, "I must needs confess, that I have often been at the common schools of the Collège de la Bonne in Paris, where I have heard the disputations of the divines; but yet I never learned so much as this child has done by hearing these young children." Then said William Armant, "Did you never see that which is written in Matthew xi, where it is said, O Father! Lord of heaven and earth! I thank thee, that thou hast hidden these things from the sage and wise men of the world, and hast revealed them unto young infants: but I will praise thee, O Father! such was thy good will and pleasure." Then every man marvelled at the reason and witty answers of the children of Merindol.

When the bishop saw he could not thus prevail, he tried another way, and went about, by fair and flattering words, to bring his purpose to pass. Wherefore, causing the strangers to go apart, he said that he now perceived they were not so evil as they were thought to be: notwithstanding, for the contentation of them which were their persecutors, it was necessary that they should make some public abjuration, which only the bailiff, with two officers, might make generally in his presence, in the name of all the rest, without any notary to record the same in writing; and in so doing they should be loved and favoured of all men, and even of the

being any more troubled.

in debating from seven of
until eleven. Then the
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On the contrary part, insisted that he
was in the process. There was great
debate on this matter, and continued long.

The commissioner asked the Merindolians
the articles of their Confession, which
they sent to the high court of parliament.

He said that their Confession might be
read there; and that if they were
reading thereof, they might un-
derstand it were the doctrine which they
in their Confession which they had presented,
the Confession was read publicly before
the court did allow and acknowledge to be
true. Then the commissioner asked the
court if they found in the said Confession any he-
resies whereof he could make demonstra-
tion of God, either out of the Old or

New Testament. Then spake the doctor in Latin

After he had made an end, Andrew
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cording to what he had propounded, to make the errors
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those articles of their Confession which the bishop
and the doctor pretended to be heretical: requiring
him also to put in register the refusal as well of the
bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his
ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of Merindol
could not understand one word. Then the commis-
sioner promised them to put in writing all that should
make for their cause. And moreover he said, that
it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians,
if there were no more to be said to them, than had
been said to those which were already called. And
this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon.

Many which came thither to hear these disputa-
tions, supposing they should have heard some
goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see
the bishop and the doctor so confounded; which
thing afterwards turned to the great benefit of many,
for hereby they were moved to require copies of the
Confession of their faith, by means whereof they were
converted and embraced the truth: and especially
three doctors, who went about divers times to dis-
suade the Merindolians from their faith, whose mi-
nistry God afterwards used in the preaching of his
gospel. One of them was Dr. Combardi, prior of
St. Maximin, afterwards a preacher in the territory
of the lords of Berne: another was Dr. Somati, who
was also a preacher in the bailiwick of Tournon:
the other was Dr. Herandi, pastor and minister in
the county of Neufchatel.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in
rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every
man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those
who persecuted them did receive nothing but shame
and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not
only by the sudden death of the president Chassa-
nee, but also of many others of the chiefest council-
lors of the parliament of Provence; whose horrible
end terrified many, but especially the strange and
fearful example of that bloody tyrant John de Roma,
set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof
we have spoken before.

Thus the Lord, repressing the rage of the adver-
saries for a time, stayed the violence and execution
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this cause he put five or six of his own tenants into
a cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there
he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending
that they were Lutherans and Waldos, to

and by and by they presented themselves; whereat the councillor Durand was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the councillor and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant men. His answer here followeth.

"We are greatly bound to give God thanks, that besides his other benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our noble king, that our cause might be treated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our noble king, which following the example of Samuel and Daniel, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor subjects. Also we render thanks unto the lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the king's commandment. Finally, we thank you, my lord Durand, commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you, in so few words, to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresies and errors whereof I am accused; and where they shall make it appear unto me that I have holden any errors or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you."

After him answered Jenon Romaine, the other syndic, a very ancient father, approving all that which his fellow before had said, giving God thanks that in his time, even in his latter days, he had seen and heard such good news, that the cause of religion should be decided and debated by the Holy Scriptures, and that he had often heard ancient men say, that they could never obtain of the judges, in all their persecution, to have their cause debated in such sort.

Then Andrew Maynard the bailiff answered, saying, that God had given to these two syndics the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto; notwithstanding, it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the secretary, who had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said: wherefore he required the commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his secretary, commanding him to sit nearer and to write their answers word for word; and he himself, with a singular memory, repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing,

the commissioner asked the bailiff if he had any more to answer, saying, that he had done him great pleasure to show him his secretary's fault, willing him to speak boldly, what he thought good for the defence of their cause. Then the bailiff said, "Forasmuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely, I say moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of process in this judgment; for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, which, according to the rule of the Scripture, either should prove by good demonstration out of the Old and New Testament that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretics, I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his accusations, as we to answer unto the same."

After the bailiff had made this answer, John Palenc, one of the ancients of Merindol, said, that he approved all that had been said by the syndics, and that he was able to say no more than had been said by them before. The commissioner said unto him "You are, I see, a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something answer for your part in defence of your cause. And the said Palenc answered, "Seeing it is your pleasure that I should say something, it seemeth unto me impossible that (say what we can) we should have either victory or advantage; for our judges are our enemies."

Then John Bruneral, under-bailiff of Merindol, answered thus:

"That he would very fain know the authority of the councillor Durand, commissioner in this cause, forasmuch as the said councillor had given them to understand, that he had authority of high court to make them abjure their errors, and should be found by good and sufficient information and to give them (so doing) the pardon contained in the king's letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said commissioner did not give them to understand, that if they were not found, by good and sufficient information that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said punishment and condemnation: wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantage for the said Merindol if it should appear that they were heretics, than if they were found to live according to the doctrine of the church. For this cause he required, that it would please the said commissioner to make declaration thereof, concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they were guilty of the faith, or if there were no other way that would come forth against them, they

ly absolved, without being any more troubled, in body or goods."

These things were thus in debating from seven of o'clock in the morning until eleven. Then the commissioners dismissed them till after dinner. At six o'clock in the afternoon, they were called for, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said commissioner. They answered, "No." Then said the commissioner, "What do you conclude for your defence?" The syndics answered, "We conclude, that it would be to you to declare unto us the errors and heresies of which we are accused." Then the commissioner asked the bishop of Cavaillon, what informations he had against them. The bishop spake unto him in private, and would not answer aloud. This talk in private continued almost half an hour, that the commissioner and all others that stood thereby were ignorant thereof. In the end, the commissioner said unto them, that the bishop of Cavaillon had told them, that it was not needful to make it apparent by writing, for such was the common report. Whereunto they answered, that they required the reasons and reasons alleged by the bishop of Cavaillon against them should be put in writing. The commissioner was earnest to the contrary, and would have it that either he said or alleged to be put in writing. Then John Bruneral required the commissioner that at least he would put in writing, that the bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the commissioner but only in his ear. The bishop, on the contrary part, insisted that he would not be named in the process. There was great contention upon this matter, and continued long.

Then the commissioner asked the Merindolians whether they had the articles of their Confession, which they had presented to the high court of parliament. When they required that their Confession might be read, that by the reading thereof, they might understand whether it were the doctrine which they held, and the Confession which they had presented, he said. Then the Confession was read publicly before them, which they did allow and acknowledge to be true. This done, the commissioner asked the doctor, if he did find in the said Confession any heretical opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament. Then spake the doctor in Latin for some while. After he had made an end, Andrew Lazard, the bailiff, desired the commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errors and heresies that they were accused of apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark

those articles of their Confession which the bishop and the doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his own ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of Merindol could not understand one word. Then the commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And moreover he said, that it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there were no more to be said to them, than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon.

Many which came thither to hear these disputations, supposing they should have heard some goodly demonstrations, were greatly abashed to see the bishop and the doctor so confounded; which thing afterwards turned to the great benefit of many, for hereby they were moved to require copies of the Confession of their faith, by means whereof they were converted and embraced the truth; and especially three doctors, who went about divers times to dissuade the Merindolians from their faith, whose ministry God afterwards used in the preaching of his gospel. One of them was Dr. Combaudi, prior of St. Maximin, afterwards a preacher in the territory of the lords of Berne: another was Dr. Somati, who was also a preacher in the bailiwick of Tournon: the other was Dr. Heraudi, pastor and minister in the county of Neuchatel.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in rest and quietness for a space, insomuch that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those who persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the president Chassanee, but also of many others of the chiefest councillors of the parliament of Provence; whose horrible end terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful example of that bloody tyrant John de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof we have spoken before.

Thus the Lord, repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruel sentence or arrest given out by the parliament of Provence against the Merindolians, until John Minerius, an exceeding bloody tyrant, began a new persecution. This Minerius, being lord of Opede near to Merindol, first began to vex the poor Christians by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his signiory or lordship, which before was very base. For this cause he put five or six of his own tenants into a cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and Waldois, to have

their goods and possessions. By this and such other practices, this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity; and so at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Provence, in the absence of the Lord Grignan, then being at the council of Worms in Germany. Now therefore, seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish enterprise, he employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirm and to revive that cruel arrest given out before by the court of parliament, but also, as a right minister of Satan, he exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand, that they of Merindol and all the country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the

Switzers. And to stay this enterprise, he saw it was necessary to execute the arrest *manu militum* and by this means he obtained the king's licence patent, through the help of the cardinal of Tournai, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding that the king had before revoked the said sentence, and given strait commandment that it should in no wise be executed as is before mentioned.

After this he gathered all the king's army, and was then in Provence ready to go against the Englishmen, and took up all besides, that were to bear armour, in the chiefest towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice, and employed them to the destruction of Merindol, Cabriera, and all the towns and villages to the number of two and twenty, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ravage, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child without all mercy, sparing no otherwise than the infidels and cruel Turks.

dealt with the Christians, as before in the story of the Turks you may read. For as the papists and Turks are alike in their religion; so are the said papists like, or rather exceed them, in all kinds of cruelty that can be devised. But this arch-tyrant, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burnt certain towns, namely, La Roche, St. Stephens, Ville

Laure, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabriers, St. Mar, Pipin, and other places more, notwithstanding the arrest extended but only to Merindol, where most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; women and maid ravished; women with child, and little infants born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered.

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place where they were, some of Minerius' army, either of good will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning that their enemies were coming: and one, from the top of a high rock, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, cast down two stones, and afterwards, although he could not see them, he called unto them that they should immediately fly from thence. But the enemies suddenly came upon them, and finding them all assembled together at prayers, spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs: some they abused, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold away like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The women were in number about five hundred.

In the mean time Minerius came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man named Maurice Blanc, who had yielded himself unto a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Minerius would have had him away by force, but it was answered that the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Minerius therefore, paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied unto an olive-tree, and shot through with harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many gentlemen which accompanied Minerius against their wills, seeing this cruel spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear tears; for albeit this young man was not yet very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindol, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God; and the last words that he spake were these: "Lord God! these men take away my life full of misery, but thou wilt give unto me life everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory." So was Merindol, without any resistance, valiantly taken, ransacked, burned, razed, and laid even with the ground. And albeit there was no man to resist, yet this valiant captain of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance; but when he could not win it by force, he, with the lord of the town, and Poulin his chief captain, persuaded with the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would so do, they would lay down their armour, and also that their cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be showed against them. Upon this they opened their gates, and let in Minerius, with his captains, and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered,

falsified his promise, and raged like a beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces of his soldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty unattempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon the poor silly women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the silly women, running to the great window where the hay is wont to be cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a soldier, which, moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, and the children yet unborn trod under their feet. Many were fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into the meadow and there, stripped naked, were slain: others were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the tyrant, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

That done, this tyrant, more cruel than ever Herod, commanded Captain John de Gay, with a band of ruffians, to go into the church (where was a great number of women, children, and young infants) to kill all that he found there; which captain refused at first to do, saying, that such a cruelty unused among men of war: whereupon Minerius being displeased, charged him, upon pain of rebellion, and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain, fearing what would ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them, sparing neither young nor old.

In this mean while certain soldiers went to search the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men that had there hidden themselves, in cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill! kill!" The other soldiers, which were without the town, killed all that they met with. The number of those that were mercifully murdered, was about a thousand men, women, and children. The infants which escaped their fury, were baptized again by their enemies.

In token of this jolly victory, the pope's legate caused a pillar to be erected in the said town of Cabriers, on the which was engraven the year and day of the taking and sacking of this town. Minerius, lord of Opede, and chief president

ment of Provence; for a memorial for ever of barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was never heard of. Whereupon we, with all our power, have to understand what be the reasons and means wherewith the antichrist of Rome is wont to hold the impious seat of his abomination; who is come to such excess and profundity of all sort of iniquity, that all justice, equity, and verity set aside, he seeketh the defence of his cause by no other thing than only by force and violence, and oppression, and shedding of blood.

In this mean while the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and affliction; who had procured certain men who gave them some favour and authority with Minerius, to request for them unto him, that they might be safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover them. Whereupon Minerius made this answer: "I know what I will do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will lead them to dwell in hell among the devils." And thus there was a power sent unto Costua, and likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled, and ran into an orchard, where the soldiers used the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there enclosed a day and a night, they handled them so cruelly, that some of the women with child, and maidens, died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the notable and sorrowful examples of this cruel persecution against the Merindolians, and their kindred, insomuch that no kind of cruel tyranny was practised; for they which escaped by woods, or wandering by mountains, were taken and put in galleys, or else were slain outright.

They which did hide themselves in rocks and caves, some were famished with hunger, some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them: which may more fully be understood by the records of the court, and by the pleas between them and their adversaries in the high consistory of the court of Paris, where, all the doors being set open, in the public hearing of the people, the cause of this trouble and persecution was shortly after solemnly debated between two great lawyers; the one called Aubrius, which accused Minerius the persecutor, committed to prison; and the other called Robert, the defendant who was against him. The reason why this matter of Merindol was brought in for judgment to be decided by the law was this:

Henry the Second, the French king, who newly succeeded Francis his father above-mentioned, con-

sidering how this cruel and infamous persecution against his own subjects and people was greatly disliked of other princes, and also objected both against him and his father as a note of shameful tyranny, by the emperor himself, Charles the Fifth, and that in the public council of all the states in Germany, for so murdering and spoiling his own natural subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the court, and there to be decided by order of justice, A. D. 1547.

Which cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in public audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so it brake off and was passed over; and at length Minerius, being loosed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the cardinal, Charles of Lorraine, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the gospel) out of all Provence.

Thus Minerius, being restored, returned again into Provence, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just judgment of God, lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he, being struck with a strange kind of bleeding in manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to obtain other relief, thus by little and little his entrails within him rotted: and when no remedy could be found for this terrible disease, and his entrails now began to be eaten of worms, a certain famous surgeon, named La Motte, which dwelt at Arles, a man no less godly than expert in his science, was called for, who, after he had cured him of this difficulty of relieving himself, and therefore was in great estimation with him, before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrefied body, and to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they which were present in the chamber with Minerius, would depart a little aside. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, how the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelty, in shedding so much innocent blood; and declaring the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood coming from him.

These words being heard, so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith troubled more than with the agony of his disease; insomuch that he cried out to lay hand upon the surgeon as a heretic. La Motte hearing

this, eftsoons conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding it was not long but he was sent for again, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly, that his coming should be without any peril or danger: and so, with much ado, he returned again to Minerius, what time all now was past remedy. And so Minerius, raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navel upwards, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God, through his mighty arm, at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought; to whom be praise and glory for ever!

Moreover, besides this justice of God showed upon Minerius, here also is not to be forgotten which followed likewise upon certain of the others who were the chief doers in this persecution under Minerius aforesaid; namely, Louis de Vaine, brother-in-law to the said president, and also the brother and the son-in-law to Peter Durant, master-butcher in the town of Aix; the which three did slay one another, upon a certain strife that fell among them. And upon the same day the judge of Aix, who accompanied Minerius in the same persecution, as he returned homeward, going over the river of Durance, was drowned.

Notes upon the history of Merindol, above recited.

Thus hast thou heard, loving reader! the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals, against these faithful men of Merindol, which, for the heinous tyranny, and example of the fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with any of the first persecutions in the primitive church, done either by Decius, or Dioclesian.

Now, touching the said story and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the doctrine and profession of them began. For (as by the course of time, and by ancient records, it may appear) these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about the confines of France and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses, or Albigenses, which were (as some say) about A. D. 1170; or (as others do reckon) about A. D. 1216; whereof thou hast, gentle reader! sufficiently to understand, reading before.

These Waldenses, otherwise called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, beginning of one Peter Waldo, citizen

of Lyons, as is before showed, by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed abroad in divers countries, of whom some fled to Marseilles, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia. Divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Provence and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above-mentioned, and the Angrogians, with others, of whom now it followeth likewise (God willing) to discourse. They which were in the country of Toulouse, of the place where they frequented, where called Albii, or Albigenses. Against the which Albigenses, Friar Dominic was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together, and caused many of them to be burned; for the which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court, and at length, by Pope Honorius the Third, was made patriarch of the black guard of the Dominic Friars.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome had set up to themselves a bishop of their own named Bartholomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appeareth by a letter one of the pope's cardinals above specified. the which cause the see of Rome took great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused their faithful catholics, and the obedientaries to the church, to rise up in armour, and to take the of the holy cross upon them, to fight against them. A. D. 1206; by reason whereof great multitude of them were pitifully murdered, not only of about Toulouse and Avignon in France, (as is to be seen,) but also in all quarters misc slaughters and burnings of them long continued from the reign of Frederic the Second, em almost to this present time, through the instigation of the Roman popes.

Paulus Æmilius, the French chronicler, in his sixth book, writing of these *Pauperes de Lugduno* and *Humiliati*, and dividing these two orders into the Albigenses, reporteth that the two former were rejected of Pope Lucius the Third, and their place other two orders were approved, the order of the Dominic Friars, and of the *Ciscians*; which seemeth not to be true, for as this Pope Lucius was twenty years before the Third; and yet not in the time of Innocent was the order of the Dominic Friars approved, but in the time of Pope Honorius the Third, who was forty years after Pope Lucius. Bernard of Lutzenberg, in his *Catalogus Hereticorum*, affirmeth, that these *Pauperes de Lugduno* Waldenses, began first A. D. 1218; which, if true, then must the other report of Æmilius be rejected, writing that the sect of *Pauperes de Lugduno*

and by Pope Lucius the Third, who was long since, A. D. 1181.

Amongst other authors who write of those Waldenses, John Sleidan, treating of their continuance of doctrine, thus writeth of them. "There be," saith he, "in the French province, a people called Waldenses. These, of an ancient trade and custom of theirs, do not acknowledge the bishop of Rome, nor ever have used a manner of doctrine more pure than the rest; but especially since the coming of Luther, they have increased in knowledge and perfection of judgment: whereunto they have been oftentimes complained of to the king, although they contemned the magistrate, and were rebellious, with other such matter falsely said against them, more of despite and malice than of any just cause of truth. There be of them certain towns and villages, among which Merindol is one. Against these Merindolians sentence was given five years past, at Aix, being the high court or judgment-place of Provence, that the town should be destroyed without respect of age or sex, of such sort as that the houses being plucked down, the village should be made plain, even with the ground; the trees also should be cut down, and the place altogether made desolate and desert. Albeit, when the sentence was thus pronounced, yet was it not then executed, by the means of certain that persuaded the king to the contrary, namely, one William de Montmorancy, who was at the same time the king's lieutenant in the south. But at the last, on the twelfth of April, 1545, John Minerius, president of the council, calling the senate, read the king's letters, commanding them to execute the sentence given," &c. Moreover, concerning the Confession and the doctrine of the said Merindolians, received of ancient time from their forefathers the Waldenses, thus it is written in the said book and place of John Sleidan. "At last," saith Sleidan, (after he had described the great cruelty that was showed against them,) "when the report hereof was bruited in Germany, it offended the minds of many; and indeed the Switzers, who were then of a contrary religion to the pope, entreated the king that he would show mercy to such as were of that sort."

Wherunto the said King Francis made answer in this wise; pretending that he had just cause to do as he did: inferring moreover, that they ought to be careful what he did within his dominions, that he punished his offenders, more than he was wont to do in their affairs, &c. Thus hard was the king's answer to them, notwithstanding (saith Sleidan) that the year before, he had received from the said his subjects of Merindol, a Confession of their faith and doctrine.

"The articles whereof were, that they, according to the Christian faith, confessed first, God the Father, Creator of all things: the Son, the only Mediator and Advocate of mankind: the Holy Spirit, the Comforter and Instructor of all truth.

"They confessed also the church, which they acknowledged to be the fellowship of God's elect, whereof Jesus Christ is Head. The ministers also of the church they did allow, wishing that such which did not their duty should be removed.

"And as touching magistrates, they granted likewise the same to be ordained of God to defend the good, and to punish the transgressors. And how they owe to him, not love only, but also tribute and custom, and no man herein to be excepted, even by the example of Christ, who paid tribute himself, &c.

"Likewise of baptism, they confessed the same to be a visible and an outward sign, that representeth to us the renewing of the spirit, and mortification of the members.

"Furthermore, as touching the Lord's supper, they said and confessed the same to be a thanksgiving, and a memorial of the benefit received through Christ.

"Matrimony they affirmed to be holy; and instituted of God, and to be inhibited to no man.

"That good works are to be observed and exercised of all men, as Holy Scripture teacheth.

"That false doctrine, which leadeth men away from the true worship of God, ought to be eschewed.

"Briefly and finally, the order and rule of their faith they confessed to be the Old and New Testament; protesting that they believed all such things as are contained in the Apostles Creed: desiring moreover the king to give credit to this their declaration of their faith; so that whatsoever was informed to him to the contrary, was not true, and that they would well prove, if they might be heard."

And thus much concerning the doctrine and confession of the Merindolians out of Sleidan, and also concerning their descent and offspring from the Waldenses.

The history of the persecutions and wars against the people called Waldenses or Waldois, in the valleys of Angrogne, Lucerne, St. Martin, Perouse, and others, in the country of Piedmont, from A. D. 1555, to A. D. 1561.

The martyrs of the valley of Angrogne, the martyrs of the valley of Lucerne, the martyrs of St. Martin, the martyrs of Perouse, and others. Persecuted by the parliament of Turin; the president of St. Julian; Jacomel, a monk and inquisitor; Monsieur de la Trinity; the gentlemen of the

valleys; Charles Truchet, Boniface Truchet; the collateral of Corbis; the collateral de Ecclesia; the duke of Savoy; monks of Pignerol; and by many others more, enemies of God, and ministers of Satan.

We proceed now further in the persecution of these Waldois, or Waldenses: you have heard hitherto, first how they, dividing themselves into divers countries, some fled to Provence and to Toulouse, of whom sufficient hath been said. Some went to Piedmont, and the valley of Angrogne, of whom it followeth now to treat, God willing.

Thus these good men, by long persecution, being driven from place to place, were grievously in all places afflicted, but yet could never be utterly destroyed, nor yet compelled to yield to the superstitious and false religion of the Church of Rome: but ever abstained from their corruption and idolatry, as much as was possible, and gave themselves to the word of God, as a rule both truly to serve him, and to direct their lives accordingly.

They had many books of the Old and New Testament translated into their language. Their ministers instructed them secretly, to avoid the fury of their enemies which could not abide the light; albeit they did not instruct them with such purity as was requisite. They lived in great simplicity, and with the sweat of their brows. They were quiet and peaceable among their neighbours, abstaining from blasphemy, and from profaning of the name of God by oaths, and such other impiety; from lewd games, dancing, filthy songs, and other vices and dissolute life, and conformed their life wholly to the rule of God's word. Their principal care was always, that God might be rightly served, and his word truly preached; insomuch that in our time, when it pleased God to set forth the light of his gospel more clearly, they never spared any thing to establish the true and pure ministry of the word of God and his sacraments. Which was the cause that Satan with his ministers did so persecute them of late more cruelly than ever he did before, as manifestly appeareth by the bloody and horrible persecutions which have been, not only in Provence, against those of Merindol and Cabriers, also against them of Prague and Calabria, (as the histories afore written do sufficiently declare,) but also against them in the country of Piedmont, remaining in the valley of Angrogne, and of Lucerne, and also in the valley of St. Martin and Prouse, in the said country of Piedmont. Which people of a long time were persecuted by the papists, and especially within these few years they have been vexed in such sort, and so diversely, that it seemeth almost incredible: and

yet hath God always miraculously delivered as hereafter shall ensue.

Albeit the people of Angrogne had before time certain to preach the word of God, and after the sacraments unto them privately; yet in the year of our Lord 1555, in the beginning of the month of August, the gospel was openly preached in Angrogne. The ministers and the people intended at first to keep themselves still as they might; but there was such concourse of people from all parts, that they were compelled to go openly abroad. For this cause they built a church in the midst of Angrogne, where assemblies were made, and sermons preached. It happened about that time, that one John Martin, of Brig, a mile from Angrogne, which vaunted every day that he would slit the minister's nose of Angrogne, was assaulted by a wolf which bit off his nose, so that he died thereof mad. This was commonly known to all the towns thereabout.

At this season the French king held these said valleys, and they were under the jurisdiction of the parliament of Turin. In the end of December following, news was brought, that it was ordained by the said parliament, that certain soldiers and footmen should be sent to spoil and destroy Angrogne. Whereupon some which bore great friendship to this people, counselled them not to go forward with their enterprise, but to bear for a while, and to wait for better opportunity. But they, notwithstanding, calling upon God, were determined with one accord constantly to persevere in their religion, and in hope and silence to abide the good pleasure of God: so that this enterprise against Angrogne was soon dashed. The next time they began also openly to preach in Lucerne.

In the month of March, A. D. 1556, the minister of the valley of St. Martin preached openly. At that time certain gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin took a good man named Bartholomew, a bookbinder, prisoner, as he passed by the said valley, the which was sent by and to Turin; and there with a marvellous constancy, after he had made a good confession of his faith, he suffered death; insomuch that divers of the parliament were astonished and appalled at his constancy. Yet they of the said parliament, being sore incensed against the Waldois, sent one, named the president of St. Julien, associating unto him one called De Ecclesia, and others, for to hinder their enterprise. These came first to the valley of Prouse, where as yet no preachers were, but they were accustomed to resort to the sermons of Angrogne, very much troubled and feared the poor people there.

From thence they went to the valley of St. Martin.

tin, and remained there a good while, tormenting the poor people, and threatening their utter ruin and destruction. After that they came to Lucerne, troubling and vexing the people there in like manner. From thence they went to Angrogne, accompanied by many gentlemen, and a great rabble of priests of the said country: but by the way, the president inquired for one dwelling at St. Jean, near to Angrogne, and examined him, whether he had baptized his child at Angrogne, and wherefore he had so done? The poor simple man answered, that he had baptized his child at Angrogne, because baptism was there administered according to the institution of Christ. Then the president, in a great rage, commanded him in the king's name to baptize his child again, or else he should be burnt. The poor man desired the president that he might be allowed to make his prayer to God, before he should make answer thereunto: which after he had done in the hall, before all the company there present, he desired the president that he would write, and sign a paper with his own hand, that he would discharge him before God, of the danger of that offence, if he should baptize his child again, and that he would be in the peril upon him and his. The president, seeing this, was so confounded, that he spake not a word a good while after. Then said he, in a fury, "Away, thou villain! out of my sight;" after that he was never called any more.

After they were come to Angrogne, the president, having visited the two temples, caused a monk to be chosen the one, the people being there assembled; pretended nothing else, but only to exhort them to the obedience of the see of Rome. The monk, with the president, and all his retinue, kneeling twice, and called upon the Virgin Mary; the ministers and all the people stood still, and would not kneel, making no sign or token of reverence. As soon as the monk had ended his sermon, the people requested instantly, that their minister should be suffered to preach, affirming that the monk had spoken many things which were not according to the word of God: but the president refused to grant their request. After that, the said president admonished them, in the name of the king and parliament of Turin, that they should return obedience of the pope, upon pain of loss of their life, and utter destruction of their town. Then he recited unto them the piteous deaths of their brethren and friends, which had been before in Merindol and Cabriers, and other parts in the country of Provence. The ministers and the people answered, that they were determined to live according to the word of God, and would obey the king and all their su-

periors in all things, so that God were not thereby displeased: and furthermore, if it were showed unto them by the word of God, that they erred in any point of religion, they were ready to receive correction, and to be reformed. This talk endured about six hours together, even until night. In the end, the president said there should be a disputation appointed for those matters, whereunto the people gladly agreed; but, after that, there was no more mention made thereof.

Here he remained fourteen days, daily practising new devices to vex and torment them with new proclamations, now calling to him the syndics and head officers, now severally, and now altogether, that so, for fear, he might make them to relent: causing also assemblies to be made in every parish by such as he appointed, thinking thereby to divide the people. Notwithstanding, he nothing prevailed with all that he could do; but still they continued constant: insomuch that they, with one accord, presented a brief confession of their faith, with an answer to certain interrogatories made by the president, in which they confessed as followeth:

"That the religion wherein both they and their elders had been long instructed and brought up, was the same which is contained both in the Old and New Testament, which is also briefly comprised in the twelve articles of the Christian belief.

"Also, that they acknowledged the sacraments instituted by Christ, whereby he distributeth abundantly his graces and great benefits, his heavenly riches and treasures, to all those which receive the same with a true and lively faith.

"Furthermore, that they received the creeds of the four general councils; that is to say, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; and also the creed of Athanasius, wherein the mystery of the Christian faith and religion is plainly and largely set out.

"Item, The ten commandments expressed in Exodus xx., and Deuteronomy v., in which the rule of a godly and holy life, and also the true service which God requireth of us, is briefly comprised: and therefore, following this article, they suffered not by any means, said they, any gross iniquities to reign among them; as unlawful swearing, perjury, blasphemy, cursing, slandering, dissension, deceit, wrong dealing, usury, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, theft, murder, sorcery, witchcraft, or such like; but wholly endeavoured themselves to live in the fear of God, and according to his holy will.

"Moreover they acknowledged the superior powers, as princes and magistrates, to be ordained of God; and that whosoever resisteth the same, resisteth the ordinance of God; and therefore humbly

submitted themselves to their superiors with all obedience, so that they commanded nothing against God.

"Finally, they protested, that they would in no point be stubborn, but if that their forefathers or they had erred in any one jot concerning the true religion, the same being proved by the word of God, they would willingly yield and be reformed."

The interrogatories were concerning the mass, auricular confession, baptism, marriage, and burials, according to the institution of the Church of Rome.

"To the first they answered, that they received the Lord's supper, as it was by him instituted, and celebrated by his apostles; but as touching the mass, except the same might be proved by the word of God, they would not receive it.

"To the second, touching auricular confession, they said, that for their part they confessed themselves daily unto God, acknowledging themselves before him to be miserable sinners, desiring of him pardon and forgiveness of their sins, as Christ instructed his, in the prayer which he taught them; Lord! forgive us our sins. And as St. John saith; If we confess our sins to God, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. And according to that which God himself saith by his prophet; O Israel! if thou return, return unto me. And again, O Israel! it is I, it is I which forgiveth thee thy sins. So that, seeing they ought to return to God alone, and it is he only who forgiveth sins, therefore they were bound to confess themselves to God only, and to no other. Also it appeareth, that David, in his Psalms, and the prophets, and other faithful servants of God, have confessed themselves both generally and particularly unto God alone: yet, if the contrary might be proved by the word of God, they would (said they) with all humbleness receive the same.

"Thirdly, As touching baptism, they acknowledged and received that holy institution of Christ, and administered the same with all simplicity, as he ordained it in his holy gospel, without any changing, adding, or diminishing in any point; and that all this they did in their mother tongue, according to the rule of St. Paul, who willeth that in the church every thing be done in the mother tongue, for the edification of our neighbour: but as for their conjurations, oiling, and salting, except the same might be proved by the sacred Scripture, they would not receive them.

"Fourthly, As touching burials they answered, that they knew there is a difference between the bodies of the true Christians and the infidels, forasmuch as the first are the members of Jesus Christ, temples of the Holy Ghost, and partakers of the

glorious resurrection of the dead; and therefore they accustomed to follow their dead to the grave reverently, with a sufficient company, and exhortation out of the word of God; as well to comfort the parents and friends of the dead, as also to admonish all men diligently to prepare themselves to die. But as for the using of candles or lights, prayers for the dead, and ringing of bells, except the same might be proved to be necessary by the word of God, and that God is not offended therewith, they would not receive them.

"Fifthly, As touching obedience to men's traditions, they received and allowed all those ordinances which (as St. Paul saith) serve for order, decency, and reverence of the ministry. But as for other ceremonies which have been brought into the church of God, either as a part of his divine service, either to merit remission of sins, or else to bind men's consciences, because they are repugnant to the word of God, they could by no means receive them.

"And whereas the commissioners affirmed the said traditions to have been ordained by councils, first they answered, that the greatest part of them were not ordained by councils: secondly, that councils were not to be preferred above the word of God, which saith, If any man, yea, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you otherwise than that which hath been received of the Lord Jesus, let him be accursed. And therefore (said they) if councils have ordained any thing dissenting from the word of God, they would not receive it.

"Finally they said, that the councils had ordained divers notable decrees concerning the election of bishops and ministers of the church; concerning ecclesiastical discipline, as well of the clergy as the people; also concerning the distribution of goods and possessions of the church; and that all pastors who were either whoremongers, drunkards, or offensive in any case, should be removed from their office. Moreover, that whosoever should be present at the mass of a priest which was a whoremonger, should be excommunicated; many other such things, which were not in scripture observed. And that they omitted to speak of other things which were ordained by divers councils, very superstitious, and contrary to the holy commandments of God, as they would be ready to (said they) if they should have occasion and opportunity thereunto.

"Wherefore they required the commission that a disputation might be had (as by the president was pretended) publicly, and in the presence; and then, if it might be proved by the word of God, that they erred either in doctrine, or conversation and manner of living, they were

all humbleness to be corrected and reformed, as he had before said : beseeching them to consider also that their religion had been observed and kept from their ancestors, until their time, many years together : and yet, for their parts, convicted by the infallible word of God, they did not obstinately stand to the defence thereof : and moreover, that they, together with the said deputies, confessed all one God, one Saviour, one Holy Ghost, one law, one baptism, one hope in Christ ; and in sum, they affirmed that their faith and religion were firmly founded and grounded upon the true word of God : wherefore it is said, that they were they which hear the same, and keep it. While short, seeing it is permitted to the Turks, the Infidels, and Jews, (which are mortal enemies to our Saviour Christ,) to dwell peaceably in the fair cities of Christendom ; by good reason they should be suffered to live in the desolate mountains and valleys, having their whole religion founded upon the holy gospel, and worshipping the Lord Jesus ; and therefore they most humbly besought the king to have pity and compassion upon them, and to suffer them to live quietly in their deserts ; protesting that they and theirs would live in all fear and reverence of God, with all due subjection and obedience to their lord and prince, and to his lieutenants and officers."

The president, and the rest of the commissioners, seeing that they laboured in vain, returned to the king with the notes of their proceedings ; the which were immediately sent unto the king's court, where the matter remained one year before there was any answer made thereunto. During that time the Waldois lived in great quietness, as God by his infinite goodness is wont to give some comfort and refreshing to his poor servants, after long tribulations and afflictions. The number of the faithful was augmented, that throughout the valleys God's word was purely preached, and his sacraments duly ministered, and no mass was sung in Angrogne, nor in divers other places. The year after, the president of St. Julian, with his associates, returned to Geneva, and sent for thither the chief rulers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, that is, for six of Angrogne, and for two of every parish besides, and showed unto them, how that the last year they had presented their Confession, the which, by a decree made by the parliament of Turin, was sent to the king's court, and there diligently examined by learned men, and condemned as heretical. Therefore the king willed and commanded them to return to the obedience of the Church of Rome, upon pain of loss both of goods and life : enjoining them, moreover, to give him a direct answer within three days.

From thence he went to Lucerne, and caused the householders, with great threatenings, to assemble themselves before certain by him appointed : but they, with one assent, persisted in their former Confession ; and lest they should seem stubborn in the defence of any erroneous doctrine, they desired that their Confession might be sent to all the universities of Christendom, and if the same in any part by the word of God were disproved, it should be immediately amended : but contrariwise, if that were not done, then they to be no more disquieted.

The president, not contented with this, the next morning sent for six out of Angrogne, by him named, and for two out of every other parish, the which he and the gentlemen of the country threatened very sore, and warned twelve of the chief of Angrogne, and certain of the other parishes, to appear personally at the parliament of Turin, and to bring before the judges of the said parliament their ministers and schoolmasters, thinking, if they were once banished the country, that then their enterprise might soon be brought to an end. To this it was answered, that they could not, nor ought to obey such a commandment.

A little while after proclamation was made in every place, that no man should receive any preacher coming from Geneva, but only such as were appointed by the archbishop of Turin, and others his officers, upon pain of confiscation of their goods, and loss of their lives ; and that every one should observe the ceremonies, rites, and religion, used in the Church of Rome. Furthermore, that if any of the aforesaid preachers of Geneva came into those quarters, they should immediately be apprehended, and by no means their abode there by any one to be concealed, upon the pain aforesaid. And furthermore, the names of those which should disclose any one of them should be kept secret ; and also, for their accusation, they should have the third part of the goods confiscated, with a full pardon, if that the said accusers were any of those which privily did keep or maintain the said ministers ; and that they, and all others which would return to their mother the church, might freely and safely come and recant before the said commissioners.

At the same season the princes of Germany, and certain of the Switzers, sent unto the French king, desiring him to have pity on the aforesaid churches ; and from that time, until three years after, the people of the aforesaid valleys were not molested by any of the king's officers, but yet they were sore vexed by the monks of Pignerol, and the gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin.

About that time a minister of Angrogne, named Geoffrey Varialla, born in Piedmont, a virtuous and

learned man, and fearing God, went to visit certain churches in those quarters where he was born, and coming homeward, was taken at Berga, and from thence led to Turin, where, after he had made a good confession of his faith, to the confirmation of many, and to the terror of his adversaries, he most constantly suffered.

A few days after, a minister of the valley of Lucerne, returning to Geneva, was taken prisoner at Susa, and soon after sent to Turin, and with an invincible constancy made his confession before those of the parliament, and in the end was condemned to be burnt. The hangman, at the time of execution, feigned himself to be sick, and so conveyed himself away; and so likewise another served them, being appointed by the aforesaid court to execute the poor minister. It is credibly reported that the hangman who executed certain Germans a little before, would by no means do this execution: whereupon the minister was sent to prison again, where, after long and painful endurance, seeing the prison door open, he escaped, and returned to his cure.

Now four years being past, in such manner as we have hitherto touched in this story, in the year following, which was A. D. 1559, there was a peace concluded between the French king and the king of Spain; whereupon the country of Piedmont (certain towns excepted) was restored to the duke of Savoy, under whose regiment the aforesaid churches, and all other faithful people in Piedmont, continued in great quietness, and were not molested; and the duke himself was content to suffer them to live in their religion, knowing that he had no subjects more faithful and obedient than they were. But Satan, hating all quietness, by his ministers stirred the duke against the said churches of Piedmont, his own natural subjects. For the pope and the cardinals, seeing the good inclination of the duke towards this people, incensed him to do that, which otherwise he would not. The pope's legate also, which then followed the court, and other that favoured the Church of Rome, laboured by all means to persuade the duke that he ought to banish the said Waldois, which maintained not the pope's religion; alleging, that he could not suffer such a people to dwell within his dominion, without prejudice and dishonour to the apostolic see; also that they were a rebellious people against the holy ordinances and decrees of their holy mother the church; and briefly, that he might no longer suffer the said people, being so disobedient and stubborn against the holy father, if he would indeed show himself a loving and obedient son.

Such devilish instigations were the cause of these horrible and furious persecutions, wherewith this

poor people of the valleys, and the country of mont, was so long vexed. And because they saw the great calamities which they were to suffer, to find some remedy for the same, (if possible,) all the said churches of Piedmont, by one common consent, wrote to the duke, desiring in effect, that the only cause why they were so incensed against them, was their religion, which was no new or light opinion, but that wherein their ancestors had long continued, being grounded upon the infallible word of God, common in the Old and New Testament. Notwithstanding if it might be proved, by the same word, that they held any false or erroneous doctrine, they would submit themselves to be reformed with all obedience.

But it is not certain whether this advertisement was delivered unto the duke or no; for it was said that he would not hear of that religion. But soever it was, in the month of March following there was a great persecution raised against the Christians which were at Carignano; amongst whom there were certain godly persons taken, and within four days after; that is to say, one Mathurine, and his wife, and John de Carignano, dwelling in the valley of Lucerne, taken prisoner, he went to the market at Pignerol. The wife died with great constancy. The good man, John Carignano, had been in prison divers times before for religion, and was always delivered by God's singular grace and providence. But seeing him taken this last time, incontinent he said, he felt that God had now called him. Both by the way he went, and in prison, and also at his death, he showed an invincible constancy and marvellous virtue, well by the pure confession which he made touching the doctrine of salvation, as also in suffering with patience the horrible torments which he endured, both in prison, and also at his death. Many at that time fled away: others, being afraid of great cruelty, and fearing also man more than God, looking rather to the earth than to heaven, consented to return to the obedience of the Church of Rome.

Within a few days after, these churches of the said Waldois, that is to say, Le Laughi, Merod, Meane, and Susa, were wonderfully assaulted. To recite all the outrage, cruelty, and villany that there committed, it were too long: for brevity's sake we will recite only certain of the principal and best known. The churches of Meane and Susa suffered great affliction. Their minister was taken amongst others. Many fled away, and their houses and goods were ransacked and spoiled. The minister was a good and faithful servant of God, and endowed with excellent gifts and graces, who, in the

ailly sheep in the wolf's jaws, or as the sheep which are led unto the slaughter-house.

At that season one named Charles de Comptes, of the valley of Lucerne, and one of the lords of Angrogne, wrote to the said commissioners, to use some lenity towards them of the valley of Lucerne; by reason whereof they were a while more gently treated than the rest. At that season the monks of Pignerol, and their associates, tormented grievously the churches near about them. They took the poor Christians as they passed by the way, and kept them prisoners within their abbey; and having assembled a company of ruffians, they sent them to spoil those of the said churches, and to take prisoners men, women, and children; and some they so tormented, that they were compelled to swear to return to the mass; some also they sent to the galleys, and others they burnt cruelly. They which escaped were afterwards so sick, that they seemed to have been poisoned. The same year there were two great earthquakes in Piedmont, and also many great tempests and horrible thunders.

The gentlemen of the valley of St. Martin treated their tenants very cruelly, threatening them, and commanding them to return unto the mass; also spoiling them of their goods, imprisoning them, and vexing them by all the means they could. But above all the others there were two especially, that is to say, Charles Truchet, and Boniface his brother, who, on the second of April, before day, with a company of ruffians, spoiled a village of their own subjects, named Riuclet; which as soon as the inhabitants of the said village perceived, they fled into the mountain covered with snow, naked and without victuals, and there remained until the third night after. In the morning, certain of his retinue took a minister of the said valley prisoner, which was come out of Calabria, and was going to visit the poor people of Riuclet, and led him prisoner to the abbey, where, soon after, he was burnt, with one other of the valley of St. Martin.

The third night after, they of Pragela, having pity upon the poor people of Riuclet, sent about four hundred to discomfit the company of the Truchets, and to restore those who were fled to their houses. They were furiously assaulted by the shot of their enemies, who, notwithstanding, in the end were put to flight, and but one of the four hundred hurt.

About the year before, the said Truchet, being accompanied with a company of ruffians, arrested prisoner the minister of Riuclet as he was at his sermon. But the people were so moved by his outrageous dealing, and especially the women, that they had almost strangled the said Truchet; and the rest of them were so canvassed that they had no list to come there again any more. By reason

whereof he so vexed them by processes, that they were compelled to agree with him, and to pay him sixteen hundred crowns.

Soon after, the lords of the said valley took another minister of the same valley, as he was going to preach in a parish a mile from his house; but the people perceiving that, speedily pursued him and took him. The enemies, seeing that they were not able to lead him away, wounded him so sore, that they left him for dead; whereupon, they so persecuted the poor people, that they were almost destroyed.

Here is not to be forgotten, that the same night, in which the company of Truchet was discomfited was so stormy and terrible, and the gentlemen of that country were so terrified, that they thought they should have been all destroyed; wherefore they used more gentleness towards the people than before, except Charles Truchet and his brother, the which went to the duke, and made grievous complaints against the Waldois, not only for that which was done and past, but also persuaded the duke, that they went about to build three fortresses in the mountains, and also intended to maintain certain garrisons of strangers, charging them further with divers other crimes, of the which they were in no point guilty. The duke, being moved by these false surmises, gave in charge to the said accusers, that the fortress of the valley of St. Martin, which about twenty years before was razed by the Frenchmen, should be built again, and that therein should be placed a perpetual garrison, and that the people should make so plain and wide the rugged ways, that horsemen might easily pass: with divers such other things. And all this to be done at the costs and charges of those that would not submit themselves to the obedience of the Roman church.

This commission being sealed, the gentlemen caused the fortress to be built again, and put there in a garrison, and proclaimed the commission. The poor people being thereat amazed, withstood the commissioners, and sent certain to the duke; and immediately after the commissioners returned to the duke's court, being at Nice, to inflame his anger more against them. But God soon prevented this mischief; for the Truchets, being at Nice, went to sea with divers noblemen, and immediately they were taken prisoners by the Turks, put into the galleys, sore beaten with ropes, and so cruelly handled, that it was commonly reported that they were dead: and long time after, denying their nobility, they were sent home, having paid four hundred crowns for their ransom. Some say, that the duke himself was almost taken; but it is sure that he fell sick soon after. In the month of April next

following, the lord of Ranconis was present sermon, in a place near unto Angrogne. The mon being ended, he talked with the ministers; having discoursed as well of the duke's sickness as also of his clemency and gentleness, he declared to them, that the persecution proceeded not of him, and that he meant not that the commission should have been so rigorously executed. After that he demanded of them, what way they thought best to appease the duke's wrath. They answered, that people ought not to be moved to seek by any means how to please and appease the duke which might displease God; but the best way they knew, the same wherewith the ancient servants of God used to appease the pagan princes and emperors in the time of the great persecutions of the church, that is to say, to give out and present unto them writing the confession of their faith, and defend the religion which they professed; trusting that forasmuch as the fury of divers profane and cruel emperors and princes hath been heretofore appeased by such means, the duke, being endued with singular virtues as they said he was, would also be pacified by the like means. And for that the poor people had before sent a supplication, with a confession of their faith, unto the duke, but they were not certain whether he had received it or no, wherefore they desired him to present the same unto the said duke himself: whereunto he agreed, and promised so to do. Hereupon they sent three supplications, one to the duke, the second to the duchess, the third to the duke's council; wherein they briefly declared what their religion was, and the points thereof, which they and their ancestors had of long time observed, being wholly grounded upon the pure word of God; and if by the same word should be proved that they were in error, they would not be obstinate, but gladly be reformed, and embrace the truth. After this the persecution seemed to be somewhat assuaged for a little while.

In the end of June next following, the lord Ranconis and the lord of Trinity, came to Angrogne there to qualify (as they said) the sore persecution, and caused the chief rulers and ministers to assemble together, propounding divers points of religion concerning doctrine, the calling of ministers, the manner and obedience towards princes and rulers: and furthermore, declared unto them, that their commission was sent unto Rome by the duke, and desired they looked for an answer. To all these points the ministers answered. After this they demanded of the chief rulers, whether if the duke would cause mass to be sung in their parishes, they would withstand the same or no? They answered simply, that they would not. Then they demanded of the

whether if the duke would appoint them preachers, they would receive them? They answered, that if they preached the word of God purely, they would hear them. Thirdly, Whether they were content that in the mean time their ministers should cease? and if they that should be sent preached not the word of God sincerely, then their ministers to preach again: if they would agree to this, they were promised that the persecution should cease, and that the prisoners should be restored again. To this question, after they had conferred with the people,

victed of some heresy or other crime: for their part they had always found them to be men of pure and sound doctrine, and also of godly life and conversation.

This done, immediately proclamations were made, and the persecution began on every side to be more furious than it was before. Amongst others, the monks of Pignerol at that time were most cruel; for they sent out a company of hired ruffians, which daily spoiled and ransacked houses, and all that they could lay hands on; and took men, women,

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tice of most barbarous cruelty against this poor man; who, when he should be burnt, caused two poor women of St. Germain (whom they kept in prison) to carry faggots to the fire, and to speak these words unto their pastor: "Take this, thou wicked heretic! in recompence of thy naughty doctrine, which thou hast taught us." To whom the good minister answered; "Ah, good women! I have taught you well, but you have learned ill." To be brief, they so afflicted and tormented those poor people of St. Germain, and the places thereabout, that after they were spoiled of their goods and driven from their houses, they were compelled to flee into the mountain to save their lives. So great was the spoil of these poor people, that many which before had been men of muth wealth, and with their riches had ministered great succour and comfort to others, were now brought to such misery, that they were compelled to crave succour and relief of others.

Now, forasmuch as the said monks, with their troops of ruffians, (who were counted to be in number about three hundred,) made such spoil and havoc in all the country, that no man could there live in safety, it was demanded of the ministers, whether it was lawful to defend themselves against the insolence and furious rage of the said ruffians? The ministers answered, that it was lawful, warning them in any case, to take heed of bloodshed. This question being once solved, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Angrogne sent certain men to them of St. Germain to aid them against the supporters of these monks.

In the month of June, the harvest being then in Piedmont, divers of the Waldois were gone into the country to reap and to make provision for corn, for very little groweth upon their mountains, who were all taken prisoners at sundry times and places, not one knowing of another; but yet God so wrought, that they all escaped out of prison, as it were by a miracle: whereat the adversaries were marvellously astonished. At the same time there were certain others also, who had sustained long imprisonment, looking for nothing else but death; and yet they, after a wonderful sort, by God's merciful providence, were likewise delivered.

In the month of July, they of Angrogne, being in a morning at harvest upon the hill side of St. Germain, perceived a company of soldiers spoiling them of St. Germain; and doubting lest they should go to Angrogne, they made an outcry. Then the people of Angrogne assembled together upon the mountain, and some ran to St. Germain over the hill, and

some by the valley. They that went by the valley met with the spoilers coming from St. Germain, loaden with spoil which they had gotten, and being but fifty, set upon the others, amounting to the number of one hundred and twenty men well appointed, and gave them soon the overthrow. The passage over the bridge being stopped, the enemies were fain to take the river Cluson, where divers were sore hurt, many were drowned, and some escaped very hardly; and such a slaughter was made of them, that the river was dyed with the blood of them that were wounded and slain: but none of the Angrognians were once hurt. If the said river had been as great as it was wont commonly to be, there had not one man escaped alive. The noise of the harquebusses was great, and within less than one hour's space, there were three or four hundred of the Waldois gathered together upon the river; and at the same time they had purposed to fetch away their prisoners who were in the abbey, but they would not do it without the counsel of their ministers, and so deferred the matter until the next day: but their ministers counselled them not to enterprize any such thing, but to refrain themselves, and so they did. Albeit they doubted not, but if they had gone incontinent after that discomfiture unto the abbey, they might have found all open and easily have entered; for the monks were so sore afraid that they fled suddenly to Pignerol, to have the relics and images, which they carried thither. The rest of the country about were wonderfully afraid, and rang the bells every where.

The next day following, the commander of Anthony de Fossan came to Angrogne, accompanied with divers gentlemen, saying, that he was sent by the duke: and having assembled the elders and ministers of Angrogne, and of the valley of Lucerne, after he had declared unto them of his coming, he read their supplication unto the duke, which contained their confession of sinning of them, if it were the same which they sent to the duke? They answered, that they entered into a disputation of the word *Missa*, deriving the same from the Hebrew word, which signified (as he supposed) *communion*, and showed that this word **Missa* might be found in ancient writers. The ministers answered, that he ill applied the Hebrew word; and further, that he disputed not of the word *Missa*, but of that which is signified by the same, which he ought to have proved by the word of God. Briefly, that he could not prove, either by the word of God, or the

* In the primitive Western Church, the minister, previous to celebrating the eucharist, dismissed the congregation by these words, *Missa est*, that is, The audience is dismissed; and

from this the rite that immediately followed was called whence Missal and Mass. It has no connexion with the Hebrew.

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fathers, their private mass, their sacrifice expiatory or propitiatory, their transubstantiation, their adoration, their application of the same for the quick and the dead, and such other matters which are principal parts of the said mass. The commander, having here nothing to reply, fell into a marvellous choler, riling and raging as if he had been stark mad, and told them that he was not come to dispute, but to banish their ministers, and to place others in their rooms, by the duke's commandment; which he could not, unless their ministers were first driven out of the country.

From thence he went to the abbey of Pignerol, where he and Jacomel caused a number of the poor inhabitants of Campiglon, and of Fenil, which be of the valley of Lucerne, to be taken prisoners, spoiling them of their goods, driving away their cattle, and forcing them to swear and forswear; and at the end ransomed them for great sums of money. About that time a gentleman of Campiglon agreed with those who were fled, for thirty crowns to be paid unto him out of hand, that he would warrant them from any further vexation or trouble, so that they remained quiet at home. But when he had received the money, he caused the commander of the duke with his men to come by night to his house, and then sent for the poor men, thinking traitorous. He have delivered them into the hands of their natural enemy, following therein the decree of the council of Constance, which is, that no promise is to be kept with heretics. But God, knowing how to succour his in their necessity, prevented this danger, for one of them had intelligence of the commander's coming, and so they all fled. Thereupon he wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the proceedings of the commander, and that he would nor could show or prove any thing by the word of God, as he had promised, but threaten them with great wrongs and injuries, and would not suffer their ministers to reply, or say any thing for the defence of their cause: and therefore desired him to signify the same to the duke's pleasure, to the end that he should not be offended, if they persisted still in their religion, seeing it was proved unto them, by any reason taken out of scripture, that they erred.

And thus, there were many commandments and laws given out through all the country, to these poor Waldois, with the doctrine of the duke. If it were possible, out of the mountains and of Piedmont: but the poor people still departed, according to that which they so often protested by word and writing, they might be allowed to serve God purely, according to the commandment in his word; simply obeying their

Lord and prince always, and in all things. Notwithstanding they were still vexed and tormented with all the cruelty that could be devised, as partly it is already declared; but much more you shall perceive by that which followeth.

In the end of the October next following, the rumour went that an army was levying to destroy them; and in very deed there were certain bands levied, ready to march at an hour's warning. Furthermore, those malefactors which heretofore were fled or banished for any offence or crime committed, were called home again, and pardoned of all together, so that they would take them to their weapons, and go to destroy the Waldois. The ministers and chief rulers of the valleys of Lucerne and Angrogne thereupon assembled together oftentimes, to take advice what, in such an extremity, were best to do. In the end they determined, that for certain days following there should be kept a general fast, and the Sunday after, a communion. Also that they should not defend themselves by force of arms, but that every one should withdraw himself into the high mountains, and every one to carry away such goods as he was able to bear; and if their enemies pursued them thither, then to take such advice and counsel as it pleased God to give them. This article of not defending themselves, seemed very strange to the people, being driven to such an extremity, and the cause being so just: but yet every one began to carry their goods and victuals into the mountains; and for the space of eight days all the ways were filled with comers and goers to the mountains, like unto ants in summer which provide for winter. All this did they in this great perplexity and danger, with a wonderful courage and cheerfulness, praising God, and singing psalms, and every one comforting another. Briefly, they went with such joy and alacrity, that you should not have seen any who grudged to leave their houses, and fair possessions, but were wholly determined patiently to abide the good pleasure of God, and also to die if he had so appointed.

A few days after, certain other ministers, hearing what they of Angrogne and Lucerne had concluded, wrote unto them, that this resolution seemed very strange to some, that they ought not to defend themselves against the violence of their enemies, alleging many reasons, that in such extremity and necessity it was lawful for them so to do, especially the quarrel being so just; that is, for the defence of true religion, and for the preservation of their own lives, and the lives of their wives and children; knowing that it was the pope and his ministers who were the cause of all these troubles and cruel wars, and not the duke, who was stirred up thereunto only by



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their instigations: wherefore they might well and with good conscience withstand such furious and outrageous violence. For the proof hereof they also alleged certain examples.

During this season the lord of Angrogne, named Charles de Comptes, of Lucerne, laboured earnestly, by all means possible, to cause them of Angrogne to condescend to the duke's pleasure, and solicited them to send away their ministers, promising that he would cause a mass to be sung at Angrogne, and that the people should not be compelled to be present thereat; hoping that by that means the duke's wrath would be appeased. The chief of Angrogne thereupon were assembled and made this answer: that if the duke would permit them to choose other ministers, they were content to send away their foreign ministers and strangers; but as touching the mass, his Highness might well cause it to be sung in their parishes, but they, for their part, could not with safe consciences be present at the same, nor yet to give their consent unto it.

On the twenty-second of October the said lord of Angrogne went from Lucerne to Mondovi, where he was then governor for the duke, and sent for the chief rulers of Angrogne at several times, declaring unto them the great perils and dangers wherewith they were environed, the army being already at hand; yet promising them, if they would submit themselves unto him, he would send immediately to stay the army. They of Angrogne answered, that they all determined to stand to that which they, two days before in their assembly, had put in writing. With this answer he seemed at that time to be content. The next day the rumour was, that they of Angrogne had submitted themselves to the duke. On the morrow which was Sunday, you should have seen nothing but weeping and mourning in Angrogne. The sermon being ended, the rulers were called before the ministers and the people, who affirmed, that they wholly cleaved unto their former writing; and they sent secretly to the notary for the copy of that which was passed in the council-house at their last assembly before the lord de Comptes, in which was comprised, that Angrogne had wholly submitted herself to the good pleasure of the duke. The people, hearing that, were sore astonished, and protested rather to die than obey the same. And thereupon it was agreed, that at that very instant, (albeit it were very late,) certain should be sent to the lord of Angrogne to signify unto him, that the determination of the council was falsified, and that it might please him the next morning to come to Angrogne, to hear the voices of the people; not only of the men, but also of the women and children. But he himself went not thither,

having intelligence of the uproar, but sent the judge of that place. Then that which had falsified was duly corrected; the judge laid the blame upon the notary.

During this time the adversaries cried out all the country of Piedmont, "To the fire with them!" "To the fire with them!" The Thursday after, Angrogne, by proclamations and writing up in every place, was exposed to fire and sword. On Friday after, being the second of November, the army approached to the borders of the canton of Lucerne, and certain horsemen came to a place called St. Jean, a little beneath Angrogne. Certain of the people retired into the mountains. Certain of St. Jean, perceiving that the horsemen had spoiled their goods, but also took their fellow-countrymen, set upon them. It is not certain what number of the enemies were there slain; but such as they retired to Bubbiana, where their camp was, and not one of them of St. Jean were hurt. It happened at the same time, that the aforesaid horsemen, being sore amazed, fled before the rest towards the army, being returned march towards Angrogne, crying, "They come!" "They come!" at whose cry the whole army, so astonished, that every man fled his way, and were all so scattered, that the captains that day were not able to bring them in order again, and no creature followed them.

On the Saturday, in the morning, the army entered in the meadow-ground of St. Jean, near Angrogne. They of Angrogne had sent certain to keep the passages, and stop the army that should not enter, if it were possible. In that season the people retired to the meadow of St. Jean, and little thought of the coming of the army, nor that they would have made such a sudden assault: for they were yet carrying of victuals and other stuff, so that few of them kept the passages. Now they which kept the straits, perceiving their enemies prepared themselves to fight, fell upon their knees, and made their prayers unto God, that it would please him to take pity upon them, and not to look upon their sins, but to the end which they maintained; to turn the hearts of their enemies, and so to work, that there might be no effusion of blood; and if it were his will to take them, with their wives and infants, out of this world, that he would then mercifully receive them into his kingdom. In this sort most fervent prayers were made by all those that kept the passages, and exhortation that they should altogether cry unto God, and crave his succour and assistance in their great distress. All this the lord of Trinity and army did well perceive.

which were fled, that if they would return, he would receive them to mercy. The poor people for the most part, trusting on his promise, returned to Bouvets, and yet the next morning the soldiers came thither to apprehend them and their ministers, and beset the place on every side. Such as were swift of foot, and could shift best, escaped, but very hardly: the rest were all hurt or taken, and yet they all escaped by a marvellous means; for it happened that there was an old man which could not run fast, to whom one of the soldiers came with a naked sword in his hand to have slain him. The old man, seeing the imminent danger, caught the soldier by the legs, overthrew him, and drew him by the heels down the hill.

The soldier cried out, "Help! help! this villain will kill me." His fellows, hearing him cry, made haste to rescue him; but in the mean time the old man escaped. The rest, seeing what the old man had done, took heart of grace, and albeit their armour and weapons were taken from them, yet with stones and slings they so beat and discomfited their enemies, that for that present time they carried no prisoners away.

The day following, the soldiers, returning to the said Tailleret, robbed, spoiled, and carried away all that they could find, and so continued three days together; which was very easy for them to do, because the poor men, fearing lest they should be charged with violating the agreement, made no resistance, but retired towards Villars.

The fourth day the said lord of Trinity, to torment the poor Taillerets yet more cruelly, sent his army again, before day, to the mountain, and into the same place, and because the people of the said village were retired toward Villars, and scattered about the borders thereof in the high mountains, the soldiers, not yet satisfied with spoiling and sacking the rest that they found in the said Tailleret, ranging about the confines thereof, ravened and made havoc on every side of whatsoever they could lay hands on, taking prisoners both men and women, which were laden with carriage.

The poor prisoners were cruelly handled. Amongst other there was one, whose ear a soldier of Mondovis, in a raging fury, bit clean off, with these words, "I will carry," said he, "the flesh of these wicked heretics with me into my country." They of Villars also complained of the great cruelty that was showed unto them, during the time of the agreement.

The which when the lord of Trinity understood, to make a show that he was offended therewith, he came to his soldiers, which were so weary that they could scarcely go, (not with fighting, but because

they were so heavily laden with the spoil, that they were not able to carry it,) and pretending to great choler, some he beat; and some thing of a small value he caused to be restored, the rest was kept back and carried away. The same day, two women, the mother and the daughter were found in a cave in the mountain, wounded to death by the soldiers, and died immediately. So likewise a blind man, a hundred years of age, which was fled into a cave with his son's daughter being eighteen years old, who fed him, was killed by the enemies; and as they would have ill-used a maiden, she escaped from them, and fell from the top of the mountain, and died.

At that time also a great company of women of Tailleret and Villars were taken as they fled with their goods, and brought to the camp, and sent away empty. There was at the same time a certain man which promised the lord of Trinity to find the minister of Tailleret, and to deliver him into his own hands. And to bring his purpose to pass, he never ceased until he had found him; and after he pursued him a long time. But as he was pursuing and chasing him, certain, at unawares, came out of the mountain, rescued the poor minister, and killed the soldier with stones.

But this especially is to be noted, that during these troubles divers of the papists had sent their daughters into the mountains unto the Waldenses, to be kept, fearing lest they should have been ill-used by the soldiers, being wholly given over as to all civility and ravin, so to all villany and abomination, to whom they were before threatened to be so abused.

All this being done, the said lord of Trinity caused the head-officers and chiefest of the papists to assemble together, and declared unto them, that the maintaining of the army was a great charge upon the duke, and it was meet that they should bear one half of the charges. For this cause he demanded of them twenty thousand crowns; but, by the means of the secretary Gastaut, who was promised a hundred crowns for his wine, (that is to say, bribe,) four thousand of those twenty were added so that they granted unto him sixteen thousand crowns, the which sum the duke released the one half. Then the lord of Trinity pressed this poor people to deliver the eight thousand out of hand, to pay the soldiers their wages, as he said, and so to withdraw his army. The year before, corn was exceedingly dear, for a sack was commonly sold for six crowns, and some for eight crowns; and also they had very little corn growing upon their mountains, wherefore they were now very bare of money. They, being in this perplexity, and desiring nothing more than to live in peace and quietness, went a

although it were forbidden to all the ministers to preach, yet the minister of Angrogne should be excepted; and, furthermore, sent the said minister word, that if he would demand any thing of the duke, it should be granted him: whereupon the said minister made this request, that the poor people might live peaceably in their religion. A while after, he sent for the same minister to confer with him privately upon certain points of religion. The minister went unto him, having thereto the consent of the people. The lord of Trinity propounded unto him three points: the first, concerning the supremacy of the pope; the other, concerning transubstantiation. Of the which two points the minister then immediately declared his opinion, and he seemed to agree thereunto, and required him to put the same in writing. The last (which was his whole drift) was to persuade the minister to go to the duke's court, and there he to defend the cause of the people, alleging certain reasons to persuade him so to do: whereunto the minister answered, that he was bound to God and his church, and if it seemed convenient to the ministers and people that he should go, he would be content to do the same; and thereof he promised to send him answer immediately, with the which answer he seemed to be contented.

Shortly after, the aforesaid lord, not tarrying for an answer, sent his army to the temple of St. Laurence, in Angrogne, pretending to sing a mass there, and suddenly the soldiers besieged the minister's house. The minister, being warned thereof, essayed to escape. The soldiers attempted nothing by force, but used gentle persuasions to the contrary, for there were not yet many of them. But the minister pushed on further, and the soldiers followed him half a mile, but fearing the people, durst go no further. The minister withdrew himself into the rocks upon the mountain, accompanied with five others. The army was by and by at his heels, and sought a good while in the houses and cottages on every side, cruelly handling the people whom they took, to make them confess where their minister was; spoiling their houses, taking some prisoners, and beating other some: but yet they could not learn of them where their minister was. At the length they espied him among the rocks, where they thought to have enclosed him; and so they pursued him in the rocks all covered with snow, until it was night, and could not take him. Then they returned and spoiled his house, and diligently searched out all his books and writings, and carried them to the lord of Trinity in a sack, who caused them to be all burned in his presence, supposing (as it well appeared) that the letters which he had sent to Angrogne, touching the agreement, should be with the rest burnt: for he

fain to let go ten of their prisoners for haste, and had much ado to save themselves. The other four they led away to the fortress, of the which two were ransomed: the other two were hanged up by the feet and the hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. Of these one died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and his flesh fell from his hands and his feet, and thereof he became lame; and after that his fingers fell off also.

In like manner did the other garrisons treat the villages adjoining unto them.

The garrison of Tour and that of Villars, being assembled together at night, went to Tailleret, to the place called Bouvets, and breaking in at the windows and tops of the houses, breaking open the doors, sacking and spoiling all that they could lay hands on, took also fourteen prisoners, and bound them two and two together by the arms, and so led them to the fortress of Tour; but two which were escaped, whilst the soldiers were taking others, set upon them which led the prisoners, and so valiantly assaulted and beat them with stones, that they forced them to let go twelve of the prisoners, who, rubbing and rolling themselves down the mountain, being their hands bound behind their backs, and bound two and two together by the arms, were content rather so to die, than to be carried to the towns; and yet in the end they escaped. The two which were led to the fortress, were fully tormented, and in the end the captain assailed with his own hands one of them, who was, and but a child: the other, who was about very threescore years of age, whose name was Odul Gemet, suffered also a strange and cruel

The poor Waldois were yet in great captivity and distress, but especially because they had not preaching of God's word amongst them, as they used to have; and therefore, taking to them courage, they determined to begin preaching, albeit secretly, for two principal causes: the first, for fear of moving the duke, and hindering the work of their messengers, having yet some hope of success; the other, that no occasion might be given to the soldiers of further trouble and out-
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The messengers which were sent to the duke, being at Vercelli, were there detained six weeks, and all that while were cruelly handled by the popish doctors, and were constrained by force and violence to promise to return to the mass. Furthermore, they would have constrained them to promise the same in the behalf of the rest, but they would not. After they were presented to the duke, the secretary Gastaut took the supplication of the Waldois out of the messengers' hands, and delivered another. After they had presented themselves to the duke, and asked pardon for bearing of armour, they were constrained also to crave pardon of the pope's legate; which at the beginning they would in no case do. Now when these messengers were returned, bringing this woeful news, and the people understood that there was a new commandment given out, that they should return to the mass; also that popish preachers were appointed, and ready to come unto them, and they commanded to go to fetch them and entertain them accordingly; there was wonderful lamentation, weeping, and mourning, for this great calamity.

Hereupon, they of the valley of Lucerne and of Bobi, being assembled together, by one assent sent two ministers, with certain others of the people, to the churches of Pragela, (which be in the country of Dauphiné,) to signify unto them the piteous state of the poor churches of the valleys of Piedmont, to have their counsel and advice how to prevent the great dangers at hand, if it were possible. For this cause they all fell to prayer, and after they had long called upon God, desiring his grace, and the spirit of discretion and counsel, well to consider of those weighty and urgent affairs wherewith they were oppressed; in the end it was concluded, that all the people dwelling in the said valleys and mountains of Piedmont, and those of Dauphiné, should join in a league together. Whereupon they all promised, by God's grace and assistance, to maintain the pure preaching of the gospel, and the administration of holy sacraments; the one to aid and assist the other; and to render all obedience to their superiors, so far as they were commanded by the word of God. Moreover, that it should be lawful for none of the said valleys to promise or conclude any thing touching the estate of religion, without the consent of the rest of the valleys. And for more sure confirmation of the said league, certain of the ministers and elders of the churches of Dauphiné were sent to the valley of Lucerne, to understand if they would give their consent hereunto, and ratify the same.

did not the like in the other ministers' houses. That day they spoiled forty houses in Angrogne, broke their mills, and carried away all the corn and meal that they found.

About midnight the soldiers returned with torch-light to the minister's house to seek him, and searched every corner. The next morning commandment was given to the rulers of Angrogne, that within twenty-four hours they should deliver their minister, or else Angrogne should be put to the fire and sword. The rulers answered, that they could not

so do, for they knew not where he was, as soldiers had chased him over the mountain. certain days, when the soldiers had burned and spoiled the people, broken their mills, and what mischief they could, the army retired. withstanding the lord of Trinity left garrisons aforenamed fortresses, but all at the charges of the Waldois; the which garrisons contented with their wages, spoiled continually. Upon a night five soldiers went with torches to a rich man's house of Angrogne, and spoiled

off at him, where-
of one touched his
face, and struck
his hat from his

head, without any further hurt.

The rulers of Angrogne, which were gone to the fortress to carry thither victuals and money, were by the soldiers retained, and, in despite of them and the people, caused a mass to be sung before them,

came into the midst of Angrogne, as though it would have passed through, and called for meat and drink. The poor men brought that they could unto them in a close court. When they had eaten and drunken, they caused the women to leave, and then bound fourteen of those who had brought the victuals, by two and two together, and led them away. Their wives and children perceiving this, fiercely pursued them with stones, that they were

to let go ten of their prisoners for haste, and each ado to save themselves. The other four led away to the fortress, of the which two were dead: the other two were hanged up by the neck and the hands; and having tormented them almost to death, they released them for a great sum of money. Of these one died the next night; the other lay sick without hope of life a long time after, and at last fell from his hands and his feet, and of him he became lame; and after that his fingers were also.

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These messengers, the ministers and others of Dauphiné, being arrived in the evening at the village of Bobi, and the people being there assembled, word was brought that the next day every householder should appear in the council-house, to know whether they would return to the mass or no: and they that would receive the mass, should quietly enjoy their houses; and they that would not, should be delivered to the justices, and condemned to be burned, or sent to the galleys. Wherefore the people were brought to this extremity, either to die or flee, or else to renounce God. To flee seemed to them best, if the great snow had not hindered them; wherefore seeing themselves in such distress, they most gladly consented to the league. After this they exhorted one another, saying, "Forasmuch as we shall be all called for to-morrow, to renounce and forsake our God, and revolt again to idolatry, let us now make solemn protestation, that we will utterly forsake the false religion of the pope, and that we will live and die in the maintenance and confession of God's holy word. Let us all go to-morrow into the temple, to hear the word of God, and after let us cast down to the ground all the idols and altars." To this every man agreed, saying, "Let us so do; yea, and that very same hour in which they have appointed us to be at the council-house!"

The next day after, they assembled themselves in the church of Bobi, and as soon as they came into the temple, without any further delay, they beat down the images, and cast down the altars. After the sermon they went to Villars to do the like there. By the way they encountered with a band of soldiers, who were going to spoil a village named Le Val Guichard, and to take the poor inhabitants prisoners. The soldiers, seeing them so ill appointed, mocked them, and discharged their hand-guns upon them, thinking at the first brunt to have put them to flight: but they valiantly defended themselves, and with stones chased them even to the fortress. When they came to Villars, they beat down their images and altars, and afterwards besieged the fortress, and demanded the prisoners which were there detained.

The same day, the judge of Lucerne, called Podesta, went to the council-house, to enrol the names of those who would return to the mass; but seeing what was done, he was sore afraid, and desired the people to suffer him to return quietly; which they willingly granted unto him. Divers gentlemen also of the valley came thither with the judge, to make their poor tenants to forsake God; but seeing the tumult, they were fain to flee into the castle, where they and the garrison were besieged ten days together, not without great danger of their lives. The

second day of the siege, the captain of Tour went with a company of soldiers, thinking to raise the siege; but they were, by those that kept the passages, either slain or discomfited. As much was done the third day. The fourth day he returned with three bands, and with the garrison of Tour, which caused a furious combat, wherein many of the enemies were slain, and a great number hurt; and yet of those that besieged the fort, there was not one man hurt.

In the time of this siege they attempted divers means to take the said fortress, but without ordinance it was impossible so to do; wherefore they were now past all hope of winning it. Moreover, the lord of Trinity, returning with his army, was come to the valley of Lucerne, and the next day after might easily have raised the siege. Wherefore when the garrison (not knowing that the lord of Trinity was so near) desired that they might depart with bag and baggage, they granted their request. In this siege half of the soldiers were slain, and many were hurt, as well with harquebuses as with stones. During this siege, the soldiers for lack of water were constrained to make their bread with wine, which tormented their stomachs, and caused great discontent. Here is not to be forgotten, that the soldiers, who while before did so cruelly persecute the poor ministers, seeking by all means possible to destroy them, were now fain to pray them to save their lives, and to promise them that they should have no harm, and also to conduct them safely into a sure place; neither would they depart until they had promised them so to do; which the ministers did promise, and also perform very willingly. Then the soldiers, seeing themselves much beholden to the ministers so gently dealing with them, gave them great thanks, and promised them in recompence that all the pleasure that they could show them. The same night the fortress was razed.

On the second of February, the lord of Tour encamped at Lucerne, and placed a garrison in the priory of St. Jean, a village of the Waldois betwixt Lucerne and Angrogne. The next day, in the morning, the said lord of Trinity sent word to them of Angrogne, that if they would not take with the rest, they should be gently handled. The week before, they were solicited by him to consent to the same, but they would give no answer. The same day they of Angrogne, and the rest of the valleys, fully agreed and determined to defend their religion by force, and that they should aid the other, and no agreement to be taken by any one without the consent of the rest. In the noon the lord of Trinity marched with his army from St. Jean, to enter into the borders of Angrogne.

called La Sonneillette, where they had fought. The people had made certain bulwarks of stone not past three feet high, where they defended themselves valiantly against their enemies, and killed them divers ways. When the enemies were weary that they could fight no longer, they pushed soldiers into their places; so that the combat lasted until night, and all that day the army did not enter into the borders of Angrogne. Of the enemies were slain, and a great number; and but two of Angrogne slain, of whom one slain by his own folly, because he was too greedy upon the spoil. The army, being now well rested, and tired, rested a while, to make themselves ready for a further mischief.

Friday following, which was the seventh of May, at the break of the day, the army marched into Angrogne by five several places. The people of Angrogne were not yet assembled, and were ready to resist, but only a few who kept back; who, seeing their enemies coming upon them in so many places, and perceiving that they could not enclose them, after they had valiantly fought for a space, recoiled by little and little to a place called La Casse, where the combat was fought with greater fierceness than before. But the lord of Trinity, seeing the loss of his men, and that one of great credit and authority in the king's court was wounded to death, blew a retreat and descended to Angrogne, (the people being in the meadow of Tour,) and there spoiled and took all the wines, victuals, and the rest of the things that he could find; so that in a short space he had burned about a thousand houses of Angrogne.

There is not to be forgotten, that they often set fire upon the two temples of Angrogne, but the word of God was preached, but they would never burn them. So did they also to the lord's house, which notwithstanding remained standing, the houses round about being all consumed by fire. This day none of Angrogne were slain but one, saving only one that was hurt in his leg.

There were in all Angrogne but two, that were faithful to the word of God, who that same day were slain by the soldiers, not in the combat, but for their riches which they had about them, as they were coming away. One of them was a very covetous wretch, and had great store of gold and silver, and would spend nothing, either to help himself, or any other, no, not his poor parents. All this was spoiled by the soldiers, with a hundred or two hundred crowns besides, which he had about him. Besides these two, there was not one of Angrogne

slain that day. All the rest of the people retired to the meadow of Tour, the situation whereof we will here declare, for the better understanding of that which followeth.

Tour is a little valley upon the borders of Angrogne, environed about with mountains, two miles in length, but very narrow. On both sides, and in the midst thereof, there be about two hundred small houses and cottages; also meadows, pastures for cattle, ground for tillage, trees, and goodly fountains. On the south side and the north the mountains are so high, that no man can that way approach unto the said valley. On the other coasts a man may enter by seven or eight ways. This place is not more than two miles from Angrogne; the way thither is very narrow, and ill to pass by, because of the hills which be on both sides. There is also a river hard by, but very small; but the banks thereof be very high in many places. The people had carried thither very few victuals, partly because the way was so ill, and also through the sudden return of the army.

In the mean time, the lord of Trinity, after he had now twice assaulted Angrogne, sent certain to burn Rosa, and to discover the ways which led to the valley of Lucerne; but the soldiers were driven back four days together by those who kept the passages: whereupon he sent his whole army, whom they valiantly withstood from the morning till night. Then they of Lucerne sent new aid. During this combat, an ambushment of soldiers descended from the top of the mountain, by a place so hard to pass by, that no man would have suspected it. The poor people, seeing themselves so environed by their enemies, saved themselves, some running through the midst of their enemies, and other some into the rocks.

The enemies, being entered into Rosa, consumed all with fire and sword. The residue of the people fled by the secret way leading to the valley of Lucerne, and wandered all that night upon the mountains full of snow, laden with their stuff, carrying their little infants in their arms, and leading the others by the hands, with great pain and travail. When they of the valley saw them, they ran unto them, praising God for their deliverance, for they thought they had been all slain. Albeit this poor people were here in such great extremity, yet they were joyful, and comforted themselves, without any lamentation or mourning, except the little poor infants which cried out for cold.

A few days after, the lord of Trinity entered into the valley of Lucerne by three several ways; that is to say, by Rosa, by the plain, and by the sides of Tailleret. They which kept the passages, at first

resisted their enemies valiantly, but perceiving that they were assailed on every side, they retired to Villars, and there defended themselves awhile: but because they saw that their enemies had already passed the plain, and gotten above Villars towards Bobi, they gave over, and left Villars, and fled into the mountains. The soldiers, being entered, burned houses, and slew all that they could find. The poor people which were fled into the mountains, seeing the village on fire, praised God, and gave him thanks, who had made them worthy to suffer for his name and for his cause; and also they were glad to see the village on fire, lest their enemies should encamp there themselves. Then the soldiers, in great rage, mounted the hills on every side, pursuing the poor people in great fury; but a few of them, after they had ardently called upon God, took courage, and beat back their enemies to Villars. This done, the army retired.

Few days after, the meadow of Tour was assaulted by three several ways on the east side. The combat endured a long season, where divers of the enemies were hurt, and many slain; but none of this poor people were slain that day, only two were hurt, which were soon healed again. But to declare the conflicts, assaults, skirmishes, and alarms, which were at Angrogne and other places thereabouts, it were too long: for brevity's sake it shall be sufficient to touch the most principal, and those which are most worthy of memory.

On Saturday, which was the fourteenth day of February, the people which were in the uppermost part of the meadow of Tour, perceived that a company of soldiers had ascended up the hill to Angrogne, and were burning the rest of the houses there. They doubted that it was a policy of their enemies to draw them thither, and in the mean time to set on them behind, and so to win the meadow of Tour from them. Therefore they sent only six harquebussiers against those soldiers, who, having the higher ground, and not being espied of their enemies, discharged their guns all together; whereupon incontinent the soldiers fled, albeit no man pursued them. Whether they fled of policy, or for fear, it was not known.

Shortly after, they of the ward of the meadow of Tour, which were in the watch on the top of the mountain, (because every morning a sermon was made there, whereunto the people resorted, and they might see afar off round about them,) espied a troop of soldiers marching on that side of the hill which is between the east and the north, and soon after that, discovered another company, which marched on the north side towards the said troop. The first were ascended an hour before the other,

and fought on the top of the mountain called lese, but they were soon discomfited; and because they could not run fast by means of the deep and difficulty of the ways, in fleeing they fell down upon the ground. Whilst they that pursued them were earnest in the chase, and had taken them their drum, behold there came certain others, crying out that the other troop was fled into the meadow of Tour, by means whereof they gave over the chase; or else not one of their enemies had escaped, as they which were then reported for a truth. Not one of Angrogne was hurt.

The other troop, which came by the north took a high hill in the top of the mountain which seemed to be almost inaccessible, by reason of the snow and ice which was there. The chief of this company were Ludovic of Monteil, (who had been before master of the camp in the king's army) and Charles Truchet. When they were on the top of the hill, they caused seven soldiers to go down the hill, and to view the way, and to see whether the troop might descend that way or no. The seven went down almost to the houses. They also caused others to occupy the rest of the high hill, which were near to the foot of the hill and the rocks. In the mean time the ministers, and the people which were in the midst of the valley of the meadow, saw all this, and were much discouraged therewith: wherefore they fell to prayer, and called upon God ardently, not without great sighs, lamentation, and tears, even until night.

The seven spies which came down to discover the ways, cried unto their Captain Truchet, "Come down! come down!" "Seignior Charles! this Angrogne shall be taken." The others cried unto them again, "Ascend! ascend, and return! or you shall be slain every one of you!" Immediately he issued out five against these spies, and took care of them, and chased the rest. The first of the five which he sent upon them, cast two of them down upon the ground with a fork of fire. Soon after, eight of Angrogne issued out against the whole troop. Which was wonderful to see them go with such courage and boldness, to assail such a multitude, and it seemed that they should have been all destroyed and broken in pieces. The first of the eight went a good way before the others, to discover the enemies, and carried a great staff, which they call a rancon, and somewhat bigger than a halberd: the others followed by two and two together, with harquebuses. These eight went from rock to rock, from hill to hill, about the mountain, and chased their enemies valiantly. Then came twelve others, the which joining with the rest, fought with a wonderful

ge, and made great slaughter of their ene-
Soon after there came from the valley of Lu-
a hundred harquebussiers, with one of their
ers, according to their manner, who were wont
d out a minister withal, as well for prayer and
station, as to keep the people in order, that
exceeded not measure, as it came to pass
lay.

the length they saw them also coming, who
ed from the discomfiture of the former troop,
g a great noise, and having a drum sounding
them which they had taken from their ene-
; who joined with them of the valley of Lu-
and having made their earnest prayer unto
Immediately they came to succour the others
were encountering valiantly with their
s. Then the enemies, seeing such a com-
marching against them with such courage and
s, after the others had once called upon God,
hearts were so taken from them, that suddenly
ed, and as soon as the others began to pray,
began also to flee; but because they could not
ave themselves by running away, they turned
back, and fought, and some in the mean time

that carried the rancon, and discovered the
s, was but a very young and a simple man,
s esteemed to be one that could do nothing
they say in their language) handle *la sappe*,
is to say, a hatchet, and kept cattle; and yet
th those that followed, so discomfited the ene-
that it was wonderful to behold. He brake
that rancon with laying load upon them; and
that he brake also four of their own swords in
ing them. There was a boy of eighteen years
p, and of small stature, who alone slew the
of Monteil, master of the camp (as is said) to
lag; wherewith the enemies were marvellously
ished and discouraged. Another simple man,
a man would have thought, durst not once have
ed Charles Truchet in the face, (because he was
y big man, strong and puissant, and one of the
st captains of the whole army,) threw down
aid Truchet with the stroke of a stone. Then
any man leaped upon him, and slew him with
own sword, which was four fingers broad, and
his head in pieces.

he Truchet was one of the principal authors of
war, and one of the chiefest enemies of true
gion, and of the poor Waldois, that could then
beard. It was said also, that he vaunted and
manned before to the said lord of Trinity, that he
ould deliver into his hands the meadow of Tour:
God soon brought his proud brag to nought;
d for his spoiling, pilling, and polling of the poor

people, he lay spoiled and naked like a beast in the
wild mountain of Angrogne. Two of the chiefest
among them offered to pay a great sum of crowns
for their ransom, but they could not be heard. They
were pursued more than a mile, and were so dis-
comfited, that they fled without any resistance; and
if the night had not let them, they had pursued them
further.

The minister, when he saw the great effusion of
blood, and the enemies to flee, cried to the people,
saying that it was enough, and exhorted them to
give thanks unto God. They which heard him,
obeyed, and fell to prayer; but they that were fur-
ther off, and heard him not, chased their enemies
till dark night, insomuch that if the rest had done
the like, very few of their enemies had escaped.
That day they spoiled their enemies of a great part
of their armour and munition. So God restored in
this combat, and in others, to the poor Waldois, the
armour which the lord of Trinity had taken from
them before. Thanks were given to God in every
place; and every man cried, "Who is he that seeth
not that God fighteth for us?" This victory gave
great courage to the poor Waldois, and greatly
astonished the enemies.

On the eighteenth of February, the lord of Trini-
ty, not satisfied with burning and destroying the
greatest part of Villars, returned to burn all the little
villages round about, which pertain to the same, and
especially to pursue the poor people, who were fled
up into the mountains; and dividing his army into
three parts, he entered by three several ways above
mentioned. The two first companies joined toge-
ther between Villars and Bobi, having a great com-
pany of horsemen. From thence they went to seek
the people which were in the mountain of Combe,
by such a way as they did not suspect, and where
there were no warders to defend the place. Not-
withstanding, the warders which were next, seeing
their enemies ascending that way, speedily ran be-
fore them; and calling upon God for his aid and
succour, they set themselves against their enemies:
and albeit they were but thirty in number, yet they
valiantly beat them back twice, coming out of their
bulwarks, that is to say, certain houses which at that
time served them for that purpose, albeit they were
not made for that use. Many of the enemies were
slain at those two combats, and not one of the other
side. The lord of Trinity, seeing his men so fiercel-
ly driven back, sent out the greatest part of his
army, which were esteemed to be fifteen hundred
men. There came also about a hundred to succour
the warders. The combat was very cruel and fierce.
At length the poor people were assaulted so vehe-
mently, that they were fain to forsake their bulwarks,

losing two of their men. Then the enemies thought all to be theirs, and blew their trumpets, triumphing that they had put the people to flight. But the people, retiring not past a stone's cast, took courage, and crying all together to the Lord for succour, they turned themselves to the face of their enemies, and with great force and power they hurled stones at them with their slings.

After this the enemies rested themselves awhile, and by and by after they gave a furious assault; but yet they were again mightily resisted. Yet once again the enemies rested, and in the mean time the people fell to prayer, calling upon God all together, with their faces lifted up towards heaven; which frayed the enemies more than any thing else. After this, they gave yet another great assault, but God by the hands of a few drove them back. Yea, God here showed his great power, even in the little children also, who, fervently calling upon God, threw stones at their enemies, and gave courage also unto the men. So did also the women, and the vulgar sort; that is to say, those who were meet for no feats of war, remaining upon the mountain, and beholding these furious combats, kneeling upon the ground, and having their faces lifted up towards heaven, with tears and groanings they cried, "Lord, help us!" who heard their prayers.

After that these three assaults were given, there came one unto them crying, "Be of good courage! God hath sent those of Angrogne to succour us." He meant, that they of Angrogne were fighting for them in another place, that is to say, towards Tailleret, where the third part of the army was. The people perceiving that they of Angrogne were come to that place to succour them, began to cry, "Blessed be God, who hath sent us succour: they of Angrogne be here to succour us!" The enemies hearing this, were astonished, and suddenly blew a retreat, and retired into the plain.

That troop that were gone towards Tailleret, divided themselves into three companies. The first marched by the side of the mountain, burning many houses, and joined with the main army. The second company, which was of seven score, marched higher, thinking to take the people at unawares; but they were by seven men strongly resisted and driven back. The third company attained the top of the mountain, thinking to enclose the people; but as God would, they of Angrogne, who came to succour them, encountered with them, and with great force put them to flight.

They of Villars, of whom mention is made before, after they had refreshed themselves with a little bread and wine, (for the most part of them had eaten nothing all that day,) chased their enemies till it

was almost night, so fiercely, that the master's camp was fain to send to the lord of Trinity (who was at Tour) for succour, or else all would have been lost; which he did; and immediately he came with all speed to Lucerne to save himself, at the alarm which was given at St. Jean by the lord of Angrogne, and fearing lest the way should have been stopped. The army retired with great difficulty (notwithstanding the new aid which was sent to them) and with great loss of their men. One of the captains confessed since, that if they had been present any further, they had fled all that night long. At that time they never returned again into the valley of Lucerne.

On Monday, being the seventeenth of March following, the lord of Trinity, to be revenged upon those of the meadow of Tour, assembled all the gentlemen that he could make with the gentlemen of the valley; insomuch, that whereas before his army was commonly but four thousand, it was now between six and seven thousand: and secretly, at night season, he encamped with part of his army in the midst of Angrogne, from whence the poor inhabitants were fled before. The next morning after the sermon and prayers were ended, he perceived the other part of the army to be encamped at the foot of the mountain of Angrogne on the east side. Soon after they perceived how both parts of the army coasted the hill's side, the one towards the other, being such a multitude, entering in their harness, and marching in such a manner that the poor people at first were astonished. Notwithstanding, the assembly fell down upon their knees three or four times, crying, "Help us, Lord!" beseeching him to have regard to the glory of his holy name, to stay the effusion of blood, and to turn the hearts of his enemies to his good pleasure, and to turn the hearts of his good people to the truth of his holy gospel. The two parts of the army joined together near the bulwarks of the meadow of Tour, and gave the assault in three several places. One of the captains mounted secretly by the rocks, thinking to have surprised the people in their bulwarks. But as they that kept the bulwark below had seen him, they forsook the place, and marched straight towards them; and as they marched, they met the aid which was sent unto them, very luckily from the valley of Lucerne, and coming as it were from heaven; who joining together, soon defeated their enemies with stones and harquebuses. They pursued them fiercely into the rocks, and vanquished them wonderfully, because the rocks are so steep that no man can ascend or descend without great pain and difficulty. The captain of this band was named Bastian, of Vergilia, a man very expert

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even at hand, they fell upon them, some with throwing of stones, some with rolling down mighty stones, and some with harquebusses. There was a huge stone rolled down, which passed throughout the whole army, and slew divers. The soldiers at that time had won a little cottage near to the said bulwark, which did much hurt to the poor men; but among them one devised to roll down a great huge stone against the cottage, which so shook it, and amazed the soldiers, that they thought they had been all destroyed; and incontinent they fled, and never would enter into it again.

Then the soldiers made certain fences of wood, five feet long, three feet broad, and of the thickness of three boards; but they were so sore vexed with the shot of the harquebusses, that they were fain to lay all those fences aside. The miners also made others of earth for the soldiers. But all these policies of the enemies availed them nothing; for the slaughter was so great, that in divers places you might have seen three lying dead, one upon another. God so wrought with the poor Christians, that the shot of two harquebusses slew four men. It was said for a certainty, that the shot of a harquebuss came so near the lord of Trinity's head, that it brake a wand which he bare in his hand, and made him to retire sixscore paces backward; and seeing his soldiers in such great numbers murdered and wounded on every side, he wept bitterly. Then he retired the rest of his army. That day he thought assuredly to have entered into the meadow of Tour. Moreover, he was determined, if that day's journey had not succeeded, to encamp thereby, and the next morning very early to renew the assault. Many gentlemen and others came thither to see the discomfiture of the poor Waldois; and likewise those of the plain looked for nothing but to hear the piteous ruin and desolation of this poor people. But God disposed 'it otherwise, for the lord of Trinity had much ado to save himself and his; and seeing the mischiefs which they intended to do unto others, were fallen now upon their own heads, they were wonderfully astonished. They of the plain also, when they saw the number of the dead bodies and the wounded to be so great, (for from noon until the evening they ceased not to carry them away,) were likewise exceedingly dismayed. Albeit they carried not all away; for there were many that lay near to the bulwarks, whom the people covered with winding-sheets the next morning. The soldiers themselves confessed to them of Tour, that if they had pursued them, they had been all slain, they were so tired, and clean out of heart.

Many marvelled why the people did not follow the army, but especially the soldiers, seeing the

great discomfiture which they had done, and they had gotten such advantage of them also; but this was done for two causes; the one was cause they had already determined not to follow the army being once retired, to avoid the effusion of blood, meaning only to defend themselves; the other cause was, for that they were weary, and spent all their munition: for many of them shot off about thirty times, and none of them twenty, spending great store both of peller and hail shot. The rest of the army retired, crying a loud voice, "God fighteth for them, and not for them wrong!"

The next day one of the principal captains of the army surrendered his charge to the lord of Tour, saying unto him, that he would never fight against this people any more; and upon that he departed. It is a marvellous thing, and worthy of perpetual memory, that in that combat there were but the Waldois slain, and two hurt. Through the whole country of Piedmont, every man said, "God fighteth for them." One of the captains confessed that he had been at many fierce assaults and combats, and sundry battles well fought, but he never saw soldiers so faint-hearted and amazed as these; yea, the soldiers themselves told him, they were astonished that they could not strike. Moreover, they said, that this people never shot but that they either wounded or killed some of the soldiers. Some others said, that the ministers by their prayers conjured and bewitched them, that they could not fight. And indeed wonderful is it, and marvellous are the workings and judgments of God, that notwithstanding so many combats and conflicts, so great assaults and adventures, so much and such terrible shot, continually directed against this poor people, yet all in a manner proved to no effect, so mightily God's holy power was manifested for his people: insomuch that for all the said combats, skirmishes, and so many conflicts of all the grognians, there were but nine only that miscarried, and the whole number of those that were slain was but only fourteen persons. Here also is to be noted, not without great admiration, how few there were of the Waldois, and those also but poor silly shepherds and their herds, to encounter with such a mighty power of strong and brave soldiers coming against them, unarmed and unprovided of all habiliments of war, having for their defence for the most part nothing else but slings and stones, and a few harquebusses.

On the ninth of March there was a hot skirmish at Angrogne; for three companies of soldiers

Angrogne, to burn and spoil all that remained, to destroy the wines which were hidden in the hill. Where, amongst themselves, they mocked and laughed the poor people, saying, "These Lucerno Waldois are valiant fellows behind their bulwark; but if they had been in the plain field, they were well canvassed." After this it chanced that thirty of the Waldois went and assailed these aid companies in the plain field. They fought a season, and that so near, that some of them were hand to hand. In this conflict one of those Angrogne, wrestled with a captain of the enemy, strong and mighty, and cast him down upon the ground. Many of the soldiers were slain, and hurt; but of the Angrognians there was but one slain, and another hurt a little, who notwithstanding gave not over to fight manfully. Then the soldiers, seeing the loss of their men, retired only.

After that, the lord of Trinity sent two gentlemen of the valley of Lucerne to them of Angrogne, to tell them if they would come to any agreement. An answer was given, that they would stand to their first answer. From that time he sent very few to treat of the agreement; but what his meaning, it might well appear; for when the poor Angrognians hoped for some agreement, they were most cruelly assaulted. Upon this, there was a day appointed in the valley of Lucerne, to confer touching the agreement with certain men pertaining to the lord of Ranconis, and the safe-conduct was provided and granted.

The night before the ministers and rulers of Angrogne should take their journey, they perceived a party of soldiers going up a hill by which they of Angrogne should pass, and hid them in houses by the way-side, thinking to take at unawares them of Angrogne that were sent to treat of the agreement. But they, having intelligence of this conspiracy, watched and warded. It was an easy matter to divers thought, that night to have taken the lord of Trinity, and to have spoiled his whole camp; but they of Angrogne and Lucerne would not execute this enterprise, lest thereby they should offend God, and pass the bounds of their vocation, taking no more than to defend themselves.

At that time a pitiful case happened in the meadow of Tour. The lord of Ranconis, seeming to be weary for this war, sent into the meadow of Tour a honest man of Briqueras, named Francis of Lucerne, to take advice what means were best to further the agreement; who, having consulted with the ministers and rulers, returned homeward that day according to his master's commandment, and bringing back one who conducted him, was mur-

dered soon after, at the foot of Angrogne, by two of Angrogne, who otherwise seemed to be honest, and of good parentage. Soon after, one of the two, who had committed this fact, entered into the meadow of Tour and was immediately apprehended and bound. He confessed the fact without any further delay. Immediately the other also was taken.

The Waldois were marvellously troubled and aggrieved with this fact, and wrote to the lord of Ranconis, declaring unto him the whole circumstance of the fact, and that they had the offenders in ward, and that if it would please him to send certain to examine the matter, they, for their part, would so execute justice in the punishment of them, that their innocency to all men should appear. The lord of Ranconis wrote unto them that they should deliver unto him the offenders, and that he would do such justice upon them as the case required. To this they of Angrogne answered, that upon three conditions they should be delivered according to his request: first, that the prisoners should be compelled to do nothing against their consciences; and as touching religion, nothing should be spoken unto them, but out of the word of God: secondly, that speedy and sharp justice should be executed upon them; and that hereafter this should be no prejudice to the liberties and privileges of the people of Angrogne: the third, that the execution of them should be upon the borders of Angrogne, for an example to all others. This being accorded with one assent, (yea, without contradiction of their parents,) they sent them prisoners, accompanied with sixty gunners, to the confines of Lucerne, and there delivered them into the hands of the lord of Ranconis. This redounded to the great commendation of them of Angrogne.

After this the lord of Trinity, having left certain garrisons about Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, went to Prouse near to the valley of St. Martin, to succour the garrison there, being in great danger, and there remained a month. During which time, they of Angrogne, and the valley of Lucerne, lived in more quietness than before; but yet they were much afflicted, by reason of the scarcity of victuals which sore pressed them, and namely those of the meadow of Tour, for they were spoiled of their victuals. This poor people lived on milk and herbs, having very little bread: but afterwards, when they were even like to be famished, God of his goodness sent them better succour, both of corn and bread, than they had before. The enemies thought to have taken the meadow of Tour by famine; for they took away the victuals that were to be had in all places round about. Every household was suffered to have no more than should sus-

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had conceived against them, by the untrue
of their adversaries; and if there were any
wherein they had offended him, they most
craved his gracious pardon.

At this time the lord of Trinity, by sickness,
in great danger of his life. Soon after the sup-
plication was delivered, the duchess sent an answer
to Waldois, by the said lord of Ranconis. The
effect thereof was, that she had obtained of the
her Grace all that they demanded in their sup-
plication, upon such conditions as the said lord of
Waldois would propound unto them. But when
they understood that the said conditions were very
harsh, they sent another supplication unto the
duchess, wherein they humbly besought her Grace
to mean that the said conditions and articles
might be moderated; which articles here follow.

First, That they should banish their ministers.

Secondly, That they should receive the mass,
and other ceremonies of the Romish Church.

Thirdly, That they should pay a ransom to the
duchess for certain of their men which they had

Fourthly, That they should assemble and preach
the gospel as they were wont to do.

Fifthly, That the duke would make fortresses
at his pleasure, in all that country: with other like

A supplication of the Waldois to the duchess of Savoy.

The people made humble request in this their last
supplication, "that it would please the said duchess
to give the duke her husband to understand, how
these conditions were strange and rigorous.
As for their parts, although they had good trial
of their ministers, that they were good men and
fearing God, of sound doctrine, of good life, and
of good conversation; yet nevertheless they were
contented so to do, if he would give leave to some
of them to remain: requesting this, that it might be
permitted unto them to choose some other good mi-
nisters in their places, before they departed, lest
their churches should remain without pastors.

Concerning the mass, and other ceremonies of
the Church of Rome, if the duke should cause them
to be ministered in their parishes, they neither would,
nor could withstand the same, and for their part,
they would do no injury or violence to those that
should minister them, or be present thereat: not-
withstanding they besought him, that they might
not be constrained to be present themselves at the
administration thereof, nor to pay any thing to the
maintenance of the same, or else to yield either fa-
vor or consent thereunto.

"As touching the ransom which was demanded
of them for their prisoners, considering the extreme
poverty that they were in, and the great calamities
and damages which they had suffered, it was to them
a thing impossible. Yea, if his Highness were truly
informed what loss they had sustained, by burning,
spoiling, and sacking of their houses and goods,
without all mercy or pity, he would not only not re-
quire of them any such thing, but, as a gracious and
merciful prince, he would succour and support them,
that they might be able to maintain their poor fami-
lies, whom they nourished (as they were bound to
do) to the service of God, and of their said lord and
prince: and therefore they desired that it might
please him, that their poor brethren remaining in
captivity and prison, and such as were sent to the
galleys for the profession of their religion, might
speedily be delivered and set at liberty.

"As for their assemblies and preachings, they
were contented that they should be kept only amongst
themselves, in their accustomed places, and in other
valleys aforesaid, where any assembly of the faithful
should be, which were desirous to hear the preach-
ing of the gospel.

"Touching the fortresses, forasmuch as by those
which were already made they had suffered great
molestations and troubles, as well concerning their
goods, as also their religion, they were assured, that
if he should build up new forts, they should never
be able to abide the troubles, miseries, and calami-
ties, that would follow thereupon: and therefore
they most humbly desired the said duchess to be so
good and gracious unto them, as to obtain of the
duke that he would accept their persons in the stead
of forts; and that, seeing those places were by na-
ture and of themselves strong and well fortified, it
might please their said lord the duke to receive
them into his protection and safeguard; and by the
grace and assistance of God they would serve him
themselves for such walls and forts, that he should
not need to build any other. And because many of
those which dwelt near about them had robbed
and spoiled them, not only of their household goods
and such other things, but also driven away their
cattle, that it might please him to give them leave
to recover the said goods by way of justice, and to
buy again that which the soldiers had sold, and that
for the same price for the which it was sold.

"Briefly, they also besought their said lord, that
it might please him to be so gracious unto them, as
to grant them a confirmation of all their franchises,
immunities, and privileges, as well general as parti-
cular, given unto them as well by him as by his
predecessors; and likewise of those, who, as well
as their ancestors, had bought of their lords, and to

receive them, as his most humble and obedient subjects, into his protection and safeguard.

"And because in time past, instead of good and speedy justice, all iniquity was committed by those that had the administration of justice in their valleys; and forasmuch as their purses were emptied and punished rather than the malefactors'; that it might please him to give order that such justice might be done amongst them, whereby the wicked might be punished with all severity, and the innocent defended and maintained in their right.

"Finally, forasmuch as divers of this poor people (being astonished at the coming of the army, and fearing lest they should not only be spoiled of all their goods, but also they with their wives and children be utterly destroyed) made promise, against their consciences, to live according to the traditions of the Church of Rome; they were marvellously troubled and tormented in spirit, and did nothing but languish in that distress. Wherefore they humbly besought the said duchess to take pity upon them, and to obtain that they might not be compelled to do any thing against their conscience; and moreover, that it might please the duke to permit them to live in liberty and freedom of conscience: also, that all their poor brethren, banished for the cause of religion, might return home to their houses; and that all confiscations and penalties made against them, might be abolished. And for their part, they promised to give all due reverence and honour to God and his holy word, and to be true and faithful subjects unto their lord and prince; yea, more than any other." Underneath the said supplication there was written:

"Your faithful and humble subjects, the poor afflicted of the valleys of Lucerne, Angrogne, St. Martin, and Perouse, and, generally, all the people of the Waldois, who inhabit the country of Piedmont."

After that this supplication was viewed and read of the said duchess, she so persuaded with the duke, that answer was made with these conditions, declared in these articles following:

"That there shall shortly be made letters patent by the duke's Highness, by the which it may appear that he hath forgiven and pardoned them of the valleys of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, Tailleret, La Rua de Bonet, (bordering upon Tour,) St. Martin, Perouse, Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and all such as have aided them; of all such faults as they have committed, as well in bearing armour against his Highness, as against the lords and certain other gentlemen whom he retained and kept in his protection and safeguard.

"That it shall be lawful for them of Angrogne, Bobi, Villars, Valquichard, Roras, members of the valley of Lucerne, and for them of Rodoret, Marcele, Maneille, and Salsa, (members of the valley of St. Martin,) to have their congregations, sermons, and other ministries of their religion in places accustomed.

"That it shall be lawful for them of Villars (members of the valley of Lucerne) to have the same, but that only until the time that his Highness doth build a fort in the same place. But whilst the said fort is in building, it shall not be lawful to have their preachings and assemblies within the said precinct of the place, but it shall be lawful for them to build a place for that purpose near at hand, where they shall think good, on that side towards Bobi. Nevertheless it shall be permitted to their ministers to come within the precinct aforesaid, to visit the sick, and exercise other things necessary to their religion, so that they preach not, nor make any assembly there.

"It shall also be permitted to them of Tailleret, and La Rua de Bonet, bordering upon Tour, to have their sermons and assemblies in places accustomed, so that they enter not for that purpose into the rest of the confines of Tour.

"That it shall not be lawful for the said members of the valleys of Lucerne and St. Martin, to come to the rest of their borders, nor to any of his Highness's dominions; nor to have their preachings, assemblies, or disputations, out of their own borders, having liberty to have them therein. And if they be examined of their faith, it shall be lawful for them to answer without danger of punishment in body or goods.

"The like shall be lawful for them of the parish of Perouse, which at this present are fled because of the said religion, and were wont to have their assemblies and preachings, and other ministries according to their religion, at the place called Le Pinachia, so that they come not to other places and borders of the said parish.

"It shall be permitted to them of the parish of Pinachia, of the valley of Perouse, who at this present be fled because of the said religion, and were wont to go to sermons and assemblies, and other ministries of that religion, to have the like, at the place called Le Grandoubion.

"It shall be permitted to them of the parish of St. Germain, of the valley of Perouse, and to them of Roccapiata, who at this present are fled because of the said religion, and continue in the same, to have one only minister, who may the one day preach at St. Germain, at the place called l'Adorn, and the other day at Roccapiata, at the place called Vandini only.

"It shall be permitted to all them of the

ages of the said valleys, who at this present
and continue in the said religion, notwithstanding any promise or abjuration made before this
against the said religion, to repair and return
to houses with their households, and to live ac-
cording to the same, going and coming to the ser-
vice assemblies which shall be made by their
ministers in the places above specified, so that they
do that which is above said.

And because many of the said towns and villages
out of the precinct of the preaching, having
not been visited, and of other things according to
the said religion, their ministers, which dwell with-
out the precinct, shall be suffered, without prejudice,
to and duly aid them of such ministries as
shall be necessary for them, so that they make no
error assemblies.

By special grace it shall be permitted to all
of the valley of Meane, and them of St. Bar-
thilimi, neighbours to Roccapiata, and who are fled
to continue in the said religion, peaceably to enjoy
the same and liberties granted in the next article
of this statute, so that they observe all which they before
were to observe.

The goods already seized as forfeited, shall be
restored to all the inhabitants of the said valleys,
and all that are fled and continue in the said re-
ligion, as well them of the said valleys, as to those
of Roccapiata, St. Barthilimi, and of Meane; so
that they be not seized for any other cause than for
the said religion, and for the war present and lately
past.

It shall be lawful for them aforesaid to recover
by way of justice, of their neighbours, their movable
goods and cattle, so it be not of soldiers; and that
if both have been sold, they shall also recover by way
of justice, so that they restore the price for which
both have been sold. Their neighbours shall have the
same against them.

All their franchises, freedoms, and privileges,
both general as particular, granted as well by his
Highness's predecessors, as by himself, and obtained
of other inferior lords, whereof they shall make proof
by public writing, shall be confirmed unto them.

The said valleys shall be provided for, to have
justice ministered unto them, whereby they
may know they are kept in safeguard by his High-
ness, as well as all his other subjects.

The inhabitants of the said valleys shall make
record of all the names and surnames of all them of
the said valleys, which are fled for religion, as well
as those who have abjured as others, to the end they may
be maintained and maintained in their goods and house-
holds, and enjoy such grace and benefits as their
prince and lord hath bestowed on them.

"And inasmuch as it is known to every man, that
the prince may build fortresses in his country, where
it shall please him, without contradiction, neverthe-
less, to take all suspicion out of the minds of the
aforesaid Waldois, it is declared, that if at any time
hereafter his Highness shall make a fort at Villars,
the inhabitants of the said place shall not be con-
strained to bear the charges, but only as they shall
think good lovingly to aid their prince: which fort
being builded, (by God's aid,) a governor and cap-
tain shall therein be appointed, who shall attempt
nothing but the service of his Highness, without of-
fence of the inhabitants, either in their goods or con-
sciences.

"It shall be lawful for them, before the discharg-
ing of their ministers, such as it shall please his
Highness to have discharged, to choose and call
others in their steads; so that they choose not M.
Martin de Pragela, nor change from one place to
another of the said valleys any of them which be
discharged.

"The mass, and other service after the usage of
Rome, shall be kept in all the parishes of the said
valleys, where the sermons, assemblies, and other
ministries of their religion are made; but none shall
be compelled to be present thereat, nor to minister
aid or favour to such as shall use that service.

"All the expenses and charges borne by his
Highness in this war, shall be forgiven and released
to them for ever; also the eight thousand crowns
wherein the inhabitants of the said valleys were be-
hind, as part of sixteen thousand crowns which they
had promised in the war passed; and his Highness
will command that the writings for that cause made
shall be annulled and cancelled.

"All the prisoners shall be rendered and restored,
which shall be found to be in the hands of the sol-
diers, paying ransom reasonable, according to their
goods, as they shall be seized; and those that shall
be adjudged to be wrongfully taken, shall be released
without ransom.

"Likewise all they of the said valleys, which for
religion, and not for other causes, are detained in
the galleys, shall be released without ransom.

"Finally, it shall be lawful for all them of the
said valleys, them of Meane, Roccapiata, and St.
Barthilimi, of what degree, estate, or condition soever
they be, (except ministers,) to accompany and dwell
and to be in daily conversation, with the rest of their
Highness's subjects; and to tarry, go, and come in
all places of his Highness's country; to sell and
buy, and use all trades of merchandise, in all
places in his Highness's country, (as before is
said,) so that they preach not, nor make any assem-
blies or disputations, as we have before said: and

that these which be of the limits dwell not out of of them; and they which be of the towns and villages of the said valleys, dwell not out of them, nor of their borders: and in so doing they shall not be molested by any means, and shall not be offended nor troubled in body or goods, but shall remain under the protection and safeguard of his Highness.

"Furthermore, his Highness shall set order to stay all troubles, inconveniences, secret conspiracies of wicked persons, after such sort that they shall remain quietly in their religion. For observation whereof, George Monastier, one of the elders of Angrogne; Constantin Dialestini, otherwise called Rembaldo, one of the elders of Villars; Pirrone Arduino, sent from the commonalty of Bobi; Michael Raymundet, sent from the commonalty of Tailleret, and of La Rua de Bovet, bordering upon Tour; John Malenote, sent from certain persons of St. Jean; Peter Paschall, sent from the commonalty of the valley of St. Martin; Thomas Roman of St. German, sent from the commonalty of the same place, and of all the valley of Perouse, promise for them and their commonalties severally, that the contents of these conclusions aforesaid shall be inviolately kept; and for breach thereof do submit themselves to such punishment as shall please his Highness; promising likewise to cause the chief of the families of the commonalties to allow and confirm the said promise.

"The honourable lord of Ranconis doth promise, that the Duke's highness shall confirm and allow the aforesaid conclusions to them, both generally and particularly, at the intercession and special favour of the noble lady the princess.

"In testimony hereof, the aforesaid lord of Ranconis hath confirmed these present conclusions with his own hand; and the ministers have likewise subscribed, in the name of all the said valleys; and they that can write, in the names of all their commonalties.

"At Cavor, the fifth day of June, 1561.

Philip of Savoy.

Francis Valla, minister of Villars.

Claudius Bergius, minister of Tailleret.

Georgius Monasterius.

Michael Raymundet."

This accord being thus made and passed, by means of the duchess of Savoy, the poor Waldois have been in quiet until this present; and God, of his infinite goodness, have delivered them out of so many troubles and conflicts, hath set them at liberty to serve him purely, and with quietness of conscience.

Wherefore there is none at this present (except

he be altogether blind or senseless) but see well perceiveth, that God would make it known experience to these poor Waldois, and all faithful people, that all things turn to the them which love and fear him: for by all afflictions which they suffered, (as is before heard,) this good heavenly Father hath led them to repentance and amendment of life; and effectuously taught them to have recourse to fatherly mercy, and to embrace Jesus Christ their only Saviour and Redeemer.

Furthermore, he hath taught them to tame desires and lusts of the flesh, to withdraw hearts from the world, and lift them up to him and to be always in a readiness to come to him unto their most loving and pitiful Father. In short, he hath sent them to the school of his children, to the end they should profit in patient hope; to make them to mourn, weep, and cry to him. And above all, he hath made them aware to prove his succours at time of need, to see before their eyes, to feel and touch them with his hands (as a man would say) after such manner as they have had good occasion, and the faithful, never to distrust so good a Father, so careful for the health of his children; but to themselves they shall never be confounded with thing soever happens.

And yet to see this more manifestly, and every man may take profit thereof, it shall be to understand what this poor people did, when they were in these combats and conflicts. As when they saw the army of their enemies approaching, they cried all together for aid and succour to the Lord; and before they began to defend themselves they fell to prayer, and in fighting lifted up their hearts, and sighed to the Lord. As long as their enemies were at rest, every one of these poor people on their knees called upon God. When the combat was ended, they gave him thanks for the aid and succour which they had felt. In the same time, the rest of the people, with their ministers made their hearty prayer unto God, with sighs and tears, and that from the morning until the evening. When night was come, they assembled again together: they that had fought, rehearsed the wonderful aid and succour which God had sent them, and so all together rendered thanks unto him for his fatherly goodness. Always he changed their mourning into joy. In the morning trouble and affliction appeared before them, with great terror on all sides; but by the evening they were delivered, and of great cause of rejoicing and comfort.

This poor people had two terrible enemies, war and famine, which kept them under in such

a man would have thought they had been utterly lost and destroyed : but God, of his endless mercy, delivered them from such dangers, and returned them to their houses, where they remained in peace and quietness ; and all they had declared themselves to be their open enemies were brought to confusion, as well those who sought to get their goods, as those who only desired to shed their blood ; for proof whereof, the example of two gentlemen of the valley of Lu- shall suffice. These not only moved cruel against their poor tenants and others, but most cruelly spoiled them, and took intolerable fines from those that disobeyed their edicts to keep a reverence.

When this, they went about to seize all their lands as forfeited, waiting to have the whole forfeited thereof themselves. And for this cause they not only incense the duke with false reports, but with grievous complaints and accusations against poor Waldois, but also pursued the same so loaded with such charges, that they were fain to lose their inheritance, in hope to bring their purpose to pass, and to enjoy that goodly prey, which they thought could not escape their hands. But in the end their reward, they got nothing but shame and confusion.

As for the monks and priests, who by such thoughts to advance themselves, and to bring trumpery into estimation, they have lost the rule which they had over that people, and are despised, and their religion brought to disdain. God beateth down those who exalt themselves without measure, and maketh his adversaries to fall into the pits which they themselves have made. We pray unto him therefore, that it would please him likewise to stretch out his puissant arm at this time to maintain his poor church now afflicted, and to overthrow all the devices of Satan and his ministers to the advancement of his glory and kingdom.

the conclusion of the story of Merindol and Cabriers.

Now thus hast thou, Christian reader ! for thy instruction and comfort, the story and doings disclosed concerning these two countries, both of Provence and also of Piedmont, the one being subject to the dominion of France, the other belonging to the Duke of Savoy ; in which two aforesaid regions and countries, how long the gospel of Christ hath been despised, (even from the time of the first Waldenses,) the history itself declareth.

Furthermore, what injuries and wrongs have been done against them for the gospel's sake, what rigour

and cruelty hath been showed of the adversary part ; again, for their part, what patience in their suffering, what constancy in their doctrine, what truth in their words, and simplicity in their deeds, what obedience towards their magistrates, and faith towards God, they have used ; and finally, how miraculously and mightily God hath fought for his people, and confounded the enemies, the said history may give thee full knowledge and experience.

Wherein this thou hast moreover, for thy more learning, to note and consider with thyself, besides many other memorable things in this story contained, how unwilling this people were at first, and what remorse of conscience they had for their obedience towards their magistrates, to lift up any hand or finger for their own defence. And therefore many of them being slain and cruelly murdered, as willingly offering their throats without any resistance to the cruel hands of their enemies, the rest were compelled to flee into the mountains, being spoiled of house, victual, and weapon, only to save their poor lives with fleeing (which otherwise they would not with resisting) into rocks and caves, thinking there rather to perish by famine, than to use that defence for themselves, which nature giveth to every brute beast to help itself, as it may, against violence and injury. Yet these poor Waldois, refusing all resistance, and laying down their own weapons, for obedience' sake, yea, not lifting up their own hands to defend their own heads, only used the poor shift of fleeing from their enemies, till at length the rage of those bloody persecutors, satisfied with no blood, nor contented with any reason, ceased not still most furiously to infest them, yea, to take also the mountains from them, who had taken from them their houses before ; neither yet permitting them to live with the wild beasts in the desert, who could not live in their towns at home ; till at length, by extreme necessity, the providence of God so working with them, they were compelled to turn their faces, and to take those weapons which the ground gave into their hands. And with these stones so marvellously the God of hosts wrought for his people, that they beat, vanquished, and overthrew their adversaries ; they confounded their pride, they abated their malice, and at last stayed the intolerable rage of their persecution. So mercifully and victoriously the Lord God Omnipotent fought with his people, or rather for his people, (they but turning almost their faces to their enemies,) no otherwise than he fought in times past with Joshua against the heathen, with the Israelites against the Philistines, with the Maccabees against Antiochus and the Syrians.

This history, carrying with it a true narration of

things done in the said country of Piedmont, and written as it seemeth by certain of the ministers who were at the doing thereof, with the like faith and simplicity we have collected, partly out of the Italian, and partly out of the French tongue; for in both languages it is written although; in the French tongue it is much more largely discoursed, which book most principally herein we have followed.

Now that we have finished these foreign histories, concerning such matters as have been passed in other realms and nations of Germany, Italy, Spain, France, and Savoy; consequently it remaineth, after this digression, to return and reduce our story again to our own country matters here done and passed at home, after that first we shall have added one foreign story more concerning the martyrdom of a Christian Jew, who suffered about these years in Constantinople, among the Turks, in this wise as followeth:

The story of a Christian Jew martyred by the Turks at Constantinople, A. D. 1528.

To these foreign martyrs aforesaid we will adjoin the history of a certain Jew, who, A. D. 1528, dwelling in the city of Constantinople, and there receiving the sacrament of baptism, was converted, and became a good Christian. When the Turks understood hereof, they were vehemently exasperated against him, that he, forsaking his Jewishness, should be regenerated to the faith of Christ: and fearing lest his conversion should be a detriment to their Mahometical law, they sought means how to put him to death, which in a short time after they accomplished; and, for the greater infamy to be done to the man, they cast his dead corpse into the streets, commanding that no man should be so hardy as to bury the same.

Wherein the marvellous glory and power of Christ appeared; for the dead corpse, lying so by the space of nine days in the midst of the streets, retained so its native colour, and was so fresh, without any kind of filthiness or corruption, and also not without a certain pleasant and delectable scent or odour, as if it had been lately slain, or rather not slain at all, which when the Turks beheld, they were thereat marvellously astonished; and being greatly afraid, they themselves took it up, and carried it to a place near, without the town, and buried it.

The conclusion.

Having thus comprehended the troubles and persecutions of such godly saints, and blessed martyrs, which have suffered in other foreign nations above mentioned, here now ending with them, and beginning the eighth book, we are (God willing) to return again to our own matters, and to prosecute such acts and records, as to our own country of England do appertain; in the process whereof, among many other things, may appear the marvellous work of God's power and mercy, in suppressing and banishing out of this realm the long-usurped supremacy of the pope; also in subverting and overthrowing the houses of monks and friars, with divers other matters appertaining to the reformation of Christ's true church and religion. All which things, as they have been long wished and greatly groaned for in times past by many godly learned men, so much more ought we now to rejoice and give God thanks, seeing these days of reformation which God hath given us. If John Huss, or good Jerome of Prague, or John Wickliff before them both, or William Brute, Thorpe, Swinderby, or the Lord Cobham; if Zisca with all the company of the Bohemians; if the Earl Reimond, with all the Toulouseans; if the Waldois, or the Albigenses, with infinite others, had either been in these our times now, or else had seen then this ruin of the pope, and revealing of antichrist, which the Lord now hath dispensed unto us, what joy and triumph would they have made! Wherefore now, beholding that which they so long time have wished for, let us think the benefit to be small, but render thereunto most humble thanks to the Lord our God, who by his mighty power, and the brightness of his word hath revealed this great enemy of his so manifestly to the eyes of all man, who before was hid in church so colourably, that almost few Christians could espy him. For who would ever have suspected in his mind, that the bishop of Rome (commonly received, and believed, almost of all men) to be the vicar and vicerent of Christ here in the world, to be antichrist, and the great adversary of whom St. Paul so expressly prophesieth of, in the latter days to be revealed by the brightness of the Lord's coming, as all men now, for the time may see it is come to pass? Wherefore, O Father of lights, who revealeth all things at due time, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.

THE EIGHTH BOOK,

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS APPERTAINING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL
ECCLESIASTICAL, AS CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.



*The history of seven
godly martyrs burnt
at Coventry.*

Mistress Smith, widow;
Robert Hatchets, a
shoemaker; Archer,
a shoemaker; Haw-
kins, a shoemaker;
Thomas Bond, a shoe-
maker; Wrigsham, a
glover; Landsdale, a
hosier, at Coventry,
A. D. 1519. Their
persecutors: Simon
Mourton, the bishop's
sumner; also the bi-
shop of Coventry, and
Friar Stafford, war-
den.

THE principal cause
of the apprehension of
these persons, was for
teaching their children
and family the Lord's
Prayer and Ten Com-
mandments in English,
for which they were,
upon Ash Wednesday,
taken and put in prison,
some in places under
ground, some in cham-
bers and other places
about, till Friday fol-
lowing.

Then they were sent
to a monastery called
Mackstock Abbey, six
miles from Coventry;
during which time their
children were sent for
to the Grey Friars in

Coventry, before the warden of the said friars, called Friar Stafford; who straitly examining them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them, charged them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments in English.

Which done, upon Palm Sunday the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and there, the week next before Easter, (because most of them had borne faggots in the same city before,) were condemned for relapse to be burned.

Only Mistress Smith was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, the aforesaid Simon Mourtou, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve; "Yea," said he, "what have ye here?" And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments in English. Which when the wretched sumner understood; "Ah sirrah!" said he, "come, as good now as another time:" and so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned, and so burned with the six men before named, the fourth of April, in a place thereby, called The Little Park, A. D. 1519.

Robert Silkeb, at Coventry, A. D. 1521.

In the same number of these Coventry men above rehearsed was also Robert Silkeb, who, at the apprehension of these, as is above recited, fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said city of Coventry, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither, which was about the thirteenth day of January, A. D. 1521.

Thus, when these were despatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any parcel thereof, to help themselves withal. And forasmuch as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty showed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays and other fasting days; which neither could be proved either before their death or after, nor yet was any such matter greatly objected to them in their examinations. The witnesses of this history be yet alive, which both

saw them and knew them; of whom one is in Mother Hall, dwelling now in Bagington, but from Coventry: by whom also this is testified, that they, above all other in Coventry, tended most show of worship and devotion, holding up of the sacrament; whether to eat or not, matter, or no, it is not known. This is testified that in godliness of life they differed from all of the city; neither in their occupying would use any oath, nor could abide it in them occupied with them.

Patrick Hamilton, at St. Andrews in Scotland, A. D. 1527. His persecutors were, James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews; Master Spens, dean of divinity in the university of St. Andrews; Master John Weddel, rector of the university; James Simpson, official; James Ramsay, canon, and dean of the abbey of Dunfermline; Allane Meldrum, canon; John Bannister, principal of the Black Friars; John Bannister, warden of the Grey Friars; Martin Balguy, lawyer; Alexander Bannister, bachelor of divinity, canon; John Annand, Friar Alexander Campbel, prior of the Friars, &c.

Patrick Hamilton, a Scotchman born of his noble stock, and of the king's blood, young, in flourishing age, and excellent towardness, of three years, called abbot of Ferme, first come of his country with three companions to seek learning, went to the university of Marburg in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hess, where he, using civility and familiarity with learned men, especially with Francis Lambert, so profited in knowledge and mature judgment in matters of religion, that through the incitation of the said Lambert, who was first in all that university of Marburg which he did set up conclusions there to be disputed concerning faith and works; arguing also more learnedly than fervently upon the same. These those propositions and conclusions were, published in his treatise hereafter following, called *Places*, may appear.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick Hamilton, increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godliness, at length began to return with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen the fruit of the understanding which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three whom he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without longer delay; where he, not sustaining the mis-

ignorance and blindness of that people, after he constantly taught and preached the truth, and had their abuses, was first accused of heresy, afterwards, constantly and stoutly sustaining the word of God's gospel against the high priest and bishop of St. Andrews, named James Beaton, cited to appear before him and his college of masters, the first day of March, A. D. 1527. He, being not only forward in knowledge, but also in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning, before he was looked for; and there disputing against them, when he could not be convicted, by force he was ordered. And so the sentence of condemnation given against him, the same day after dinner, in great haste, he was had away to the fire, and burned (the king being yet but a child): this made the bishops more bold. And thus the noble Hamelton, the blessed servant of God, without all just cause, made away by cruel means, yet not without great fruit to the church; for the grave testimony of his blood left the hearts of many, than ever could after be made away: inasmuch that divers afterwards, in his quarrel, sustained also the like martyrdom, as hereafter (Christ willing) shall appear, as time shall require.

In the mean season we think good to express the articles, and order of his process, as we had them from Scotland, out of the registers.

Articles and opinions objected against Master Patrick Hamilton, by James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews.

That man hath no free-will.

That there is no purgatory.

That the holy patriarchs be in heaven before Christ's passion.

That the pope hath no power to loose and bind; nor any pope had that power after St. Peter.

That the pope is antichrist, and that every man hath the power that the pope hath.

That Master Patrick Hamilton was a bishop.

That it is not necessary to obtain any bulls from the pope.

That the vow of the pope's religion is a vow of continence.

That the pope's laws be of no strength.

That all Christians, worthy to be called Christians, do know that they be in the state of grace.

That none be saved, but they are before predestination.

That whoever is in deadly sin, is unfaithful.

"That God is the cause of sin, in this sense, that is, that he withdraweth his grace from men, whereby they sin.

"That it is devilish doctrine, to enjoin to any sinner actual penance for sin.

"That the said Master Patrick himself doubteth whether all children, departing incontinent after their baptism, are saved or condemned.

"That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation."

These articles above written were given in, and laid against Master Hamilton, and inserted in their registers, for the which also he was condemned, by them that hated him, to death. But other learned men, which communed and reasoned with him, do testify, that these articles following were the very articles, for which he suffered.

"I. Man hath no free-will.

"II. A man is only justified by faith in Christ.

"III. A man, so long as he liveth, is not without sin.

"IV. He is not worthy to be called a Christian, who believeth not that he is in grace.

"V. A good man doth good works: good works do not make a good man.

"VI. An evil man bringeth forth evil works; evil works, being faithfully repented, do not make an evil man.

"VII. Faith, hope, and charity be so linked together, that one of them cannot be without another in one man, in this life."

And as touching the other articles whereupon the doctors gave their judgments, as divers do report, he was not accused of them before the bishop; albeit in private disputation he affirmed and defended the most of them. Here followeth the sentence pronounced against him.

"Christi nomine invocato: We, James, by the mercy of God, archbishop of St. Andrews, primate of Scotland, with the counsel, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the Holy Scripture, and masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, in the cause of heretical pravity, against Master Patrick Hamilton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: we have found the same Master Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers,

repugnant to our faith, and which is already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we decreeing before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he, of evil mind, (as may be presumed,) passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without licence or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

"We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: That man hath no free-will: that man is in sin so long as he liveth: that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners: all Christians that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace: that no man is justified by works, but by faith only: good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works: that faith, hope, and charity are so knit, that he that hath the one, hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them, wanteth the rest, &c., with divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

"All these premises being considered, we, having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the counsel and advice of the professors of the Holy Scripture, men of laws, and other assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare the said Master Patrick Hamilton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity, (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities,) to be a heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith; and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive; depriving, and sentencing him to be deprived, of all dignities, honours, orders, offices, and benefices of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over to the secular power, to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

"This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrew, the last day of the month of February, A. D. 1527, being present the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow; George, bishop of Dunkeld; John, bishop of Brechin; William, bishop of Dunblane; Patrick, prior of St. Andrews; David, abbot of Abirbrothoke; George, abbot of Dunfermline; Alexander, abbot of Caunbuskineth; Henry, abbot of Lendors; John, prior of Peter-

weme; the dean and subdean of Glasgow; Master Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Allane Meldrum, &c.

"In the presence of the clergy and the people," &c.

After the condemnation and martyrdom of this true saint of God were despatched by the bishops and doctors of Scotland, the rulers and doctors of the university of Louvain, hearing thereof, received such joy and consolation at the shedding of that innocent blood, that for the abundance of heart they could not stay their pen to utter condign thanks; applauding and triumphing, in their letters sent to the aforesaid bishop of St. Andrews and doctors of Scotland, at the worthy and famous deservings of their achieved enterprise in that behalf: as by the tenor of their said letter may appear, which here followeth:

"Your excellent virtue, most honourable bishop, hath so deserved, that albeit we be far distant both by sea and land, without conjunction of familiarity, yet we desire with all our hearts to thank you for your worthy deed, by whose works that true faith which not long ago was tainted with heresy, is only remaineth unhurt, but also is more confirmed. For as our dear friend Master Alexander Galoway, canon of Aberdeen, hath showed us the presumption of the wicked heretic, Patrick Hamilton, who expressed in this your example, in that you have cut off, when there was no hope of amendment.

"The which thing, as it is thought commendable to us, so the manner of the proceeding was very pleasant, that the matter was performed by so general consent of so many states, as of the clergy, nobles, and vulgar people; not rashly, but most prudently, the order of law being in all points observed. We have seen the sentence which ye pronounced, and always do approve the same, not doubting but that the articles which be inserted are erroneous: and whosoever will defend for a truth any one of the same, with pertinacity, should be esteemed an enemy to the faith, and an adversary to the Holy Scripture. And albeit one or two of them appeared without error, to them that will consider only the bare words; as for example, "Good works make not a good man, but a good man worketh good works;" yet there is no doubt but they are contrary to the Lutheran sense, which in a manner they have made wit, that works done after faith and without reward make not a man the better, nor are worthy of reward before God. Believe not that this shall have place only among you, for there are many of those among extern nations who shall in the same, &c.

"Certainly ye have given us great courage, now we acknowledge your university, &c.

and according to the example of our university
 to be equal to ours, or else above; and
 that occasion were offered of testifying our
 toward you. In the mean time, let us labour
 consent, that the ravening wolves may be
 from the sheepfold of Christ, while we have
 Let us study to preach to the people more
 hereafter, and more wisely. Let us have
 and espies of books, containing that doc-
 especially that are brought in from far coun-
 either by apostate monks, or by merchants,
 suspected kind of men in these days. It
 since Scotland first embraced the Chris-
 it was never defiled with any heresy.
 therefore, being moved thereunto by the
 of England, your next neighbour, which in
 troublous time is not changed, partly by
 of the bishops, among the which Rof-
 showed himself an evangelical Phoenix,
 of the king, declaring himself to be an
 of the new law, pretermittin'g no-
 that may defend the law of his realm; the
 of your most renowned king of Scotland will
 he shall purchase to himself eternal glory.
 as touching the condign commendation
 your part, most reverend bishop! in
 itself, it shall not be the least of your
 that these heresies have been extinct some
 in Scotland, you being primate of Scotland,
 principal author thereof: albeit that they also
 have assisted you, are not to be defrauded
 of deserved praise; as the reverend bishop of
 of whose erudition we have here given
 to understand, and also the reverend bi-
 of Aberdeen, a stout defender of the faith, to-
 with the rest of the prelates, abbots, priors,
 of Holy Scripture. Let your rever-
 hood take this little testificate of our duty
 in you in good part, whom we wish long and
 well to fare in Christ.

From Louvain, the year 1528, April 21st.

"By the masters and professors of Theology
 in the university of Louvain."

In the epistle of the Louvanian doctors, I shall
 and, gentle reader! to note unto thee, what a
 thing in a commonwealth is blind ignor-
 it falleth into cruel hearts; which may
 be compared to a sword, put into the hands
 that is both blind and mad. For as the
 man, having no sense to see and judge, know-
 not whom he striketh; so the madman, being
 and furious, hath no compassion in sparing
 it. Whereupon it happeneth many times with
 men, as it did with the blind furious Pharisees,

that as they, having the sword of authority in their
 hands, instead of malefactors and false prophets,
 slew the true prophets of God, and at last crucified
 the King of glory; so these, catholic Louvanians,
 and followers of their Messias of Rome, take in their
 hands the sword of jurisdiction; who, neither seeing
 what to spare, nor caring whom they smite, under
 the style and pretence of heretics, murder and blas-
 pheme, without mercy, the true preachers of the
 gospel, and the holy anointed of the Lord.

But to return to the matter again of Master
 Hamilton; here is moreover to be observed, as a
 note worthy of memory, that in the year of our
 Lord 1564, in the which year this present his-
 tory was collected in Scotland, there were certain
 faithful men of credit then alive, who, being pre-
 sent the same time when Master Patrick Hamil-
 ton was in the fire, heard him to cite and appeal
 the Black Friar called Campbel, that accused him,
 to appear before the high God, as general Judge of
 all men, to answer to the innocency of his death,
 and whether his accusation was just or not, be-
 tween that and a certain day of the next month,
 which he there named. Moreover, by the same
 witness it is testified, that the said friar died im-
 mediately before the said day came, without remorse
 of conscience that he had persecuted the innocent;
 by the example whereof divers of the people the
 same time much mused, and firmly believed the
 doctrine of the aforesaid Master Hamilton to be
 good and just.

Hereunto I thought good to adjoin a certain
 godly and profitable treatise of the said Master
 Patrick Hamilton, written first by him in Latin, and
 afterwards translated by John Frith into English;
 which he names "Patrick's Places;" not unprofit-
 able, in my mind, to be seen and read of all men, for
 the pure and comfortable doctrine contained in the
 same, as not only by the treatise itself may appear,
 but also by the preface of the said John Frith, pre-
 fixed before, which also I thought not inconvenient
 to insert with the same, as here followeth:

John Frith unto the Christian reader.

"Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus
 Christ, who in these last days and perilous times
 hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his
 Son, to testify the truth unto the unfaithful, to save
 at least some from the snares of antichrist, which
 lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that
 excellent and well learned young man, Patrick
 Hamilton, born in Scotland of a noble progeny:
 who, to testify the truth, sought all means, and
 took upon him priesthood, (even as Paul circum-
 cised Timothy, to win the weak Jews,) that he

might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which, if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places; for it treateth exactly of certain common-places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlasting, Amen."

The doctrine of the law.

"The law is a doctrine that biddeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify here following:

- I. Thou shalt worship but one God.
- II. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it.
- III. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain.
- IV. Hold the sabbath day holy.
- V. Honour thy father and thy mother.
- VI. Thou shalt not kill.
- VII. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
- IX. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
- X. Thou shalt not desire aught that belongeth to thy neighbour.

"All these commandments are briefly comprised in these two, Matt. xxii. 37, Love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind: this is the first, and great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hangeth all the law and the prophets."

Certain general propositions proved by the Scripture.

The First Proposition.

"He that loveth God loveth his neighbour.

"This proposition is proved, 1 John iv. 20, If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"

The Second Proposition.

"He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"This proposition is proved: What would that men should do to you, even so do ye to them: for this is the law and the prophets, that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: thou shalt not desire. And be any other commandment, all are comprised in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself. If the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, in loving thy neighbour as thyself."

ARGUMENT.

"He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour."

"Ergo, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God."

The Third Proposition.

"He that hath faith, loveth God.

"My Father loveth you, because you love me, and I believe that I come of God."

ARGUMENT.

"He that keepeth the commandments, hath the love of God.

"He that hath faith, keepeth the commandments of God.

"Ergo, he that hath faith, loveth God."

The Fourth Proposition.

"He that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all.

"This proposition is confirmed: It is impossible for a man without faith to please God; he cannot keep any one of God's commandments, as long as he do. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandment hath faith."

ARGUMENT.

"He that hath faith keepeth all the commandments of God.

"He that keepeth any one commandment, hath faith.

"Ergo, he that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all.

The Fifth Proposition.

"He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them."

ARGUMENT.

that keepeth one commandment of God,
 he that keepeth not all the command-
 ments of God, keepeth not one of them."

The Sixth Proposition.

that in our power to keep any one of the
 commandments of God."

ARGUMENT.

impossible to keep any of the command-
 ments of God, without grace.

that in our power to have grace.

it is not in our power to keep any of the
 commandments of God.

even so may you reason concerning the
 law and faith, forasmuch as neither without
 grace are able to keep any of the commandments
 neither yet be they in our power to have :
 of him that willeth, nor of him that run-

The Seventh Proposition.

the law was given us to show our sin.

the law cometh the knowledge of sin. I
 know not what sin meant, but through the law ; for
 I knew not what lust had meant, except the
 law said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the
 law I was dead, that is, it moved me not, neither
 did it was sin, which notwithstanding was
 forbidden by the law."

The Eighth Proposition.

the law biddeth us do that thing which is im-
 possible for us."

ARGUMENT.

the keeping of the commandments is to us im-

possible. The law commandeth to us the keeping of
 the commandments.

the law commandeth unto us that is im-

possible. But thou wilt say, Wherefore doth
 the law bid us do what is impossible for us ?

I answer, To make thee know that
 thou art not evil, and that there is no remedy to save
 thee by thine own hand : and that thou mayest seek
 for some other ; for the law doth nothing else
 but to condemn thee."

The doctrine of the gospel.

The gospel is as much as to say, in our tongue,

good tidings ; like as these be hereunder following,
 and such others, Luke ii. 10.

" Christ is the Saviour of the world, John iv. 42.

" Christ is the Saviour, Luke ii. 11.

" Christ died for us, Rom. v. 6.

" Christ died for our sins, Rom. iv. 25.

" Christ bought us with his blood, 1 Pet. i. 19.

" Christ washed us with his blood, Rev. i. 5.

" Christ offered himself for us, Gal. i. 4.

" Christ bare our sins on his back, Isa. liii. 6.

" Christ came into this world to save sinners,
 1 Tim. i. 15.

" Christ came into this world to take away our
 sins, 1 John iii. 5.

" Christ was the price that was given for us and
 our sins, 1 Tim. ii. 6.

" Christ was made debtor for us, Rom. viii. 12.

" Christ hath paid our debt, for he died for us,
 Col. ii. 14.

" Christ made satisfaction for us and our sins,
 1 Cor. vii. 23.

" Christ is our righteousness, 1 Cor. i. 30.

" Christ is our sanctification, 1 Cor. i. 30.

" Christ is our redemption, 1 Cor. i. 30.

" Christ is our peace, Eph. ii. 14.

" Christ hath pacified the Father of heaven for
 us, Rom. v. 1.

" Christ is ours and all his, 1 Cor. iii. 23.

" Christ hath delivered us from the law, from the
 devil, and from hell, Col. ii. 14—17.

" The Father of heaven hath forgiven us our sins,
 for Christ's sake, 1 John i. 9.

" (Or any such other, like to the same, which de-
 clare unto us the mercy of God.)"

The nature and office of the law and of the gospel.

" The law showeth us our sin, Rom. iii. 9—20.

" The gospel showeth us remedy for it, John i. 29.

" The law showeth us our condemnation, Rom.
 vii. 23, 24.

" The gospel showeth us our redemption, Eph. i.

" The law is the word of ire, Rom. iv. 15.

" The gospel is the word of grace, Acts xx. 24.

" The law is the word of despair, Deut. xxvii.
 15—26.

" The gospel is the word of comfort, Luke ii. 10.

" The law is the word of unrest, Rom. vii. 24.

" The gospel is the word of peace, Eph. vi. 15."

A disputation between the law and the gospel ;
 where is shown the difference or contrariety be-
 tween them both.

" The law saith, Pay thy debt.

" The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.

" The law saith, Thou art a sinner ; despair, and
 thou shalt be damned.

might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him, and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which, if ye list, ye may call Patrick's Places; for it treateth exactly of certain common-places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way, which leadeth to life everlasting, Amen."

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- VIII. Thou shalt not steal.
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- X. Thou shalt not desire aught that belongeth to thy neighbour.

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The Second Proposition.

"He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the commandments of God.

"This proposition is proved: Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them: for this is the law and the prophets. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. Thou shalt not commit adultery: thou shalt not kill: thou shalt not steal: thou shalt not bear false witness: thou shalt not desire. And if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, Love thy neighbour as thyself. All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself."

ARGUMENT.

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"He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.

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ARGUMENT.

"He that hath faith keepeth all the commandments of God.

"He that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith.

"Ergo, he that keepeth any one commandment of God, hath faith."

The Fifth Proposition.

"He that loveth God, keepeth his commandments."

"Ergo, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them."

"It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God."

ARGUMENT.
 "It is impossible to keep any of the command-
 ments of God, without grace.
 ... to have grace.

"Ergo, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God."

The Seventh Proposition.

The Eighth Proposition.

ARGUMENT.

the keeping of

ping of | ~~The same~~

1 incredulity is the

"Faith maketh God and man good friends: incredulity maketh them foes.

"Faith bringeth God and man together: incredulity sundereth them.

"All that faith doth, pleaseth God: all that incredulity doth, displeaseth God.

"Faith only maketh a man good and righteous: incredulity only maketh him unjust and evil.

"Faith maketh a man a member of Christ: incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.

"Faith maketh a man the inheritor of heaven: incredulity maketh him inheritor of hell.

"Faith maketh a man the servant of God: incredulity maketh him the servant of the devil.

"Faith showeth us God to be a sweet Father: incredulity showeth him a terrible Judge.

"Faith holdeth stiff by the word of God: incredulity wavereth here and there.

"Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true: incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.

"Faith knoweth God: incredulity knoweth him not.

"Faith loveth both God and his neighbour: incredulity loveth neither of them.

"Faith only saveth us: incredulity only condemneth us.

"Faith extolleth God and his deeds: incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds."

Of hope.

"Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him."

We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.

"It is better to trust in God and not in man, Psal. cxviii. 8.

"He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxviii. 26.

"It is good to trust in God, and not in princes, Psal. cxviii. 9.

"They shall be like unto the images which they make, and all that trust in them, Psal. cxv. 8.

"He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxviii. 26.

"Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, Jer. xvii. 5.

"Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God, 1 Tim. vi. 17.

"It is hard for them that trust in money, to enter into the kingdom of heaven.

"Moreover we should trust in him only, that may

help us: God only may help us, therefore we should trust in him only.

"Well are they that trust in God, and woe to them that trust not in him.

"Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust.

"They shall rejoice that trust in thee; they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them."

Of charity.

"Charity is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is this: Do as thou wouldst be done to: for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger."

A comparison between faith, hope, and charity.

"Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh of faith; and charity springeth of them both.

"Faith believeth the word; hope trusteth ~~after~~ that which is promised by the word; charity ~~doth~~ good unto her neighbour, through the love that ~~she~~ hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

"Faith looketh to God and his word; hope ~~look~~eth unto his gift and reward; charity looketh on ~~her~~ neighbour's profit.

"Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth ~~his~~ reward; charity loveth her neighbour with a ~~good~~ heart, and that without any respect of reward."

"Faith pertaineth to God only; hope to ~~him~~ reward; and charity to her neighbour."

The doctrine of works.

No manner of works make us righteous.

"We believe that a man shall be justified ~~by~~ out works, Rom. iii.

"No man is justified by the deeds of ~~them~~ but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we ~~have~~ in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified ~~by~~ faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the ~~law~~ if righteousness come by the law, then ~~died~~ in vain, Gal. ii.

"That no man is justified by the law ~~is~~ for a righteous man liveth by his faith, ~~but~~ is not of faith, Acts xvii.

"Moreover, since Christ the Maker of ~~heaven~~ earth, and all that is therein, behoved to ~~die~~ we are compelled to grant that we ~~were~~ drowned and sunken in sin, that neither ~~we~~ nor all the treasures that ever God made ~~could~~ make, could have holpen us out of them: no deeds or works may make us righteous."

No works make us unrighteous.

If any evil works make us unrighteous, then contrary works should make us righteous. But it is proved that no works can make us righteous: but no works make us unrighteous."

Works make us neither good nor evil.

It is proved that works neither make us right nor unrighteous: therefore no works make us good or evil. For righteous and good are the same, and unrighteous and evil likewise one.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works make not an evil man: but a good man bringeth forth good fruits, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit maketh not the tree evil: but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works: for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it beareth good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit."

Man, and the works of man, are either good or evil.

Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and it shall bring forth good also, or else make the tree evil, and it shall bring forth evil likewise evil, Matt. xii. 23.

A good man is known by his works: for a good man doth good works, and an evil man evil works. We shall know them by their fruit; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravens: ye shall know them by their fruits, Matt. vii. 15.

Our works either save us or condemn us.

If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure sign that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil. Yet good fruit makes not a man good, nor evil fruit the tree evil; so that it is good ere he do good deeds, and evil ere he do evil deeds."

The man is the tree, his works are the fruit.

"Faith, maketh the good tree, and incredulity

the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit; such a man, such works. For all things that are done in faith, please God, and are good works; and all that are done without faith, displease God, and are evil works.

"Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and that all things pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works? or whereto should he die for thee, if any works might have saved thee?"

"What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldst have died perpetually; and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death: for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain; and that, for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

"Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou, pay it; but shouldst be damned if his blood were not. But since he was punished for thee, thou shalt not be punished.

"Finally, He hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee; and bear it in mind; and that thou wouldst help others for his sake, both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

"Oh how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us; he is a good and a gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you therefore, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen!"

He that thinketh to be saved by his works calleth himself Christ:

"For he calleth himself the Saviour; which pertaineth to Christ only.

"What is a Saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself; which is as much to say as, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the world."

We should do no good works for the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin:

"For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved, for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel: for the gospel saith, You

shall be saved for Christ's sake; your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake.

"He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that those who believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him as a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

OBJECTION.

"Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds?"

ANSWER.

"I say not so, but I say we should do no good works to the intent to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe to get the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God: or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God a liar. For God saith, Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake; thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake: and you say it is not so, But I will win it through my works.

"Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil. Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gifts of God, but as a debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, who giveth all things, and is not the poorer? Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him, for he is a gentle Lord; and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him: if then we want aught, let us blame ourselves.

"Press not therefore to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy, and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall as Lucifer fell for his pride."

FINIS.

Certain brief notes or declarations upon the aforesaid Places of Master Patrick.

"This little treatise of Master Patrick's Places, albeit in quantity it be short, yet in effect it comprehendeth matter able to fill large volumes, declaring to us the true doctrine of the law, of the gospel, of faith, and of works, with the nature and properties, and also the difference of the same: which differ-

ence is thus to be understood: that in the law salvation, and in the office of justifying, these be removed and separated asunder, the law the gospel, and faith from works: otherwise, a person that is justified, and also in order of doctrine they ought commonly to go necessarily together.

"Therefore, wheresoever any question or riseth of salvation, or our justifying before God, there the law and all good works must be excluded and stand apart, that grace may be free, the promise simple, and that faith may stand alone; which faith alone, without law or works, worketh to every man particularly, his salvation through mere promise, and the free grace of God. This word *particularly*, I add, for the purpose certifying of every man's heart, privately and particularly, that believeth in Christ. For as the law Christ is the cause efficient of the redemption of the whole world in general; so is faith the instrumental cause, by which every man applieth the said grace of Christ particularly to his own salvation. So in the action and office of justification, both law and works here be utterly secluded and excluded, things having nothing to do in this behalf. The reason is this, for seeing that all our redemption universally springeth only from the body of Christ of God crucified, then is there nothing that can save us in stead, but that only wherewith this body of Christ is apprehended. Now, forasmuch as neither the law nor works, but faith only, is the thing which apprehendeth the body and death of Christ, therefore faith only is that matter which justifieth the soul before God, through the strength of the object which it doth apprehend. For the object of our faith is the body of Christ, like as the serpent was the object only of the eyes of the Israelites' looking, and not of their hands working, the strength of which object, through the promise of God, immediately proceeded health to the beholders. So the body of Christ, being the object of our faith, striketh righteousness to our souls, not through working, but believing only.

"Thus you see how faith, being the only instrument of our soul, standeth alone with her object in the office of justifying; but yet, nevertheless, in the body of Christ standeth not alone: for besides the eye, there are also hands to work, feet to walk, ears to hear, and other members more, every one convenient for the service of the body, and yet there is none of all that can see, but only the eye. So in a Christian's life, and in order of doctrine, there is repentance, there is hope, charity, and faith, and of charity; all which, in life and in doctrine, are joined, and necessarily do concur together: and in the action of justifying, there is nothing else

man, that hath any part or place, but only faith apprehending the object, which is the body of Christ Jesus for us crucified, in whom consisteth all the worthiness and fulness of our salvation, by faith; that is, by our apprehending and receiving of him: according as it is written in John i. 12, "Whosoever received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, even all such as believed in his name," &c. Also in Isa. liii. 11, "This just servant of mine, in the knowledge of him shall justify many, &c."

ARGUMENT.

"Apprehending and receiving of Christ only maketh us justified before God.

"Christ only is apprehended and received by faith.

"Ergo, faith only maketh us justified before God."

ARGUMENT.

"Justification cometh only by apprehending and receiving of Christ.

"The law and works do nothing pertain to the obtaining of Christ.

"Ergo, the law and works pertain nothing to justification."

ARGUMENT.

"Nothing which is unjust of itself, can justify before God, or help any thing to our justifying.

"Every work we do, is unjust before God.

"Ergo, no work that we do, can justify us before God, or help any thing to our justifying."

ARGUMENT.

"Works could any thing further our justification, should our works something profit us before God.

"No works, do the best we can, do profit us before God.

"Ergo, no works that we do, can any thing further justification."

ARGUMENT.

"That we can do with God, is only by faith.

"Works and merits be not Christ, neither of him.

"Ergo, our works and merits can do nothing with God."

ARGUMENT.

"The law is the cause of condemnation, cannot be the cause of justification.

"The law is the cause of condemnation.

"Ergo, it is not the cause of justification."

A CONSEQUENT.

"We are quit and delivered from the law.

"Ergo, we are not quit and delivered by the law.

"Forasmuch therefore as the truth of the Scripture, in express words, hath thus included our salvation in faith only, we are enforced necessarily to exclude all other causes and means in our justification, and to make this difference between the law and the gospel, between faith and works; affirming, with Scripture and the word of God, that the law condemneth us, our works do not avail us, and that faith in Christ only justifieth us. And this difference and distinction ought diligently to be learned and retained of all Christians; especially in conflict of conscience between the law and the gospel, faith and works, grace and merits, promise and condition, God's free election and man's free-will: so that the light of the free grace of God in our salvation may appear to all consciences, to the immortal glory of God's holy name. Amen."

The order and difference of places.

"The gospel and the law; Faith and works;

"Grace and merits; Promise and condition;

"God's free election and man's free-will."

"The difference and repugnance of these aforesaid Places being well noted and expended, it shall give no small light to every faithful Christian, both to understand the Scriptures, to judge in cases of conscience, and to reconcile such places in the Old and New Testament as else may seem to repugn; according to the rule of St. Augustine, saying, Make distinction of times, and thou shalt reconcile the Scriptures, &c. Contrariwise, where men be not perfectly in these places instructed to discern between the law and the gospel, between faith and works, &c., so long they can never rightly establish their minds in the free promises of God's grace, but walk confusedly, without order, in all matters of religion; example whereof we have too much in the Romish Church, who, confounding these places together without distinction, following no method, hath perverted the true order of Christian doctrine, and hath obscured the sweet comfort and benefit of the gospel of Christ, not knowing what the true use of the law, nor of the gospel, meaneth."

In the doctrine of the law three things to be noted.

"In the law, therefore, three things are to be considered. First, what is the true rigour and strength of the law, which is, to require full and perfect obe-

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II. They err also in this, that where the office of law is diverse from, and contrary to, the gospel, without any difference, confound the one with the other, making the gospel to be a law, and the law to be a Moses.

III. They err in dividing the law unskillfully into parts: into the law natural, the law moral, and the law evangelical.

IV. They err again in dividing the law evangelical into precepts and counsels, making the precepts proper for all men, the counsels only to serve for those who would be perfect.

V. The chief substance of all their teaching consisteth upon the works of the law, which appear by their religion, which wholly condemn men's merits, traditions, laws, canons, and ceremonies.

VI. In the doctrines of salvation, remission, justification, either they admix the law equally with the gospel, or else, clean secluding the gospel, they preach the law, so that little men have none of the faith of Christ, or none at all.

VII. They err in thinking that the law of God requireth nothing in us under pain of damnation but only our obedience in external actions: as inward affections and concupiscence, they leave to light matters.

VIII. They, not knowing the true nature and end of the law, do erroneously imagine that it is our power to fulfil it.

IX. They err in thinking not only to be in power to keep the law of God, but also to do more perfect works than be in God's law required; and these they call the works of perfection.

X. And hereof rise the works of supererogation, of congruity and condignity, to enrich the treasure-house of the pope's church, to enrich the people for money.

XI. They err in saying, that the state monastic is more perfect for keeping the counsels of the law than other states be in keeping the law of the law.

XII. The counsels of the gospel they call the law of their religious men, as profound humility, chastity, and wilful poverty.

XIII. They err abominably, in equalling their laws and constitutions with God's law; and in saying that man's law bindeth, under pain of damnation, as much as God's law.

XIV. They err sinfully, in publishing the transgression of their laws more sharply than the transgression of the law of God; as appeareth by their statutes, and their canon law, &c.

XV. Finally, they err most horribly in this, that they ascribe the free promise of God ascribeth our

salvation only to our faith in Christ, excluding works; they, contrary, ascribe salvation only, or principally, to works and merits, excluding faith: whereupon ariseth the application of the sacrifice of the mass, *ex opere operato*, for the quick and dead, application of the merits of Christ's passion in bulls, application of the merits of all religious orders, and such other more, above specified more at large in the former part of this history."

Here follow three cautions to be observed and avoided in the true understanding of the law.

"The first caution: that we, through the misunderstanding of the Scriptures, do not take the law for the gospel, nor the gospel for the law; but skilfully discern and distinct the voice of the one from the voice of the other. Many there be, which reading the book of the New Testament, do take and understand whatsoever they see contained in the said book, to be only and merely the voice of the gospel. And contrariwise, whatsoever is contained in the compass of the Old Testament; that is, within the law, stories, psalms, and prophets, to be only and merely the word and voice of the law. Wherein many are deceived; for the preaching of the law and of the gospel are mixed together in both the Testaments, as well the Old as the New; neither is the order of these two doctrines to be distinguished by books and leaves, but by the diversity of God's Spirit speaking unto us. For sometimes in the Old Testament God doth comfort, as he comforted Adam, with the voice of the gospel: sometimes also in the New Testament he doth threaten and terrify, as when Christ threatened the Pharisees. In some places again, Moses and the prophets play the evangelists; insomuch that Jerome doubteth whether he should call Isaiah a prophet or an evangelist. In some places likewise Christ and the apostles supply the part of Moses; and as Christ himself, until his death, was under the law, (which law he came not to break, but to fulfil,) so his sermons made to the Jews, run all, for the most part, upon the perfect doctrine and works of the law, showing and teaching what we ought to do by the right law of justice, and what danger ensueth in not performing the same: all which places, though they be contained in the book of the New Testament, yet are they to be referred to the doctrine of the law, ever having in them included a privy exception of repentance and faith in Christ Jesus. As for example, where Christ thus preacheth, Blessed be they that be pure of heart, for they shall see God. Again, Except ye be made like these children, ye shall not enter, &c. Item, But he that doth the will of my Father, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,

&c. Item, the parable of the unkind servant, justly cast into prison for not forgiving his fellow, &c. The casting of the rich glutton into hell, &c. Item, He that denieth me here before men, I will deny him before my Father, &c. : with such other places of like condition. All these, I say, pertaining to the doctrine of the law, do ever include in them a secret exception of earnest repentance, and faith in Christ's precious blood. For else, Peter denied, and yet repented. Many publicans and sinners were unkind, unmerciful, and hard-hearted to their fellow servants; and yet many of them repented, and by faith were saved, &c. The grace of Christ Jesus work in us earnest repentance, and faith in him unfeigned. Amen!

"Briefly, to know when the law speaketh, and when the gospel speaketh, and to discern the voice of the one from the voice of the other, this may serve for a note, that when there is any moral work commanded to be done, either for eschewing of punishment, or upon promise of any reward temporal or eternal, or else when any promise is made with condition of any work commanded in the law, there is to be understood the voice of the law. Contrary, where the promise of life and salvation is offered unto us freely, without all our merits, and simply, without any condition annexed of any law, either natural, ceremonial, or moral; all those places, whether they be read in the Old Testament or in the New, are to be referred to the voice and doctrine of the gospel. And this promise of God, freely made to us by the merits of Jesus Christ, so long before prophesied to us in the Old Testament, and afterwards exhibited in the New Testament, and now requiring nothing but our faith in the Son of God, is called properly the voice of the gospel, and differeth from the voice of the law in this, that it hath no condition adjoined of our meriting, but only respecteth the merits of Christ the Son of God; by whose faith only we are promised of God to be saved and justified: according as we read in Rom. iii., The righteousness of God cometh by faith of Jesus Christ, in all, and upon all, that do believe, &c.

"The second caution or danger to be avoided is, that we now, knowing how to discern rightly between the law and the gospel, and having intelligence not to mistake the one for the other, must take heed again that we break not the order between these two, taking and applying the law where the gospel is to be applied, either to ourselves or towards others. For albeit the law and the gospel many times are to be joined together in order of doctrine, yet case may fall sometimes, that the law must be utterly sequestered from the gospel: as when any person

or persons do feel themselves, with the majesty of the law and judgment of God, so terrified and oppressed, and with the burden of their sins overweighed and thrown down into utter discomfort, and almost even to the pit of hell; as happeneth many times to soft and timorous consciences of God's good servants. When such mortified hearts do hear, either in preaching or in reading, any such example or place of the Scripture which pertaineth to the law, let them think the same nothing to belong to them, no more than a mourning weed belongeth to a marriage feast: and therefore, removing utterly out of their minds all cogitation of the law, of fear of judgment, and condemnation, let them only before their eyes the gospel, the sweet comfort of God's promise, free forgiveness of sins in Christ, grace, redemption, liberty, rejoicing, psalms, thanksgiving, and a paradise of spiritual joyfulness, nothing else; thinking thus with themselves, the law hath done his office in them already, and now must needs give place to his better, the gospel, which must needs give room to Christ the Son of God, who is the Lord and Master, the fulfiller, and the finisher of the law; for the end of the law is Christ.

"The third danger to be avoided is, that we do not use or apply, on the contrary side, the gospel instead of the law. For as the other before was as much as to put on a mourning gown in the time of a marriage, so is this but even to cast pearls before swine; wherein is a great abuse amongst us. For commonly it is seen, that these worldly and secure Mammonists, to whom the doctrine of the law doth properly appertain, do receive and apply to themselves most principally the sweet promises of the gospel: and, contrariwise, the contrite and bruised hearts, to whom belongeth the joyful tidings of the gospel, and not the law, do the most part receive and retain to themselves the terrible voice and sentences of the law. Wherefore, when it cometh to pass, that many do rejoice where they should mourn; and on the other side, many do mourn where they need not: wherefore, to conclude, in private use of life, let every person discreetly discern between the law and the gospel, and aptly apply to himself that which he shall find convenient.

"And again, in public order of doctrine, let the discreet preacher put a difference between the heart of the mourning sinner, and the heart of the worldly, and so conjoin both the law and the gospel, and the gospel with the law, that he may bring down the wicked, ever he spare the weak, and again, so spare the weak, that he do not encourage the ungodly."

and thus much concerning the conjunction and
space between the law and the gospel, upon the
of Mr. Patrick's Places.

Forest, martyred at St. Andrews, in Scot-
Persecuted by James Beton, archbishop
St. Andrews; and by Friar Walter Laing,
of the confession of this Henry Forest.

A few years after the martyrdom of Mas-
Patrick Hamilton, one Henry Forest, a young
in Linlithgow, who, a little before, had
the orders of Benet and Collet, (as they
) affirmed and said, that Master Patrick
died a martyr, and that his articles were
for the which he was apprehended and put
by James Beton, archbishop of St. An-
who, shortly after, caused a certain friar,
Walter Laing, to hear his confession; to
Henry Forest in secret confession had
his conscience, how he thought Master
to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put
and that his articles were true, and not
the friar came and uttered to the bishop
confession that he had heard, which before was
roughly known. Whereupon it followed,
confession being brought as sufficient pro-
against him, he was therefore convented
the council of the clergy and doctors,
concluded to be a heretic, equal in
with Master Patrick Hamilton, and there
to be given to the secular judges, to suffer

the day came for his death, and that he
not be degraded, and was brought before
in a green place, being between the
St. Andrew and another place called Mony-
soon as he entered in at the door, and
faces of the clergy, perceiving whereunto
led, he cried with a loud voice, saying,
a falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers
of men! After this day let no man ever trust
the friars, contemners of God's word, and
of men!" And so they proceeding to
him of his small orders of Benet and Collet,
with a loud voice, "Take from me not only
your orders, but also your own baptism!"
thereby whatsoever is besides that which
himself instituted, whereof there is a great
not in baptism. Then, after his degrada-
condemned him as a heretic equal with
Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death
valuable testimony of the truth of Christ and
of the gospel, at the north church-stile of the abbey
St. Andrew, to the intent that all the peo-
of Sodor might see the fire, and so might be

the more feared from falling into the like doctrine
which they term by the name of heresy.

James Hamilton, brother to Master Patrick; Ka-
tharine Hamilton; a woman of Leith; David
Straton, and Master Norman Gurley: the two last
burned. Persecuted by James Hay, bishop of
Ross, commissioner of King James the Fifth;
by Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; and by
Master John Spens, lawyer.

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry
Forest, or thereabout, was called James Hamilton,
of Linlithgow; his sister Katharine Hamilton, the
spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another
honest woman of Leith; David Straton, of the house
of Lawristone; and Master Norman Gurley. These
were called to the abbey church of Holyrood House
in Edinburgh, by James Hay, bishop of Ross, com-
missioner to James Beton, archbishop, in presence
of King James the Fifth of that name; who, upon
the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in
red apparel. James Hamilton was accused as one
that maintained the opinion of Master Patrick his
brother; to whom the king gave counsel to depart,
and not to appear: for in case he appeared, he
could not help him; because the bishops had per-
suaded him that the cause of heresy did in no wise
appertain unto him. And so Hamilton fled, and
was condemned as a heretic, and also his goods and
lands confiscated and disposed unto others.

Katharine Hamilton, his sister, appeared upon
the scaffold, and being accused of a horrible heresy,
to wit, that her own works could not save her, she
granted the same; and after a long reasoning be-
tween her and Master John Spens, the lawyer, she
concluded in this manner, "Work here, work there;
what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly,
that no kind of works can save me, but only the
works of Christ my Lord and Saviour." The king,
hearing these words, turned him about and laughed,
and called her unto him, and caused her to recant,
because she was his aunt; and she escaped.

The woman of Leith was detected hereof, that
when the midwife, in time of her labour, bade her
say, "Our Lady help me!" she cried, "Christ help
me, Christ help me, in whose help I trust!" She also
was caused to recant, and so escaped without confis-
cation of her goods, because she was married.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said there
was no such thing as purgatory, and that the pope
was not a bishop but antichrist, and had no juris-
diction in Scotland.

Also David Straton, for that he said there was
no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tri-
bulations of this world. And because, when Master

Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithes of him, he did cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea; therefore he accused him, as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid. These two, because, after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the bishop of Ross as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be struck with terror and fear, not to fall into the like.

And thus much touching those martyrs of Scotland that suffered under James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrews; after whom succeeded David Beton, in the same archbishopric, under whom divers others were also martyred; as hereafter (God willing) in their order shall appear.

Thomas Harding, an aged father, dwelling at Chesham in Buckinghamshire, burned A. D. 1532. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and by Rowland, vicar of Great Wycombe, the bishop's chaplain.

Thomas Harding, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abjured by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, A. D. 1506, with divers other more, which, the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken, and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burnt in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries, and spoiled clean of all their goods, some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.: of whom mention is made in the table before.

Of this Thomas Harding much rehearsal hath been made before. First, this Thomas Harding, with Alice his wife, being abjured and enjoined penance, with divers other more, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln; afterwards by the said bishop was released again, A. D. 1515, of all such penance as was enjoined him and his wife at their abjuration, except these three articles following; and were discharged of their badges or signs of their faggots, &c. Only this penance following the bishop continued *sub pœna relapsus*.

"First, That neither of them, during their life, should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.

"Item, That both of them, during their lives, should fast bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.

"Item, That both of them should, during their

lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go on pilgrimage to Ashridge, and there make their offerings, as other people did; but not to do penance. Also they were licensed by the said bishop to do their pilgrimage at Ashridge on Corpus Christi even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable."

This penance, being to them enjoined, A. D. 1515, they observed till the year 1522, save that in the last year only the aforesaid Alice, his wife, omitted her pilgrimage, going to Ashridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he, contrary to his oath, dissembled, and did not disclose them, was therefore enjoined, in penance for his perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green cloth or silk, embroidered like a faggot, during his whole life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus continued he from the year 1522, unto the year 1532.

At last the said Harding, in the year abovesaid (1532,) about the Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there secretly to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book: whereupon immediately to his house to search for books, and in search went so nigh, that under the boards of his floor found certain English books of Holy Scriptures. Whereupon this godly father, with his books brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Woburn; who, with his chaplain, calling Father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with check and rebukes, than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour towards them but few words, but fixing his trust in the Lord, did let them say what they pleased. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's castle called Little-ease, where he did lie with much pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal-seat like a prince, condemned him for relapse to be burned alive, committing the charge and oversight thereof to Rowland Messenger, vicar of Great Wycombe. This Rowland, at the day appointed, brought a rabble of others like to himself, brought Thomas Harding to Chesham again; where, the

At his return, the said Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time; which sermon was nothing else, but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his ecclesiastical see, with the idolatry, fantasies, and traditions belonging unto the same. When the sermon ended, Rowland took him up to the high altar, and asked, whether he believed that in the bread, at the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body, and the Virgin Mary? To this Thomas Harding answered, "The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose again the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, to the glory of his Father."

Then was he brought into a man's house in the town, where he remained all night in prayer and meditations. So the next morning came the said Rowland again, about ten o'clock, with a party of bills and staves, to lead this godly father to the burning; whom a great number both of men and women did follow, of whom many bewailed his death, and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust into his hands a cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was bound unto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his last breath most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit." When they had set fire on him, there was one who threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains: what purpose he so did, it is not known, but, as was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burning of William Tylsworth, above mentioned; the proclamation was made the same time, that whoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of a heretic, should have forty days of pardon: whereby many ignorant people caused many of their neighbours to bear billets and faggots to their burning. In the evening, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the dell, going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, Rowland, their ruler of the town, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an *Ita, missa est*, with a loud voice he said to the people these words, not advising what his tongue did speak: "Good people! go ye home, do not say that you have been at the burning of a heretic, but of a good true Christian man:" and so they departed to dinner, Row-

land, with the rabble of other priests, much rejoicing at the burning of this good man. After dinner they went to church to even-song, because it was Corpus Christi even, where they fell to singing and chanting, with ringing, and piping of the organs. Well was he that could reach the highest note, so much did they rejoice at this good man's burning. He should have been burned on the Ascension even, but the matter was deferred unto the even of Corpus Christi, because they would honour their "bready Messiah" with a bloody sacrifice. Thus Thomas Harding was consumed to ashes, he being of the age of sixty years and above.

I find in the records of Lincoln, about the same time, and in the same county of Buckinghamshire, in which the aforesaid Thomas Harding did suffer, that divers others, for the like doctrine, were molested and troubled, whose names with their causes hereunder follow:

Mistress Alice Dolly, accused by Elizabeth Wighthill, her own servant, and by Dr. London.

Elizabeth Wighthill, being brought before Dr. London in the parsonage at Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against Mistress Alice Dolly, her mistress, that the said Mistress Dolly, speaking of John Hacker, of Coleman Street, in London, water-bearer, said, that he was very expert in the Gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare them, and the Pater-noster in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him; saying moreover, that she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man: commanding moreover the said Elizabeth, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the aforesaid Hacker could tell by divers prophecies, what should happen in the realm.

Over and besides, the aforementioned Elizabeth deposed, that the said Mistress Dolly, her mistress, showed unto her, that she had a book which held against pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Britwel, to read upon a book which he called *Legenda Aurea*; and one saint's life he read, which did speak against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, "Lo, daughter! now ye may hear, as I told you, what this book speaketh against pilgrimages."

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mistress Dolly, by the said Elizabeth, that she, being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, "Look, here be my Lady Barenten's gods:" to whom the said Elizabeth answered again, that they were set for remembrance of good saints. Then

said she, "If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I did see the images." "Nay," said the other, "images do provoke devotion." Then said her mistress, "Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears and cannot hear, and hath eyes and cannot see, and hath mouth and cannot speak, and hath hands and cannot feel."

Item, The said Mistress Dolly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the Creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which book she kept ever in her chamber, or in her coffer, with divers other books. And this was about A. D. 1520.

Note here, good reader! in this time, which was above forty-six years ago, what good matter here was, to accuse and molest good women.

Roger Hachman, accused at North Stoke, in Oxfordshire, A. D. 1525. Persecuted by William Smith of North Stoke, in Oxfordshire; and by Thomas Ferrar.

Against this Roger Hachman it was laid, by depositions brought in, that he, sitting at the church aisle at North Stoke, said these words, "I will never look to be saved for no good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, without I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king;" and said, that if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.

Robert West, priest of St. Andrew Undershaft, accused at London, A. D. 1529. Persecuted by Dr. Wharton, chancellor to Tonstal, bishop of London.

Against this Robert West, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having a wife and children, &c.

Item, For saying, that whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do: for which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.

John Ryburn, accused at Roshborough, A. D. 1530. Persecuted by Doctor Morgan.

It was testified against John Ryburn, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, that she, coming to him upon the Assumption even, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat; to whom he said again, that God never made such fasting

days; "but you," quoth he, "are so far in *limbo patrum*, that you can never turn again." And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wensdover, he said again, that she did wrong, "for there is never a step," said he, "that you set in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil: and you go to the church to worship what the priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse it will eat it:" and further he said, that he would never believe that the priest hath power to make his Lord.

Item, It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, that she, being with her brother in a close called Brimmer's Close, heard him say these words, "That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made." Whereunto she answering again asked, "And what service shall we have then?" He said, "That service that we have now." Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for saying that the service of the church was nought, because it was not in English: "For," said he, "if we had our Pater-noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now."

Note here, out of the records of the register, that in this examination of John Ryburn, first his two sisters, then his own wife, and at last his own father were called before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and compelled by oath to depose against him.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, accused at Roshborough, A. D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and by Richard Ryburn.

John Eaton, and Cecily his wife, of the parish of Speen, were detected by Richard Ryburn, that they were marked of certain in the parish on the Sunday then last past, in the sacring time, to hold up their heads, and that they would not look upon the sacrament.

Item, In the feast of exaltation of the holy cross, when the bells did ring solemnly, between vespers and high mass, for saying, in a butcher's shop, "What a clamping of bells is here!"

Item, The said John Ryburn was detected by Richard his father, for saying these words, "priests do wrong, for they should say their service in English, that every man may know it."

Item, For these words speaking to one sister, "The sacrament of the altar is not to be taken: but if it be as I trust, we shall have none of them holden up, one of these days, upon a priest's head."

Item, For saying that the blood of our

Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds were done, or should be done; and therefore it need to go on pilgrimage. It was also laid charge, and confessed by himself, that he had gospels of Jesus in English, and that he was in the house of John Taylor, when one John as read to them a lecture out of the Gospel, of passion of Christ, the space of two hours.

For saying that images were but idols, and idolatry to pray to them.

saying moreover, that at sacring time he led down, but he had no devotion, nor believed sacrament.

That the pope's authority and pardon help man's soul, and it was but cast away that is given for pardon; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus Christ, he will give us pardon any day.

Thomas Lound, priest, who had been with for two years, being afterwards cast into the jail at London, was a great instructor of this John.

John Simonds accused.

was laid against John Simonds, for saying men do walk all day in purgatory in this world, when they depart out of this world, there are two ways, either to hell or to heaven.

He said, that priests should have wives. was reported by the confession of the said Simonds, that he had converted to his doctrine priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.

William Wingrave, Thomas Hawks of Hichenden, Robert Hawes of West Wycombe, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Hern of Cobshil, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk the younger, William Hawks of Chesham; accused, A.D. 1530. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

These persons with others were examined, examined, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, read a parcel of scripture in English unto them, who there expounded to them many things: that they that went on pilgrimage were accursed: that it booteth not to pray longer, for they were but stocks made of wood, it could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday; for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: that they needed not to fast so many fasting days, except the ember days; for he was beyond the sea in Almayn, and there they used not to fast, nor to make such holy days.

Item, That offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service; "Nay," said Nicholas, "it maintain great houses, as abbeys and others."

Item, That men should say their Pater-noster and Ave Maria in English, with the Creed; and declared the same in English.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To William Wingrave moreover it was objected, that he should say, that there was no purgatory: and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford. Persecuted by John Longland, bishop of Lincoln.

Simon Wisdom, of Burford, was charged in judgment, for having three books in English; one was the Gospels in English, another was the Psalter, the third was the Sum of the Holy Scripture in English.

James Algar, or Ayger, accused, A. D. 1530.

Persecuted by Dr. Prin, commissary to the bishop of Lincoln.

It was articulated and objected to James Algar, first, that he, speaking to a certain doctor of divinity, named Aglonby, said, that every true Christian man, living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

Item, That he said that he would not his executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death, for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience gave him, that the soul, as soon as it departeth out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or to hell.

Item, When Dr. Aglonby aforesaid had alleged to him the place in St. Matthew, chap. xvi., Thou art Peter, &c., he answered him again with that which followeth in the Gospel after, Get thee after me, Satan, &c.

Item, The said James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, it made no great matter, for the church had enough already.

John French, of Long Witham. Persecuted there, A. D. 1530.

Against John French likewise these three articles were objected.

First, that he believed not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to be in the sacrament. Secondly, That he was not confessed to any priest of long time. Thirdly, That priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c. : for which he likewise, with the others, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask a blessing of his holy catholic father and mother of Rome.

For what stand I here numbering the sand? for if all the register books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to recite all them which through all the other diocesses of the realm in these days, before and since, were troubled and pursued for these and such-like matters. But these I thought for example's sake here to specify, that it might appear what doctrine it is, and long hath been in the church, for the which the prelates and clergy of Rome have judged men heretics, and so wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians.

Now, passing from the abjurations of those poor men, we will something speak (God willing) of the life and doings of the contrary part, who were their persecutors, and chief rulers then of the church; to the intent that by those rulers it may better be discerned and judged, what manner of church that was, which then so persecuted the true doctrine of Christ, and members of his church.

A brief discourse concerning the story and life of Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, by way of digression : wherein is to be seen and noted the express image of the proud, vain-glorious Church of Rome, how far it differeth from the true church of Christ Jesus.

Although it be not greatly pertinent unto this our history, nor greatly requisite, in these so weighty matters, treating of Christ's holy martyrs, to discourse much of Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York; notwithstanding, forasmuch as there be many, which, being carried away with a wrong opinion and estimation of that false glittering Church of Rome, do think that holiness to be in it, which indeed is not: to the intent, therefore, that the vain pomp and pride of that ambitious church, so far differing from all pure Christianity and godliness, more notoriously may appear to all men, and partly also to refresh the reader with some variety of matter, I thought compendiously to express the ridiculous and pompous qualities and demeanour of this aforesaid Thomas Wolsey, cardinal and legate of Rome, in whom alone the image and life of all other such-like followers and professors of the same church, may be seen and observed. For like as the Lacedemonians, in times past, were accustomed to show and demon-

strate drunken men unto their children, to behold and look upon, that through the foulness of that vice they might inflame them the more to the study and desire of sobriety; even so it shall not be hurtful sometimes to set forth the examples which are not honest, that others might thereby gather the instructions of better and more upright dealing.

Wherefore thou shalt note here, good reader! in this history, with all judgment, the great difference of life and Christian conversation between this church and the other true humble martyrs and servants of God, whom they have and do yet persecute. And first, to begin with the first meeting and coming in of this cardinal, and his fellow cardinal, Campeius, to England; it was about the time when Pope Leo, intending to make war against the Turks, sent three legates together from Rome, whereof one went into Germany, another into France; Laurentius Campeius was appointed to come into England. When he was come to Calais, and that the cardinal of York had understanding thereof, he sent certain bishops and doctors, with as much speed as he could, to meet the legate, and to show him, that if he would have his embassy take effect, he should send in post to Rome, to have the said cardinal of York made legate, and to be joined with him in commission: which thing he much affected, misdoubting lest his authority thereby might perhaps be diminished through the coming of the legate, and therefore required to be joined with him in like degree of embassy. Campeius, being a man light of belief and suspecting no such matter, gave credit unto his words, and sent unto Rome with such speed, that within thirty days after, the bull was brought to Calais, wherein they were both equally joined in commission; during which time the cardinal of York sent to the legate at Calais, red cloth to clothe his servants withal, which at their coming to Calais were but meanly apparelled.

When all things were ready, Campeius prepared the seas and landed at Dover, and so kept on his journey toward London. At every good town they passed, he was received with procession and accompanied with all the lords and gentlemen of the country. And when he came to Blackheath, there met him the duke of Norfolk, with a great number of nobles, lates, knights, and gentlemen, all richly apparelled, and in the way he was brought into a rich chamber of cloth of gold, where he shifted himself into a cardinal's robe, furred with ermines; and so took his mule, riding toward London. Now mark the humility in this church of the pope, and compare it with the other church of the martyrs, and see which of them is more gospel-like.

This Campeius had eight mules of his own

divers fardels and other preparation. The cardinal of York, thinking them not sufficient for his the night before he came to London, sent him a mules more, (with empty coffers,) covered red, to furnish his carriage withal. The next morn twenty mules were led through the city, though they had been laden with treasures, apparel and other necessities, to the great admiration of the men, that they should receive a legate as it were a god, with such and so great treasure and honour; for so the common people doth always regard and esteem the majesty of the clergy, by no thing than by their outward shows and pomp. In the midst of this great admiration, there happened a ridiculous spectacle, to the great derision of the people and ambition: for as the mules passed through Cheapside, and the people were pressed about them to behold and gaze, (as the manner was then) happened that one of the mules, breaking his back, that he was led in, ran upon the other mules, so that it happened, that they, so running together, and their girths being loosed, overthrew some of their burdens; and so there appeared the cardinal's gay treasure, not without great laughter and scorn of many, especially of boys and girls, who had some gathered up pieces of meat, some, some of bread and roasted eggs; some found horse-shoes and old boots, with such other baggage, crying out, "Behold! here is my lord cardinal's treasure." The muleteers, being therewithal greatly ashamed, gathered together their treasure again as well as they could, and went forward.

About three o'clock at afternoon, July the twenty-first, the cardinal himself was brought through the city, with great pomp and solemnity, unto the bishop's church, where, when he had blessed all men with the bishop's blessing, as the manner is, he was led forth unto the cardinal of York's house, where he was received by the said cardinal; and by the next day, being Sunday, was conducted by the king, to fulfil his embassy against the Hungarians, which might have destroyed all Hungary in that time, whiles they were studying with what means to furnish out their embassy.

Then the cardinal of York was thus a legate, he set up a court, and called it the court of the legate, where he proved testaments, and heard causes, to the hindrance of all the bishops of the realm. He visited bishops, and all the clergy, exempt and exempt; and under colour of reformation, he took much treasure, and nothing was reformed, but more mischief; for, by example of his life, priests and all spiritual persons waxed so proud, that they wore velvet and silk, both in gowns, doublets, and shoes; kept open lechery;

and so highly bore themselves, by reason of his authorities and faculties, that no man durst once reprove any thing in them, for fear to be called heretic, and then they would make him smoke, or bear a faggot; and the cardinal himself was so elated that he thought himself equal with the king; and when he had said mass, he made dukes and earls to serve him of wine, with assay taken, and to hold the bason at the lavatories.

Furthermore, as he was sent ambassador to the emperor at Brussels, he had over with him the great seal of England; and was served with his servitors kneeling on their knees; and many noblemen of England waiting upon him, to the great admiration of all the Germans that beheld it: such was his monstrous pomp and pride.

This glorious cardinal, in his tragical doings, did exceed so far all measure of a good subject, that he became more like a prince than a priest; for although the king bare the sword, yet he bare the stroke, making (in a manner) the whole realm to bend at his beck, and to dance after his pipe. Such practices and fetches he had, that when he had well stored his own coffers, first he fetched the greatest part of the king's treasure out of the realm, in twelve great barrels full of gold and silver, to serve the pope's wars; and as his avaricious mind was never satisfied in getting, so his restless head was so busy, ruffling in public matters, that he never ceased before he had set both England, France, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, together by the ears.

Thus this legate, well following the steps of his master the pope, and both of them well declaring the nature of their religion, under the pretence of the church, practised great hypocrisy; and under the authority of the king he used great extortion, with excessive taxes and loans, and valuation of every man's substance, so pilling the commons and merchants, that every man complained, but no redress was had. Neither yet were the churchmen altogether free from the pill-axe and poll-axe, from the pilling and polling, I mean, of this cardinal, who, under his power legantine, gave by preventions all benefices belonging to spiritual persons; by which, hard it is to say, whether he purchased to himself more riches than hatred of the spirituality. So far his licence stretched, that he had power to suppress divers abbeyes, priories, and monasteries; and so did, taking from them all their goods, movables and unmovables, except it were a little pension, left only to the heads of certain houses. By the said power legantine he kept also general visitations through the realm, sending Doctor John Alein, his chaplain, riding in his gown of velvet, and with a great train, to visit all religious houses;

whereat the Friars Observant much grudged, and would in no wise condescend thereunto: wherefore they were openly accursed at Paul's Cross, by Friar Forest, one of the same order; so that the cardinal at length prevailed both against them and all others. Against whom great disdain rose among the people, perceiving how, by visitations, making of abbots, probates of testaments, granting of faculties, licences, and other pollings in his courts legantine, he had made his treasure equal with the king's, and yet every year he sent great sums to Rome. And this was their daily talk against the cardinal.

Besides many other matters and grievances which stirred the hearts of the commons against the cardinal, this was one which much pinched them, for that the said cardinal had sent out certain strait commissions in the king's name, that every man should pay the sixth part of his goods. Whereupon there followed great muttering amongst the commons; in such sort that it had almost grown to some riotous commotion or tumult, especially in the parts of Suffolk, had not the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with wisdom and gentleness, stepped in and appeased the same.

Another thing that rubbed the stomachs of many, or rather which moved them to laugh at the cardinal, was this; to see his insolent presumption, so highly to take upon him, as the king's chief councillor, to set a reformation in the order of the king's household, making and establishing new ordinances in the same. He likewise made new officers in the house of the duke of Richmond, which was then newly begun. In like manner he ordained a council, and established another household for the Lady Mary, then being princess; so that all things were done by his consent, and by none other. All this, with much more, took he upon him, making the king believe, that all should be to his honour, and that he needed not to take any pains; insomuch that the charge of all things was committed unto him: whereat many men smiled, to see his great folly and presumption.

At this time, the cardinal gave the king the lease of the manor of Hampton Court, which he had of the lord of St. John's, and on which he had done great cost. Therefore the king again, of his gentle nature, licensed him to lie in his manor of Richmond; and so he lay there certain times. But when the common people, and especially such as were King Henry the Seventh's servants, saw the cardinal keep house in the royal manor of Richmond, which King Henry the Seventh so much esteemed, it was a marvel to hear how they grudged, saying, "See, a butcher's dog lies in the manor of Richmond!" These, with many other opprobrious

words, were spoken against the cardinal, pride was so high, that he regarded nothing as he hated of all men.

And now, to express some part of the practices and busy intermeddlings of this cardinal in princes' wars, first, here is to be noted, that long wars between England and France, 15 years, the which wars King Henry, taking the emperor's part against Francis, the French king, had ended with his money the duke of Bourbon, and a part of the emperor's army, to invade and take certain parts of France,) it happened that the French king, coming with his army towards Milan, the siege of Pavia, was there taken by the duke of Bourbon, and the viceroy of Naples, and so taken prisoner into Spain.

Where note by the way, that all this while the cardinal held with the emperor, hoping by his aid to be made pope; but when that would not come, he went clean from the emperor to the French king, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

After this victory gotten, and the French king being taken prisoner, who remained in captivity about a year and a half; at length, through great labour and solicitation, as well of others as especially of the cardinal and King Henry, an order was made and conditions propounded, between the French king and the emperor; among which other conditions, it was agreed, that they should release the Turks, and oppress the Lutherans; and so the French king set at liberty, leaving behind him his eldest sons for pledges. But shortly after he revoked his oath, being absolved by the bishop of Rome, and said that he was forced to swear, that he should never have been delivered. This was the year A. D. 1526.

Pope Clement the Seventh, seeing the French king restored to liberty, and misdoubting the insolence and domination of the emperor in Italy, near under his nose, absolved the French king from his oath; also joined together a confederacy of Venetians and other princes against the emperor, having great hatred against all them that any way favoured the emperor's part, especially the family of Columna in Rome, which family was the emperor's; and therefore, to show his hatred against them, he said to Pompey, cardinal of the French family, in threatening words, that he would take away his cardinal's hat: to whom it was answered again by the cardinal, that if he so did, he would put on a helmet to overthrow the pope's throne: whereby it may appear here by the words, what holiness and virtue lieth in the pope and cardinals of that catholic see of Rome.

Thus the false pope, under the lying title

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potented till they had gotten the Almaines out of the castle of St. Angelo, and so they had the custody of the pope. And thus much for the story of Rome.

When the cardinal here in England heard how the king of Rome was taken prisoner, he began to think, and hearing of his captivity, he laboured to stir the king all that he might, to stir him up to fight with the said pope against the emperor, and to be the defender of the church; which if he would, the cardinal persuaded him that he should receive reward at God's hand. To whom the king answered again, and said in this manner: "My lord, I am not so much concerned with this evil chance, than my tongue would have me say; but where you say I am the defender of the church, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope, is not for the faith, but for the possessions and dominions. And now, Pope Clement is taken by men of war, what can I do? my person nor my people cannot rescue him; but if my treasure may help him, take that which seemeth to you most convenient."

When the cardinal, when he could not obtain at the king's hands what he would, in stirring him up to this war, made out of the king's treasure twelve thousand pounds, which he carried over the sea to him. After this, the cardinal sent his commission as legate, to all the bishops, commanding grand and solemn processions to be had, wherein they should sing the Litany after this sort, *Sancta Maria pro Clemente papa: Sancte Petre, pro Clemente papa*; and so forth all the while. The cardinal, passing the seas with the aforesaid sum of money, departed out of Calais, accompanied with Robert Tonstal, bishop of London, the lord treasurer, the king's chamberlain, the earl of Derby, Henry Guildford, and Sir Thomas More, with many other knights and squires, to the number of five hundred horse; having in his carriage four waggons, and threescore mules and sumpter beasts.

When he was long to discourse in this place the manifold treacheries and treasons which he practised when he came to the French court at Amiens, converting great sums of money, which before you heard he had obtained of the king for the relief and ransom of Pope Clement, (which at that time was prisoner in the emperor's army,) and bestowing the same in the hiring of soldiers, and furnishing out the emperor's army; appointing also certain English knights, in the king of England's name, to go to the emperor, to rescue the pope; all which was paid with the king of England's money. Besides that, he privily, by his letters, caused

Clarence king at arms, to join with the French herald, and openly to defy the emperor; whereby there began great displeasure to arise between the emperor and the king, but that the emperor, of his politic nature, would take no occasion of displeasure against the king of England.

Now again he uttered another of his practices; for, upon the said defiance, the cardinal, surmising and whispering in the king's ear that the emperor had evil treated and imprisoned the king's ambassadors in Spain, caused Hugo de Mendoza, the emperor's ambassador in England, to be attached, and put in safe keeping, and his house with all his goods to be seized; which so remained, until that manifest letters came of the gentle entreaty of the king's ambassadors in Spain; and then was again set at liberty. When the ambassador complained hereof to the cardinal, he laid all the fault upon Clarence; saying also, that Clarence had defied the emperor without the king's knowledge, at the request of the herald of France: wherefore at his return he should lose his head at Calais. Whereof Clarence, being advertised by the captain of Bayonne, in his return took shipping at Boulogne, and so privily came into England; and by means of certain of his friends of the king's privy-chamber, he was brought into the king's presence, before the cardinal knew of it; where he showed unto the king the cardinal's letters of commission, and declared the whole order and circumstance of their gentle entreaty. When the king heard the whole circumstance thereof, and had a while mused thereupon, he said, "O Lord Jesus! he that I trusted most, told me all these things contrary. Well, Clarence! I will no more be so light of credence hereafter; for now I see well, that I have been made believe the thing that was never done:" and from that time forward the king never put any more confidence or trust in the cardinal.

The cause why the cardinal should bear the emperor all this malice and grudge, after some writers, it appeareth to be this: At what time as Pope Clement was taken prisoner, (as is before said,) the cardinal wrote unto the emperor, that he should make him pope. But when he had received an answer that pleased him not, he waxed furious mad, and sought all means to displease the emperor, writing very sharply unto him many menacing letters, that if he would not make him pope, he would make such a ruffling betwixt Christian princes, as was not this hundred years before, to make the emperor repent; yea, though it should cost the whole realm of England.

Whereunto the emperor made answer in a little book, imprinted both in Spanish and Dutch, answer-

ing unto many menacings of the cardinal, and divers of his articles; but especially to that his ruffling threat, wherein he menaced him, that if he would not make him pope, he would set such a ruffling betwixt Christian princes as was not this hundred years, though it should cost the whole realm of England: whereunto the emperor, answering again, biddeth him look well about him, lest through his doings and attempts he might bring the matter in that case, that it should cost him the realm of England indeed.

You have heard before, how that when Pope Clement was prisoner in the emperor's army, the cardinal required the king, because he did bear the title of Defender of the Faith, that he would rescue the pope; also what the king's answer was thereunto, and what sums of money he had obtained of the king. Now, because you shall not also be ignorant, by what means, and upon what occasion, this title of Defender of the Faith was given unto the king, we think it good somewhat to say in this place. When Martin Luther had uttered the abomination of the pope and his clergy, and divers books were come into England, our cardinal here, thinking to find a remedy for that, sent immediately unto Rome for this title of Defender of the Faith: which afterwards the vicar of Croydon preached, that the king's Grace would not lose it for all London and twenty miles about it. Neither is it marvel, for it cost more than London and forty miles about it, considering the great sums which you have heard the cardinal obtained of the king for the pope's relief, besides the effusion of much innocent blood.

When this glorious title was come from Rome, the cardinal brought it unto the king's Grace at Greenwich; and though that the king had it already, and had read it, yet against the morning were all the lords and gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered, sent for, to come and receive it with honour. In the morning the cardinal gat him through the backside, unto the Friars Observant, and part of the gentlemen went round about, and welcomed him from Rome; part met him half way, and some at the court gate. The king himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king and the cardinal to sit on, while the bull was read; which pomp all men of wisdom and understanding laughed to scorn.

This done, the king went to his chapel to hear mass, accompanied by many nobles of his realm, and ambassadors of sundry princes. The cardinal being revested to sing mass, the earl of Essex brought the bason of water, the duke of Suffolk gave the assay, and the duke of Norfolk held the towel; and

so he proceeded to mass. When mass was the bull was again published, the trumpets, the shawms and sackbuts played in honour of the king's new style. Then the king went to the midst whereof the king of heralds and company began the largess, crying, "Henricus Gratia, Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Defensor fidei, Dominus Hiberniæ." Thus were all things done with great solemnity.

Not much unlike to this was the receiving of the cardinal's hat; which when a ruffian had brought unto him to Westminster under his cloak, he sent the messenger in rich array, and sent him again to Dover; appointing the bishop of Exeter to come to meet him, and then another company of lords and gentlemen, I wot not how often he came to Westminster; where it was set upon board, and tapers round about it, so that the duke in the land must make courtesy thereunto his empty seat, he being away.

And forasmuch as we are in hand with the doings of Cardinal Wolsey, among many things which of purpose we overpass, this may be exempted out of memory, touching his courteous, or rather churlish, handling of Richard Pacy, dean of St. Paul's. This Pacy, being the king's secretary for the Latin tongue, was of ripeness of wit, of learning, and eloquence, in foreign languages so expert, that for the one he was thought most meet to succeed after John Colet in the deanery of Paul's; beside which he was preferred to the deanery of Exeter. For the king he was sent in the king's affairs ambassador to France; which function there he so discharged, that it is hard to say whether he procured more commendation or admiration among the Venetians, by the dexterity of his wit, and especially for the promptness in the Italian tongue, wherein he was nothing inferior, neither to Peter Vanne being in England, the king's secretary for the Italian tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the best in that tongue in all Venice. For opinion and favour of learning, he was so notoriously accepted, not only here in England with Linacre, Grocine, More, and other, but also known and reported abroad in all sort, that in all the great heap of Erasmus's Epistles he wrote almost to none so many, as he wrote to Richard Pacy.

As the said Pacy was resident ambassador at Venice, the king, having war the same time with Francis the French king (as is afore rehearsed) through the conducting of the duke of Bourbon, whom he then charged with his expenses, sent a commandment to Pacy to give attendance to the duke of Bourbon, concerning the receipt of that money.

the necessities and exploits to that expedition. In the mean while, as the French with his army, and the duke of Bourbon, were fighting in the battle together, near about the city of Pavia, it so happened (some think through the cunning packing of the cardinal) that the king's army was not so ready as it was looked for: by which the duke of Bourbon, perceiving his army about to shrink from him to the French, for lack of payment, called to him the ambassador, explaining unto him, how the king of England deceived him, and broken promise with him, to his great dishonour and utter undoing, &c. being sure of the king's will, and suspecting the crafty fetch of the cardinal, desired the king not to take discomfirt, nor any diffidence of the king's assured promise, excusing the delay of his army as well as he could, by interception, or excuse by the way of incident, rather than for lack of fidelity on the king's behalf: adding, however, that if it would please him happily to promise, that he had courageously begun, he should not lack the king's money. So sure he was of the king's mind therein, that he would supply the lack of payment upon his own credit, among his friends at Venice: and so did; whereupon the soldiers being sufficiently satisfied with payment of wages, proceeded forth with the duke unto the battle. In the which battle the aforesaid French duke was taken prisoner, as is before declared. Which being known to the king of England, Percy had his pardon and assign thanks for his faithful service, and also his money repaid again with the uttermost, as he deserved. But as the laud, and the renowned names of men for their worthy prowesses, commonly in this world never go unaccompanied with some shadow of envy and disdain following after, so the singular industry of Percy, as it won much commendation with many, so it could not avoid the stinging of some serpents. For the conceived malice of this cardinal so kindled against him, that he never ceased, till first he brought him out of the king's favour, and at last also out of his perfect

On the occasion how he fell beside himself was this, that the cardinal, after the death of Pope Adrian, being no less but that he should have been advanced unto the papacy, and yet missing thereof, he reproached with himself the fault chiefly to rest in the king's negligence, by whose great wit and learning, and correct means and suit, he thought easily he might have achieved and compassed the triple crown. Wherefore, he, seeing it otherwise come to pass, and inflamed against Percy for the same, wrought

such ways and means, that by the space almost of two years, Percy, continuing at Venice, had neither writing from the king, nor his council, what he should do; nor yet any manner of allowance for his diet, although he wrote and sent letters for the same to England very often: for the cardinal had altogether incensed the king against him. Whereupon the said Percy took such an inward thought and conceit, that his wits began to fail him; he being notwithstanding in such favour among the senators of Venice, that neither for gold nor silver he could there have lacked. By some it is reported that the Venetian legate here in England, coming to the cardinal, required if he would command any thing to the English ambassador at Venice? To whom he should answer again in high words, saying, *Paceus deceptit regem*. Which words coming to Percy's ears, so deeply pierced his stomach, that he fell quite beside himself. I heard it moreover of another thus testified, who had a brother at the same time dwelling with Percy: that the cardinal, about the returning of Percy from Venice, sent him a letter so powdered, (with what spices I cannot tell,) that at the reading thereof Percy, then being in the fields, fell suddenly in such a mighty running for the space of two miles, that his servants had much ado to take him, and bring him home.

This piteous case of Percy was not a little lamented by the whole senate and chief learned men in Venice; insomuch that the king was not only certified thereof by Thomas Lupset, (who then was chief man about Percy, and his secretary for that embassy,) but also the said senate of Venice wrote in such sharp and vehement wise unto their ambassador, then being in England, that he should signify unto the king, touching Percy's case, that thereby the king, knowing the truth, and the whole circumstance of the matter, was not a little sorrowful therefore. Whereupon Percy was forthwith sent for home, and when he came to England, he was commanded by the king to be specially well tended, and to lack no keeping: insomuch that within a small process of time he was pretty well come again to his wits, and began to study the Hebrew tongue with Wakefield; so that (the cardinal then being absent) such ways were found by his friends, that he was brought to the king, lying then at Richmond, where he and the king secretly communed together by the space of two hours and more, not without great rejoicing to the king, as it was perceived, to see him so well amended, and returned to himself again; giving likewise strait charge and commandment, that he should lack nothing. The cardinal being then not present, when he heard of this, fearing lest he had disclosed somewhat to the king, which

he would not have known, and doubting that the king should cast his favour again unto Pacy, began within a while after to quarrel, and pick matters, and to lay certain things to Pacy's charge; whereas he rather should have cleared himself of those things which Pacy laid unto him before the king, which was contrary to all good form and order of justice. For where the king had willed the cardinal to purge himself of those things which Pacy had rightly charged him withal, he, sitting in judgment, with the duke of Norfolk, and other states of the realm, not as a defendant, but as a judge in his own cause, so bare out himself and weighed down Pacy, that Pacy was commanded to the Tower of London as prisoner, where he continued by the space of two years, or thereabouts, and afterwards, by the king's commandment, was discharged. But he, being there prisoner, was therewith so deadly wounded and stricken, that he fell worse from his wits than ever he was before, being in such a frenzy or lunacy, that to his dying day he never came perfectly to himself again. Notwithstanding this in him was no perpetual frenzy, but came by fits; and when the fit was past, he could look on his book, and reason and talk handsomely, but that now and then he showed his disease. And thus much between the cardinal and Pacy.

By this story of Pacy, and also by other passages above mentioned, ye may partly conceive how greedy this cardinal was to be made pope. Touching which matter here by the way something to treat, first is to be understood, that forasmuch as Pacy either would not, or could not, serve the cardinal's purpose herein, he thought to accomplish his desire by other means, and namely by Stephen Gardiner, who was then shortly after sent ambassador to Rome by the king and the cardinal, in the time of Pope Clement the Seventh; and that for two special causes, one was about the divorcement, the other for promoting the cardinal to be pope. As touching the divorcement we will speak (the Lord willing) hereafter. In the mean time, as concerning the advancement of the cardinal, great labour was made, as in letters may appear, sent from the cardinal to the said Stephen Gardiner; in which letters he did solicit the said Gardiner, by all means, to pursue the suit, willing him to stick for no cost, so far as six or seven thousand pounds would stretch; for more, he said, he would not give for the triple crown. Mark here, Christian reader! what a holy catholic church this is, which rather may be called a bourse, or mart of merchants, than any true form of a church.

Many both of his, and also the king's letters, I could here insert; but, for growing of the volume,

I let them pass. One, for example's sake, the cardinal to Gardiner, shall at this time concerning this matter. The copy of the cardinal's ambitious letter here in form followeth:

"Master Stephen, albeit ye shall be surprised with your colleagues, by such instructions given to Monsieur Vincent, informed of the mind and mine, concerning my advancement to the dignity papal, not doubting but that for your singular devotion which you bear towards the king in his affairs, both general and particular, and the love which ye have towards me, ye will omit that may be excogitated to serve and conduce to that purpose; yet I thought convenient, by a more fervent expression of my mind in this letter to write unto you (as to the person whom I entirely trust, and by whom this thing shall faithfully set forth) these few words following of my own hand.

"I doubt not but ye do profoundly consider how well the state wherein the church and all Christendom doth stand now presently, as also the state of this realm, and of the king's secret matters, if it should be brought to pass by any other way than by the authority of the church, I account the prince and realm utterly undone. Wherefore it is expedient to have such a one to be pope as may be a father of all princes, as may, can, and will find remedy to the premises. And albeit I account myself much unable, and that it shall be now very modish in this mine old age to be the said father; yet when all things be well pondered, the qualities of all the cardinals well considered, there shall be none found that can and will find remedy in the aforesaid things, but only the cardinal of York, whose good will and zeal is not to all men unknown. And were it not for the great migration of the state of the church and see apostrophe to the pristine dignity, and for the conducting of the same amongst Christian princes, and especially to this prince and realm from the calamities that threaten to be now in, all the riches or honour of the world should not cause me to accept the said dignity, although the same with all commodities were offered unto me.

"Nevertheless, conforming myself to the necessity of the time, and the will and pleasure of the two princes, I am content to appone all my study, and to set forth all means and ways, for the attaining of the said dignity: for the achieving whereof, forasmuch as thereupon depends the health and wealth, not only of these two princes and their realms, but of all Christendom, nothing is to be omitted that may conduce to the said end."

Wherefore, Master Stephen, since you plainly advertised of my mind and intent, I may you to exert your utmost energies to the matter to an issue, sparing neither ex- nor promises, nor toils. Suit your conduct to minds and tempers, as they may be inclined, in public or private affairs. You and your colleagues have hereby unlimited power, and what we do, be assured it will gratify the king and we intrust all, in one word, to your faith and I have only to pray that God may prosper your exertions. Farewell.

Epist. ad me in Westmonast. vii. Febr.

De salutis et amplitudinis cupidissimus,
T. Ebor."

so great labours, pursuits, and travails of and of the cardinal, thou hast for thine own, loving reader, to note and learn, how purpose one thing, and how God disposeth. For the king's purpose was to have the legate of York placed in the see papal, by that means, if this cardinal had been the cause of his divorce more easily might be ended, which, otherwise, he thought impossible. But God omnipotent, who only is Lord of all affairs, brought it otherwise to pass, as the king devised, but after his own wisdom; and both the divorcement was concluded, and yet Cardinal Wolsey made pope, nor yet Pope was dead. Yea, so he ruled the matter, notwithstanding Pope Clement was alive, yet the divorce proceeded, and also the pope's authority was thereby utterly extinct and abolished in this realm of England, to the singular admiration of God's wondrous works, and perpetual praise of his merciful goodness: of which divorcement, suppressing of the pope's authority, we have cause to make declaration; but first, as we have to do with the cardinal of York, so we will make mention of him. That done, we will (God willing) turn ourselves to other matters of more importance.

The ambassadors were thus travelling in Rome to promote the cardinal to be pope, although the pope was not yet dead, in the mean time the cardinal played the popish persecutor here at home. First, he sitting in his pontificalibus in the cathedral church of Paul's, under his cloth of estate cloth of gold, caused Friar Barnes, an Augustinian Friar, to bear a faggot, for certain points which he called heresy. Also he caused at the same time two merchants of the Stilyard likewise to be faggots for eating flesh on a Friday; at the which time the bishop of Rochester made a sermon

in reproof of Martin Luther, who had before written against the power of the bishop of Rome. This bishop in his sermon spake so much of the honour of the pope and his cardinals, and of their dignity and pre-eminence, that he forgot to speak of the gospel which he took in hand to declare; which was about A. D. 1526.

After this, the said cardinal likewise, A. D. 1528, and in the month of November, sitting at Westminster as legate, called before him the whole clergy, and there promised that all abusions of the church should be amended; but there nothing else was done, save only he caused to be abjured, Arthur Bilney, Geffery Lome, and Garret, for speaking against the pope's authority, and his pompous pride: of whom more shall be said (the Lord assisting us) hereafter. And this was A. D. 1528.

The year next following, which was A. D. 1529, began the question of the king's marriage to be revived; whereupon Cardinal Campeius was sent again into England from Rome, for the hearing and debating of the matter; who then, with Cardinal Wolsey, consulting with the king, although at first he seemed with his fellow cardinal to incline unto the king's disposition, yet afterwards, perceiving the sequel of the case, whether it tended so far as peradventure might be the occasion of a blot to the court of Rome, and might shake perhaps the chair of the pope's omnipotent authority, as well in other cases like, if this one case were thoroughly decided by learning and truth of God's word: he therefore, slipping his neck out of the collar, craftily shifted himself out of the realm before the day came appointed for determination, leaving his subtle fellow behind him, to weigh with the king in the mean time, while the matter might be brought up to the court of Rome. The king, thus seeing himself disappointed, foiled with false promises, and craftily doubled withal by the cardinals, and at last, after so many delays and long expectation, nothing to be concluded, was sore aggrieved in his mind with them, but especially with Cardinal Wolsey, whom he had before so highly exalted, and promoted to so many great dignities, as to the archbishopric of York, the bishopric of Winchester, of Durham, the abbey of St. Alban's; besides the chancellorship of England, and many other high rooms and preferments in the realm; which caused him clearly to cast him out of his favour, so that after that time he never came more to the king's presence.

Then followed first a council of the nobles, called the first of October; during the which council all the lords and other the king's council, agreeing to-

gether, resorted to Windsor to the king, and there informed the king, that all things which he had done almost, by his power legantine, were in the case of præmunire, and provision; and that the cardinal had forfeited all his lands, tenements, goods, and chattels to the king: wherefore the king, willing to order him according to the order of his laws, caused his attorney, Christopher Hales, to sue out a writ

of præmunire against him, in the which he lieth him to make an attorney.

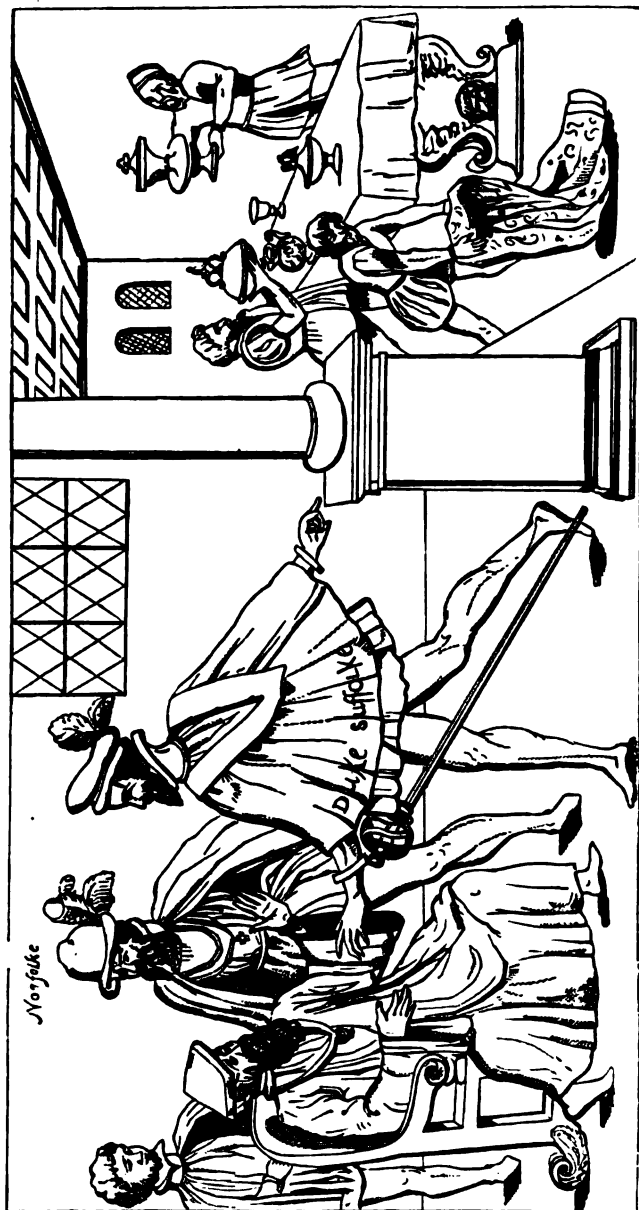
And further, the seventeenth of November sent the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to place at Westminster, to fetch away the great seal of England; which he was loth to deliver, if he had been any remedy; but in conclusion, he delivered it to the two dukes, which delivered the same

Dr. Taylor, master of the rolls, to deliver it to the king; which he so did the next day.

Besides this, the king sent Sir William Fitzwilliams, knight of the garter, treasurer of his house, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner, newly made secretary, to command that no goods should be embezzled out of his house; and further ordained, that the cardinal should remove to Esher in Surrey, Kingston, there to tarry the king's pleasure, sure, and to have all things delivered to him which were necessary for his use, not after his old pompous and sumptuous fashion; for all his goods were to be to the king's use. When the seal was thus taken from the cardinal, the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with many bishops, and barons, came unto the Privy Chamber, the nineteenth day of October, where the duke of Norfolk declared to the king's Highness, for diverse and sundry dry offences, had taken from him his great seal, and deposed him from his offices; and lest men might complain of lack of justice, he had appointed him and the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lords, to sit in the Star Chamber, to hear and determine causes indifferently; and that of all things the king's pleasure and commandment was, that they should keep their hands close from any rewards-taking, or maintenance: so that week they sat in the Star Chamber, and determined causes.

A few days after, in the same month, the cardinal removed out of his house called York Place, with one Cross, meaning that by his cross which he bore as legate, which degree-taking was a confusion, as you see openly; and he took his barge, and went to Putney in the water, and there took his horse and rode to Esher, where he remained till Lent

During which time, he, being called for an answer in the King's Bench to



...re, for giving benefices by prevention, in dis-
 ...of men's inheritance, and divers other open
 ...in the premunire, according to the king's li-
 ...constituted John Scute and Edmond Jenny, ap-
 ...of the law, his attorneys, which, by his own
 ...signed with his hand, confessed all things
 ...ing the said suit; for they were too open to be
 ...or hidden: and so judgment was given,
 ...should forfeit all his lands, tenements, goods,
 ...tutels, and should be out of the king's pro-
 ...: but for all that, the king sent him a suffi-
 ...section, and of his gentleness left to him
 ...rics of York and Winchester, and gave
 ...and stuff convenient for his degree;
 ...bishopric of Durham he gave to Dr. Ton-
 ...of London, and the abbey of St. Al-
 ...gave to the prior of Norwich: and to Lon-
 ...promoted Dr. John Stokesley, then ambas-
 ...the universities for the marriage, as you
 ...fore. For all this kindness showed to the
 ...yet still he maligned against the king, as
 ...hereafter perceive: but first we will pro-
 ...the course of these matters, as they passed

...next year following, which was A. D. 1530,
 ...month of November, was summoned a ge-
 ...liament, to be holden at Westminster. In
 ...year, about the twenty-third day of Octo-
 ...king came to his manor of Greenwich, and
 ...much consulted with his council, for a meet-
 ...to be his chancellor, so that in no wise he were
 ...of the spirituality; and so, after long debate,
 ...resolved upon Sir Thomas More, knight,
 ...of the duchy of Lancaster, a man well
 ...in the tongues, and also in the common
 ...whose wit was fine, and full of imaginations;
 ...whereof he was a little too much given
 ...making, more than became the person of Mas-
 ...re. And then on the Sunday, the twenty-
 ...day of the same month, the king made him
 ...ancellor, and delivered him the great seal;
 ...lord chancellor, the next morrow after, was
 ...to the chancery by the two dukes of Norfolk
 ...Suffolk, and there sworn, and then the mace
 ...brought before him.

...this fall of the cardinal, and of the placing of
 ...Thomas More in the chancellorship, Erasmus,
 ...in epistle to John Vergera, thus writeth:

The cardinal of York hath so offended the
 ...mind, that he, being turned out of his goods
 ...all his dignities, is committed, not to prison, but
 ...to certain lordship of his, with thirty servants or
 ...to give attendance upon him. Many and
 ...complaints are commenced against him, so
 ...he is not like to escape with his life. Such is

the dalliance of fortune, of a schoolmaster to be
 made a king: for so he reigned, more like a king
 than the king himself. He was dreaded of all men;
 he was loved but of a few, almost of none. A little
 before he was apprehended, he caused Richard Pacy
 to be cast into the Tower: also he threatened my
 lord archbishop of Canterbury. Solomon saith, that
 before the fall of man his spirit shall be elevated.
 The archbishop of Canterbury was called or restored
 to be chosen lord chancellor, which is the chiefest
 office in all that realm; but he excused himself by
 his age, as being not able to wield such a function:
 wherefore the said office was bestowed upon Thomas
 More, no less to the rejoicing of many, than the
 other was displaced from it. These news my serv-
 ant brought me out of England," &c.

You heard before how a council of the nobles
 was appointed by the king in the month of October,
 to assemble in the Star Chamber, about the card-
 inal's matter; and also how a parliament was sum-
 moned to begin in the month of November, in
 the year following, A. D. 1530. At the beginning
 of which parliament, after that Master More, the
 new chancellor, had finished his oration, the com-
 mons were commanded to choose them a speaker,
 who was Thomas Audley, esquire, and attorney of
 the duchy of Lancaster. Thus the parliament, being
 begun the sixth day of the aforesaid month of No-
 vember, at Westminster, where the king with all
 the lords were set in the parliament chamber, the
 commons, after they had presented their speaker,
 assembling in the nether house, began to commune
 of their griefs, wherewith the spirituality had before-
 time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all
 right, and to the law of the realm; and especially
 were sore moved with these six great causes:

Grievances objected against the clergy of Eng- land.

I. The first, for the excessive fines which the
 ordinaries took for probates of testaments, insomuch
 that Sir Henry Guildford, knight of the garter, and
 comptroller of the king's house, declared in the open
 parliament, of his fidelity, that he and others being
 executors to Sir William Compton, knight, paid for
 the probate of his will, to the cardinal and the arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks sterling.
 After this declaration, were showed so many extor-
 tions done by ordinaries for probates of wills, that
 it were too much to rehearse.

II. The second cause was, the great polling and
 extreme exaction which the spiritual men used, in
 taking of corpses, presents, or mortuaries: for the
 children of the dead should all die for hunger and
 go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give

to them the silly cow which the dead man owed, if he had but only one: such was the charity of them!

III. The third cause was, that priests, being surveyors, stewards, and officers, to bishops, abbots, and other spiritual heads, had and occupied farms, granges, and grazing, in every country, so that the poor husbandmen could have nothing but of them; and yet, for that, they should pay dearly.

IV. The fourth cause was, that the abbots, priors, and spiritual men, kept tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporal merchants did.

V. The fifth cause was, because the spiritual persons, promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the courts of lords' houses, and took all of their parishioners, and nothing spent on them at all: so that for lack of residence, both the poor of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of God's word, to the great peril of their souls.

VI. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well-learned scholars in the university, who were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made a heretic, or lose all that he had: for the bishops were chancellors, and had all the rule about the king, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

But now, when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served that men more boldly durst express with voice, such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy, the burgesses of the parliament appointed certain of the commons' house, men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of testaments; another for mortuaries; and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farms by spiritual men.

And first, to the bill of mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the commons' house, and sent up to the higher, the spiritual lords showed a fair face, saying, that assuredly priests and curates took more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

After this, within two days, was sent up the second bill, concerning probates of testaments; which bill, because it touched their profit somewhat near, both the archbishop of Canterbury, and all other bishops in general, began to frown and grunt, inso-

much that Doctor John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, standing up in the parliament chamber, openly protested, that such bills were sent up from the commons' house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the church; which church being down, the glory then of the whole kingdom (said he) must needs fall: desiring therefore the lords, for God's sake, to take example by the kingdom of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the commons here, but "Down with the church?" And all this (said he) seemeth to be only for lack of faith. When these words were reported to the commons of the lower house, (what the bishop had said, in noting all their doings to be for lack of faith,) they took the matter grievously, so to be esteemed of the bishop for no better than heretics; understanding, moreover, how that he, by those slanderous words, went about to persuade the lords temporal against them, and so to overthrow the two bills by them passed before, as ye have heard.

Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said commons, that Thomas Audley, their speaker, with thirty of the chief of that house should be sent to the king, being then in his palace at Westminster, before called York Place; where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the king and the realm it was, to say that those who were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs, within the realm of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence to lack faith, which was equivalent to say that they were infidels, and no Christians; as ill as Tatars or Saracens: so that what pain or study soever they took for the commonwealth, or what acts or laws soever they made or established, should be taken as laws made by paynims and heathen people, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: whereupon they most humbly besought the king's Highness to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speak more discreetly of such a number as were of the commons' house.

The king, not being well contented with the excuse of the bishop, yet gently answered the speaker, and sent them away; and immediately sent for the archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the cause of the commons. The bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he, in so saying, meant only the doings of the Bohemians to the lack of faith, and not the doings of them that were in the commons' house: which saying was much liked by the bishops there present, who had great reputation. And so by that only excuse the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent him to the commons, by Sir William Fitz-

treasurer of his household : which blind excluded the commons nothing at all.

In this, divers assemblies were kept between the lords, and certain of the commons, bills of the probates of testaments, and mor-

The temporality laid to the spirituality their laws and constitutions ; and the spirituality pleaded them by prescription and usage : to which it was thus answered by a gentleman of the commons ; " The usage hath ever been of thieves, on Shooter's Hill : ergo, is it lawful ? "

In answer the spiritual men were sore offended, because their doings were called robberies ; the temporal men stood still by their sayings, until that the said gentleman said to the archbishop of Canterbury, that both the exaction of probates of testaments, and the taking of mortuaries, were used, were open robbery and theft. Long disputation, the temporal lords began to the commons ; but, for all that, the bills remained concluded awhile.

Shortly after in the parliament, that a bill was assented to by the lords of the higher house, and passed down to the commons in the lower house, by which they were also with much labour agreed unto, that the commons should be released of all such loan of money as they had borrowed of his subjects in the last year of his reign. The passing of this bill was sore against the stomachs of the poor commons ; for many rested upon it, counting and selling it over, one to another, for good debt, as if it had been ready money in their purses. Wherefore the king, to gratify them again, granted to the commons a general pardon of all offences, only certain benefices and debts excepted. Also he aided the commons for the redress of their griefs against the spirituality, and caused two new bills to be made instantly, both for the probates of the testaments, and mortuaries ; which bills were so reasonable, that the spiritual lords assented to them all, though they were sore against their minds : and especially the bills of testaments sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the parsons and

After these acts thus agreed, the commons made a bill for pluralities of benefices, non-residence, and selling, and taking of farms by spiritual lords ; which act so displeased the spirituality, that the priests railed on the commons of the lower house, and called them heretics and schismatics : whereupon which divers priests were punished.

This act was sore debated above, in the parliament chamber, and the lords spiritual would in no

wise consent. Wherefore the king, perceiving the grudge of his commons, caused eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star Chamber at an afternoon, and there was sore debating of the cause, insomuch that the temporal lords of the upper house, who were there, took part with the commons against the spiritual lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bill, with a little qualifying ; which bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the lords' house, to the great rejoicing of the lay-people, and to the great displeasure of the spiritual persons.

During the time of the said parliament, there was brought down to the commons the book of articles which the lords had put up to the king against the cardinal. The chief articles were these.

" I. First, That he, without the king's assent, had procured to be legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all bishops and spiritual persons.

" II. In all writings that he wrote to Rome, or to any other prince, he wrote, I and my king ; as who would say, that the king were his servant.

" III. That he slandered the Church of England to the court of Rome : for his suggestion to be legate, was to reform the Church of England, which (as he wrote) was *facta in reprobum sensum*.

" IV. He, without the king's assent, carried the king's great seal with him into Flanders, when he was sent ambassador to the emperor.

" V. Without the king's consent, he sent commission to Sir Gregory de Cassalis, knight, to conclude a league between the king and the duke of Ferrara.

" VI. That he, having a French disorder, presumed to come and breathe on the king.

" VII. That he caused the cardinal's hat to be put on the king's coin.

" VIII. That he had sent innumerable substance to Rome, for the obtaining of his dignities, to the great impoverishment of the realm : with many other things which are touched more at large in chronicles."

These articles, with many more, being read in the commons' house, were confessed by the cardinal, and signed with his hand. Also there was showed another writing, sealed with his seal, by the which he gave to the king all his movables and unmovables.

You have heard hitherto declared, how the cardinal was attainted in the præmunire, and how he was put out of the office of the chancellor, and lay at Esher : which was A. D. 1530. The next year after, in the Lent season, the king, by the advice of his council, licensed him to go into his diocese of York, and gave him commandment to keep him in his diocese, and not to return southward, without the king's special licence in writing.

So he made great provision to go northward, and

apparelled his servants newly, and bought many costly things for his household. But divers of his servants at this time departed from him to the king's service, and in especial Thomas Cromwel, one of his chief council, and chief doer for him in the suppression of abbeyes. After all things necessary for his journey were prepared, he took his journey northward, till he came to Southwell, which was in his

diocess, and there he continued that year grudging at his fall, as you shall hear hereafter; but the lands which he had given to his college at Oxford and Ipswich, were now come to the hands, by his attainder in the præmunire; and the king, of his gentleness, and for favour that he had to good learning, erected again the college at Oxford; and where it was named the Cardinal

college, he called it the King's College; and endowed it with fair possessions, and ordained new statutes and ordinances; and for because the college of Ipswich was thought to be nothing profitable, therefore he left that dissolved.

Notwithstanding that the cardinal of York was thus attainted in the præmunire, (as is above mentioned,) yet the king, being good unto him, had granted him the bishoprics of York and Winchester, with great plenty of substance, and had licensed him to lie in his diocess of York, where he so continued the space of a year. But after, in the year following, which was 1531, he, being in his diocess, wrote to the court of Rome, and to divers other princes, letters in reproach of the king, and, as much as in him

lay, he stirred them up to revenge his cause against the king and his realm: insomuch that divers probrious words against the king were spoken. Doctor Edward Keerne, the king's orator at Rome, and it was said to him, that, for the cardinal's sake, the king should have the worse speed in the suit of his matrimony. The cardinal, also, would speak fair to the people, to win their hearts, and declare ever that he was unjustly and untruly ordered, which fair speaking made many men believe that he said true: and to gentlemen he gave great gifts to allure them unto him. And to be had in more reputation among the people, he determined to be installed or enthronised at York with all the pomp that might be; and caused a throne to be erect

the cathedral church, in such a height and fashion, as never seen; and sent to all the lords, abbots, knights, esquires, and gentlemen of his dio-

cess, to be at his manor of Cawood on the sixth of November, and so to bring him to York with all manner of pomp and solemnity.

The king, which knew his doings and privy conveyance, all this year dissembled the matter, to see what he would do at length, till that he (seeing his proud heart so highly exalted, that he would be so triumphantly enstalled, without making the king privy, yea, and in a manner in disdain of the king) thought it not meet nor convenient to suffer him any longer to continue in his malicious and proud purposes and attempts: wherefore he directed his letters to the earl of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the cardinal, and to deliver him to the earl of Shrewsbury, great steward of the king's household. When the earl had seen the letters, he with a convenient number came to the manor of Cawood on the fourth of November; and when he was brought to the cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, "My lord! I pray you take patience, for here I arrest you." "Arrest me?" said the cardinal. "Yea," said the earl, "I have a commandment so to do." "You have no such power," said the cardinal, "for I am both a cardinal, and a legate *de latere*, and a peer of the college of Rome, and ought not to be arrested by any temporal power; for I am not subject to

that power : wherefore if you arrest me, I will withstand it." "Well," said the earl, "here is the king's commission, (which he showed him,) and therefore I charge you to obey." The cardinal somewhat remembered himself, and said, "Well, my lord! I am content to obey; but although that I, by negligence, fell into the punishment of the præmunire, and lost by the law all my lands and goods, yet my person was in the king's protection, and I was pardoned that offence; wherefore I marvel why I now should be arrested, and specially considering that I am a member of the see apostolic, on whom no temporal man ought to lay violent hands. Well, I see the king lacketh good counsel." "Well," said the earl, "when I was sworn warden of the Marshes, you yourself told me that I might with my staff arrest all men under the degree of a king; and now I am stronger, for I have a commission so to do, which you have seen." The cardinal at length obeyed, and was kept in a privy chamber, and his goods seized, and his officers discharged; and his physician, called Doctor Augustine, was likewise arrested, and brought to the Tower by Sir Walter Welsh, one of the king's chamber. On the sixth of November he was conveyed from Cawood to Sheffield Castle, and there delivered to the earl of Shrewsbury's keeping, till the king's pleasure were known. Of this attachment was much communing among the common people, whereof many were glad; for he was not in the favour of the commonalty.

When the cardinal was thus arrested, the king sent Sir William Kingston, knight, captain of the guard, and constable of the Tower of London, with certain yeomen of the guard, to Sheffield, to fetch the cardinal to the Tower. When the cardinal saw the captain of the guard, he was sore astonished, and shortly became sick; for then he perceived some great trouble towards him, and for that cause, men said, that he willingly took so much quantity of a strong purgation, that his nature was not able to bear it. Also the matter that came from him was so black, that the staining thereof could not be gotten out of his blankets by any means. But Sir William Kingston comforted him, and by easy journeys brought him to the abbey of Leicester on the twenty-seventh of November; where, for very feebleness of nature, caused by purgations and vomits, he died the second night following, and in the same abbey lieth buried.

It is testified by one, yet being alive, in whose arms the said cardinal died, that his body, being dead, was black as pitch; also was so heavy, that six could scarce bear it. Furthermore, it did so stink above the ground, that they were constrained

to hasten the burial thereof in the night season, before it was day. At the which burial, such a tempest with such a stench there arose, that all the torches went out; and so he was thrown into the tomb, and there was laid.

By the ambitious pride and excessive worldly wealth of this one cardinal, all men may easily understand and judge what the state and condition of all the rest of the same order (whom we call spiritual men) was in those days, as well in all other places of Christendom, as especially here in England, where the princely possessions and great pride of the clergy did not only far pass and exceed the common measure and order of subjects, but also surmounted over kings and princes, and all other estates, as may well appear by his doings and order of his story, above described.

Amongst other acts of the aforesaid cardinal, this is not to be forgotten, that he founded a new college in Oxford, for the furniture whereof he had gathered together all the best learned he could buy of, amongst which number were these: Clarke Tyndale, Sommer, Frith, and Taverner, with others more. Which, holding an assembly together in the college, were accounted to be hereticks, (as they called them,) and thereupon were cast into a prison of the college, where salt-fish lay, through the which whereof the most part of them were infected; and the said Clarke, being a tender young man, and most singular in learning amongst them all, died in the same prison; and other in other places in town also, of the same infection deceased.

And thus, having detained the reader enough rather too much, with this vain-glorious cardinal, now we will reduce our story again to other fruitful matter, and, as the order of time requires, first beginning with Master Humphrey Mummuth, a virtuous and a good alderman of London, at the time of the said cardinal was troubled, the story here followeth.

The trouble of Humphrey Mummuth, alderman of London.

Master Humphrey Mummuth was a right and sincere alderman of London, who, in the time of Cardinal Wolsey, was troubled and put in the Tower, for the gospel of Christ, and for maintaining them that favoured the same.

Stokesley, then bishop of London, made articles unto him, to the number of four and twenty, as for adhering to Luther and his opinions, for having and reading heretical books and for giving exhibition to William Tyndale, and such other; for helping them over the sea to

entering privy help to translate, as well the
 best, as other books into English; for eating
 on Lent; for affirming faith only to justify;
 arguing from men's constitutions; for not
 going to saints, not allowing pilgrimage, auricular
 confession, the pope's pardons: briefly, for being
 the banner of all Martin Luther's opinions, &c.
 When these articles examined, and cast
 in the Tower, at last was compelled to make his
 purgation, writing to the aforesaid cardinal,
 and chancellor, and the whole council, out of
 the Tower; in the contents whereof he answered to
 the malicious accusation of them which charged him
 with certain books received from beyond the sea;
 and his acquaintance with Master Tyndale.
 Whereupon he said, that he denied not but that,
 even then past, he had heard the said Tyndale
 make two or three sermons at St. Dunstan's in the
 city; and afterward, meeting with the said Tyndale
 had certain communication with him concern-
 ing living; who then told him that he had none
 but trusted to be in the bishop of London's
 service: for then he laboured to be his chaplain.
 Being refused of the bishop, so came again to
 Humphrey Mummuth, this examine, and besought
 him to help him: who the same time took him into
 his house for half a year; where the said Tyndale
 (as he said) like a good priest, studying both
 day and night. He would eat but sodden meat by
 the day, and will, nor drink but small single beer. He
 never seen in that house to wear linen about
 all the space of his being there. Whereupon
 said Mummuth had the better liking of him, so
 he promised him ten pounds (as he then said)
 for his father's and mother's souls, and all Christian
 souls; which money afterwards he sent him over to
 London, according to his promise. And yet not
 alone he gave this exhibition, but to divers
 more likewise, which were no heretics: as
 Dr. Royston, the bishop of London's chaplain,
 exhibited forty or fifty pounds; to Dr. Wodiall,
 vicar of the Friars Augustine, as much or more;
 Dr. Watson, the king's chaplain; also to other
 scholars, and divers priests: besides other charges
 bestowed upon religious houses, as upon the nunnery
 of Bury, above fifty pounds sterling bestowed, &c.
 And as touching his books, as *Enchiridion*, the
Pater-noster, *De Libertate Christiana*, an English
 translation: of whom, some William Tyndale left
 him; some he sent unto him; some were
 brought into his house, by whom he could not tell:
 these books (he said) did lie open in his house, the
 space of two years together, he suspecting no harm
 to be in them. And moreover the same books
 being desired of sundry persons, as of the abbess of

Denny, a friar of Greenwich, the father confessor of
 Sion, he let them have them, and yet he never heard
 friar, priest, or lay-man, find any fault with the said
 books. Likewise to Doctor Watson, to Doctor
 Stockhouse, and to Master Martin, parson of Toting-
 becke, he committed the perusing of the books of
Pater-noster, and *De Libertate Christiana*, which
 found no great fault with them; but only in the
 book *De Libertate Christiana*, they said, there were
 things somewhat hard, except the reader were wise.

Thus he, excusing himself, and moreover com-
 plaining of the loss of his credit by his imprison-
 ment in the Tower, and of the detriments of his oc-
 cupying, who was wont yearly to ship over five hun-
 dred cloths to strangers, and set many clothiers
 awork in Suffolk, and in other places, of whom he
 bought all their cloths, which almost were now all
 undone; by this reason at length was set at liberty,
 being forced to abjure, and after was made knight
 by the king, and sheriff of London.

Of this Humphrey Mummuth we read of a nota-
 ble example of Christian patience, in the sermons
 of Master Latimer, which the said Latimer heard in
 Cambridge from Master George Stafford, reader of
 the divinity lecture in that university; who, ex-
 pounding the place of St. Paul to the Romans, that
 we shall overcome our enemy with well doing, and
 so heap hot coals upon his head, &c., brought in an
 example, saying, that he knew in London a great
 rich merchant (meaning this Humphrey Mummuth)
 which had a very poor neighbour; yet for all his po-
 verty, he loved him very well, and lent him money at
 his need, and let him come to his table whensoever
 he would. It was even at that time when Doctor
 Colet was in trouble, and should have been burned, if
 God had not turned the king's heart to the contrary.
 Now the rich man began to be a Scripture-man;
 he began to smell the gospel. The poor man was
 a papist still.

It chanced on a time, when the rich man talked of
 the gospel, sitting at his table, where he reprov-
 ed popery, and such kind of things; the poor man,
 being there present, took a great displeasure
 against the rich man, insomuch that he would come
 no more to his house: he would borrow no more
 money of him, as he was wont to do before times, yea,
 and conceived such hatred and malice against him,
 that he went and accused him before the bishops.
 Now the rich man, not knowing of any such dis-
 pleasure, offered many times to talk with him, and
 to set him at quiet. It would not be. The poor
 man had such a stomach, that he would not vouch-
 safe to speak with him. If he met the rich man in
 the street, he would go out of his way. One time
 it happened that he met him so in a narrow street,

brought before them ; and the said cardinal there required of Master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught to the people the opinions of Luther or any others condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church : whereunto Bilney answered, that wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any others contrary to the catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once taken an oath before, that he should not preach, receive, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where ? He answered that he had made such an oath ; but not lawfully. Which interrogatories so ministered, and answered, the cardinal caused him to swear, to conform plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him, as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, guile, or leaving out any part of the truth. When he was thus sworn and examined, the said cardinal proceeded to the examination of Master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the same oath that Master Bilney did. Which done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir John More, knight, that in the sacrament of the Eucharist was not the very body of Christ ? Which inquiry he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon the same day, what was the examination of the aforesaid Thomas Arthur ended, the cardinal and bishops, by their authority *ex officio*, did call in for witnesses before Master Bilney, certain men ; namely, John Huggen, provincial of the Friars Preachers throughout England, and Jeffrey Julles, and Richard Jugworth, monks of divinity of the same order. Also John Jecket, gentleman, William Nelson, and Thomas William, which were sworn that, all favour, reward or reward set apart, they should, withholding any falsehood, or omitting any truth, set forth their minds, upon the articles laid against Master Bilney by him, as well within the diocese of London, as the diocese of Norwich : and because the cardinal was otherwise occupied about the affairs of the court, he committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to other bishops there were three of them, to proceed against all heresies, spiritual as temporal, as also against writings, and books, set forth and translated in praise of Luther, lately condemned by Pope Leo, and by all manner of probable means to suppress and root out their errors and to punish all such as were found culpable, to make full abjuration according to the law, or

if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authority to determine upon them.

The twenty-seventh day of November, in the year aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwich's house, where likewise, *ex officio*, they did swear certain witnesses against Master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before against Master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of Master Arthur : which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

The second day of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and swore more witnesses against Master Bilney : that done, they called for Master Arthur, unto whose charge they laid these articles following :

I. That he exhorted the people, in his prayers, to pray especially for those that now be in prison.—Which article he denied.

II. That he said, " Though men be restrained to preach now-a-days, (which is against God's laws,) yet I may preach ; first, by the authority of my lord cardinal ; for I have his licence : secondly, by the authority of the university : thirdly, by the pope : fourthly, by the authority of God, by which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to hinder any man to preach the gospel."—This article he confessed that he spake.

III. When he spake of laws, he brought a similitude of crosses, set up against the walls of London, that men should not offend there. " When there was but one cross, or a few more, men did reverence them, and offended not there ; but when there was in every corner a cross set, then men of necessity were compelled to offend upon the crosses. So, in like manner, when there was but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to offend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage ; and such as were pecuniary, those they do observe ; and such as are not pecuniary, those they call *palea*, and regard them not : and so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law."—He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

IV. He said, " Good people ! if I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are seven thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people ! good people ! (which words he

heard, as it were lamenting,) think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken."—This article he confessed that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants.

V. That every man, yea, every layman, is a priest.—He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon, that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer; and if they did murmur against the order of the priesthood, they murmur against themselves.

VI. That men should pray to no saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer only.—This article he denied.

VII. He preached that they should worship no images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones.—This he also denied.

VIII. He did preach upon Whit Sunday last, within the university of Cambridge, such or like words and sentences: that a bachelor of divinity, admitted of the university, or any other person having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and let for no man, of what estate or degree soever he were: and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves.—He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said Master Arthur did revoke and condemn the said articles against him administered, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church.

The third of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to return to the Church of Rome, the bishop of London, in discharge of his conscience, (as he said,) lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, he did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said Master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which, all and every one, he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.

This was done in the presence of Master Bilney, desiring a copy of them, and he bound the notaries with an oath, for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same: which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, with certain depositions deposed by the aforesaid witnesses, here follow truly drawn; partly out of his own handwriting, and partly out of the register:

I. Whether they did believe with their hearts, that the assertions of Luther, which are impugned by the bishop of Rochester, were justly and godly condemned; and that Luther, with his adherents, was a wicked and detestable heretic?

II. Whether they did believe that the general councils and ecclesiastical constitutions, once received, and not abrogated again, ought to be observed of all men, even for conscience' sake, and not only for fear?

III. Whether they did believe that the pope's laws were profitable and necessary to the preferment of godliness, not repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, neither by any means to be abrogated, but to be revered by all men?

IV. Whether they did believe that the catholic church may err in the faith or no? and whether they think that catholic church to be a sensible church, which may be demonstrated and pointed out as it were with a finger; or that it is only a spiritual church, intelligible and known only unto God?

V. Whether they think that the images of saints are Christianly set in the churches, and ought to be worshipped of all true Christians?

VI. Whether that a man may believe, without hurt to his faith, or note of heresy, the souls of Peter and Paul, and of our Lady, either to be, or not be, in heaven; and that there is yet no judgment given upon the souls departed?

VII. Whether that a man may believe, without spot of heresy, that our Lady remained not always a virgin?

VIII. Whether holy-days and fasting-days, ordained and received by the church, may be broken by any private man, at his will and pleasure, without sin or obstinacy?

IX. Whether we are bound to be obedient prelates, bishops, and kings, by God's commandment, as we are unto our parents?

X. Whether they believe that the church doth well and godly in praying to the saints?

XI. Whether they think that Christ only ought to be prayed unto, and that it is no heresy, if any affirm that saints should not be prayed unto?

XII. Whether they do think all true Christians to be by like right priests, and all those that received the keys of binding and loosing in the hands of Christ, which have obtained the same of God, and only such, whether they be lay priests?

XIII. Whether they believe with their hearts that faith may be without works and charity?

XIV. Whether they believe that it is more able to the faith, that the people should speak with their own tongue, than in a learned unknown

Whether they commend the prayer in a strange
 tongue?
 Whether they would have the masses and
 sermons to be read in churches in the vulgar
 tongue, rather than in the Latin tongue?
 Whether they commend that children
 only be taught the Lord's Prayer, and not
 the Creed of the Virgin, or Creed?
 Whether they do think the wooden beads,
 the common people do use, worthy to be de-
 voted?
 Whether they do think the whole Scrip-
 ture to be translated into English, or that it
 be more profitable for the people, than as it
 is now?
 Whether they would have the organs, and
 psalms, to be put out of the church of God?
 Whether they do think that it pertaineth to
 punish any man with bonds or im-
 prisonment, or that they have any temporal power
 or authority?
 Whether they think that constitution to be
 that no man should preach in another man's
 church without letters of commendation and licence
 of the bishop?
 Whether they think the vows of religious
 and private religion, to be constituted and or-
 dered by the Spirit of God; neither by any means
 repugnant to a free and perfect Christian life?
 Whether they believe that we should pray
 for the dead, or believe that there is a purgatory;
 and we are bound by the necessity of faith, to
 believe either of them: but that it is free without
 faith to believe it, or not to believe it?
 Whether they believe that moral philo-
 sophy and natural, do prevail any thing for the
 understanding of the Scriptures, and for the
 defence and defence of the truth?
 Whether they think that the pope's in-
 dulgences and pardons are rather to be rejected than
 received?
 Whether it be contrary to the doctrine
 of Christ and his apostles, that Christians should by
 means contend in the law, to seek any manner
 of satisfaction?
 Whether they believe all things per-
 taining to salvation and damnation to come of neces-
 sity, and nothing to be in our own wills?
 Whether they believe God to be the
 author of all evil, as well of the fault, as of the
 punishment?
 Whether they think mass only to be
 offered to him which saith it, and whether every
 man may alter or leave out the rite and order of the
 mass without hurt of faith?

XXX. Whether they believe that there can be
 any moral virtues without the grace of Christian
 living; or that the virtues which Aristotle hath set
 out, are rather feigned?

XXXI. Whether they think it heresy to teach
 the people, that it is free to give tithes unto priests,
 or to any other poor man?

XXXII. Whether they do think it more Chris-
 tian-like to take away the images out of the churches,
 or to permit them to adorn them and honour them?

XXXIII. Whether they think it the part of a
 Christian man, that preachers should exhort men to
 pilgrimage, or to the worshipping of relics?

XXXIV. Whether that thou, Thomas Bilney!
 being cited upon heresy to appear before my lord
 cardinal, and, before the day of thy appearance, not
 having made thy purgation upon those points that
 thou wast cited, hast preached openly in divers
 churches of the city and diocese of London, without
 sufficient licence from the bishop or any other?

Concerning the answers unto these articles, gen-
 tle reader! forasmuch as in the most part of them,
 Bilney with Arthur seemed to consent and agree,
 (although not fully and directly, but by way and
 manner of qualifying,) yet because he did not ex-
 pressly deny them, it shall not be needful here to
 recite them all, save only such, wherein he seemed
 to dissent from them.

Bilney's answers to the interrogatories aforesaid.

To the first and second articles he answered af-
 firmatively. To the third he said, "I believe that
 many of the pope's laws are profitable and necessary,
 and do prevail unto godliness, neither in any point
 are to be abrogate, but of all men to be observed
 and revered. But touching all those laws, I
 cannot determine: for as for such as I have not
 read, I trust notwithstanding they are good also;
 and as for those that I have read, I did never
 read them to the end and purpose to reprove
 them, but, according to my power, to learn and
 understand them. And as touching the multi-
 tude of laws, St. Augustine in his time did much
 complain; and Gerson also, who marvelled that we
 could by any means live in safety amongst so many
 snares of constitutions, when our forefathers, being
 pure before their fall, could not observe one only
 precept."

To the fourth article he said, that "the catholic
 church can by no means err in faith, for it is the
 whole congregation of the elect, and so known only
 unto God, which knoweth who are his: otherwise
 no man should be ascertained of another man's sal-
 vation, or of his own, but only through faith and

hope. For it is written, No man knoweth whether he be worthy of hatred or love. It is also sensible, and may be demonstrate so far forth as it is sufficient to establish us in all things that are to be believed and done: for I may truly say of the general council being congregate in the Holy Ghost, Behold here the catholic church; denominating the whole, by the most worthy part."

To the fifth article he answered affirmatively.

To the sixth article he answered, that he did not believe that they are in heaven; being so taught by the Scriptures, and holy fathers of the church.

To the seventh article he said, that it is not to be thought contrary.

To the eighth article, whether a man may not observe the feasts and fasts of the church prescribed; he thought that there is no man but he ought to observe them.

To the ninth article he said, that we are likewise bound, as unto parents.

To the fourteenth article he answered thus: "The fourteenth chapter of St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, moveth me to believe, that it is best that the people should have the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed in English, so that the devotion might the more be furthered by the understanding thereof; and also that thereby they might be the more prompt and expert in the articles of their faith, of the which, it is to be feared, a great number are ignorant. Surely I have heard many say, that they never heard speak of the resurrection of the body: and being certified thereof, but they became much more apt and ready unto goodness, and more fearful to do evil."

To the fifteenth article he said, he would "wish that the Gospels and Epistles should be read in English; For I would (saith Paul) rather have five words, &c., that the church might be edified, &c.; and Chrysostom exhorteth his hearers to look upon books, that they might the better commit unto memory those things which they had heard; and St. Bede did translate St. John's Gospel into English."

Touching the eighteenth article, for the translation of the Scripture into English, concerning the whole, he did partly doubt; notwithstanding he wished that the Gospels and Epistles of the day might be read in English, that the people might be made the more apt to hear sermons. But here some will say, there might also be danger for error: whereunto he answered, "But good and vigilant pastors might easily help that matter, by adding the plain interpretation of the fathers in the margins in English, upon the dark and obscure places, which would put away all doubts. Oh how great profit of souls should the vigilant pastors get thereby! which

contrariwise, through their slothfulness, bring ruin and decay."

To the five-and-twentieth article, as pardons, he said, that "as they be used, a too long been, it were better that they should be restrained, than that they should be any longer as they have been, to the injury of Christ's church."

Touching the six-and-twentieth article that "it is not against the doctrine of Christ's apostles to contend in the law, so it be done with charity, if St. Augustine, and the reverend Marcus Marulus, did not err, which grant liberty to the weak Christians: albeit the true Christians ought to give ear unto St. Paul's words. Why do ye not rather suffer injury? and thank yourself, which saith, He that would contend with thee in the law, and take away thy coat, give him thy cloak also."

Touching the eight-and-twentieth, he said that "God is the author of the punishment, not of the offence, as Basil the Great teacheth in a sermon upon these words of the prophet, *Malum in civitate quod non fecit Dominus*. And St. Augustine in another place, as I remember prayeth, that he be not led into that temptation, he should believe God to be the author of our wickedness."

Here ensueth a brief summary or collection of certain depositions, deposed by the several witnesses aforementioned, upon certain interrogatories entered unto them for the inquiry of Master Eton's doctrine and preaching.

First it was deposed, that in his sermon concerning Christ's church in Ipswich, he should preach, say, "Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what should we need to seek any saint for remedy? Wherefore, it is no injury to the blood of Christ, to make such prayer and blasphemeth our Saviour."

"That man is so imperfect of himself, that he can in no wise merit by his own deeds."

Also, that "the coming of Christ was long promised before, and desired by the prophets: but John Baptist, being more than a prophet, did not only prophesy, but with his finger showed him, saying, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. Then, if this were the very Lamb, John did demonstrate, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is it to our Saviour Christ, that to be buried in St. Francis' cowl should require four parts of penance! What is then left to our Saviour Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world? This I will justify to be a great blasphemy to the blood of Christ."

Also, that "it was a great folly to go on pilgrimages, and that preachers, in times past, have been schismatics; and now it hath pleased God somewhat show forth their falsehood and errors."

the poor people: and that the pope hath not the keys that Peter had, except he follow Peter in his living."
Moreover, it was deposed against him, that
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till now, they have borne the keys of simony. Against them, good people! we must preach and teach unto you, for we cannot come to them; it is great pity they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

"The people have used foolishly of late pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

"Many have made certain vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

"The preachers before this have been antichrists, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to show their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

"I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall show and preach to you the same faith and manner of living that I do show and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced; for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ."

These and many other such-like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworn, which wholly to recite would be too long and tedious; wherefore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest. But now, before we return again to the order of his examination, we think it good here to infer a certain dialogue, containing a communication between a friar named John Brusierd, and Master Thomas Bilney, which we have thought meet for this place, because it was done in Ipswich, and also about the time of these examinations: the copy whereof we have written with the friar's own hand in Latin, the translation whereof in English here ensueth.

Brusierd. "Although you have blasphemed most perniciously the immaculate flock of Christ with certain blasphemies of yours, yet, being moved partly with your gentle petitions, partly pitying your case and towardly disposition, I am come hither to talk with you secretly, before the rumour be disclosed, upon the consideration of the threefold errors which I see in you. First, for that when you began to shoot the dart of your pestiferous error more vehemently than you ought, against the breast of the ignorant multitude, you seemed to pour upon the ground the precious blood of Christ, as with a certain vehement violence, out of the miserable vessel of your heart. Whereas you said that none of the saints do make intercession for us, nor obtain for us any thing, you have perilously blasphemed the efficacy of the

whole church, consecrated with the precious blood of Christ. Which thing you are not able to do, especially seeing the same so incessantly doth intercede at the gates of heaven, through the continual intercession of the saints, according as in the second Litany manifestly appeareth to be seen."

Bilney. "I marvel at you, and doubtless I do not marvel enough, but that the strong and custom of superstitious men, thinking themselves not to be heard but in much babbling, doth lead me end to my admiration: for our heavenly Father knoweth what we have need of before we ask. As it is written, There is one mediator of God and the man Christ Jesus. If then there be but one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus, is our blessed Lady? where are then St. Peter and other saints?"

Brusierd. "I suppose that no man is ignorant but that the divines of the primitive church have affirmed to be one mediator between God and man. Neither could any at that time praise or pray for the saints, when as yet they, living in the calendar of this body, and wrestling with the contrary of this world, were not yet come to the port whereunto they were travelling. Paul, I greatly affirm to be but one mediator of God and man, what time as yet there was no saint canonized or put into the calendar. But now, seeing the church doth know, and doth certainly believe through the undoubted revelations of God, that the blessed Virgin and other saints are placed in the bosom of Abraham, she, therefore, like a good mother, hath taught, and that most diligently, all children, to praise the omnipotent Jesus in his saints; and also to offer up by the same saints petitions unto God. Thereof it is the psalmist saith, Praise ye the Lord in his saints. By which also do we say and affirm, that saints may pray for us. One man may pray for another; ergo, more may saints who do enjoy the fruition of the High Majesty. For so it is written, God is my Father, whom I serve in my spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I remember you in my prayers always for you, &c."

Bilney. "I marvel, doubtless, that you, so learned, are not yet delivered out of the confinement of heresy, through the help of the true gospel; especially seeing that in the same gospel it is written, Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you ask the Father in my name he will give unto you: he saith not, Whatsoever ye ask the Father in the name of St. Peter, St. Paul, or other saints; but in my name. Let us ask therefore help in the name of him, which is able to obtain for us of his Father whatsoever we ask, &c."

peradventure hereafter, in the end of the world, at the strait judgment, we shall hear, Hitherto in my name ye have asked nothing."

Brusierd. "Where ye marvel (with what mind, I cannot tell) that I, being a learned man, (as you say,) am not delivered yet from the confused dungeon of heresy, through the help of the gospel; much more do you, that are far better learned than I, cause me to marvel at your foolish admiration. Neither can I choose but laugh at you, as one being rapt to the third heaven of such high mysteries, and yet see not those things which be done here, in the lower parts of terrene philosophy: for what a foolish thing is it, for a man to look so long upon the sun, that he can see nothing else but the sun, nor tell whither to turn him? Moreover, what is there in all Cambridge, be he never so wise, that knoweth not that the argument of authority, brought out negatively, hath no force?"

Bilney. "So as the Pharisees took Christ, you say words, much otherwise than I meant."

Brusierd. "Your words, which wander far from the sense of Scripture, I do not like. What is the meaning, and lieth inwardly in your mind, that tell."

Bilney. "Such as invoke the help either of God, or of any other saint, for any corporal infirmity, to be delivered from the same, may be well compared to delicate patients, who, being under the care of physicians, and having medicines ministered to their diseases, not abiding the pain thereof, cry out: wherefore I say, no man ought to forsake the help of God, or of any saint, for corporal infirmity."

Brusierd. "O most pernicious and perilous heresy that ever I heard! Thus you, fleeing from the fire, fall into the fire; and avoiding the Scylla, you run upon Charybdis. O man, wrapped in palpable darkness! I wonder Bilney, that you would but once search out the first origin of these Rogation days, so we read in the church story, that they were ordained by Pope Gregory, with fasting, and holy processions, against the pestilence, and infection of the air, then reigning among the people; at what time, the people then going in the streets, a certain image like to our blessed Lady, which the hands of St. Luke the evangelist, did paint; about the which image, in honour of the Virgin, angels did sing this anthem: 'O Virgin, be glad!' to which anthem the people joined this, 'Pray to the Lord for us.' And seeing the angels did worship the image of the Virgin Mary, in the honour of her; and moreover the holy father, Pope Gregory,

with all the clergy, did pray for corporal infirmity, it appeareth manifestly that we ought to worship the saints, and also to give honour in a manner to their images: further also, to pray to Almighty God and all saints for corporal infirmity, that we may be delivered from the same, so that they may say the like for us, which is said in the Gospel, Send them away, because they cry after us. And although there be infinite places inexpugnable to be alleged out of the Holy Scripture, wherewith we might easily resist this your error, yet standing herewith content, as sufficient at this present, we will proceed now to your second pestiferous error, wherein you, like an ingrate child, go about to tear out the bowels of your mother. For in that you say and affirm, blasphemously, the bishop of Rome to be the very antichrist, and that his privilege have no force against the gates of hell; in so saying, what do you, but, like a most unkind and unnatural child, spoil your loving mother of all her treasures, and wound her, being spoiled; and being wounded, pluck out her bowels most miserably upon the earth? But forasmuch as there is nothing so absurd, or so heretical, but shall be received by some itching ears, I would therefore now hear you declare, how he sitteth in the temple of God as God, being exalted and worshipped above all that is named God; or how that he sheweth himself as Lord, in power and signs and wonders deceitful."

Bilney. "Although incredulity doth not suffer you, notwithstanding your learning, to understand these things, yet I will go about something to help your incredulity herein, through the help of the Lord: beseeching you that, setting all superstition apart, you will understand those things that are above. Do ye know the table of the ten commandments?"

Brusierd. "According as the catholic doctors do expound them, I know them meanly; but how you do expound them I cannot tell."

Bilney. "And do you know also the constitutions of men, which are devised only by the dreams of men; whereunto men are so straitly bound, that, under pain of death, they are compelled to observe them?"

Brusierd. "I know certain sanctions of the holy fathers; but such as you speak of, to be devised by men's dreams, I know none."

Bilney. "Now then let us set and compare these two together, and so shall you easily understand the bishop of Rome, whom they call the pope, to sit in the temple of God as God, and to be extolled above all that is named God. It is written, The temple of Lord is holy, which is you. Therefore the conscience of man is the temple of the Holy Ghost; in

which temple I will prove the pope to sit as God, and to be exalted above all that is called God. For whoso contemneth the decalogue, or the table of the commandments of God, there is but a small punishment for him; neither is that punishment to death: but contrariwise, he that shall contemn or violate the constitutions, which you call the sanctions of men, is counted by all men's judgment guilty of death. What is this, but for the high bishop of Rome to sit and reign in the temple of God, (that is, in man's conscience,) as God?"

Brusierd. "Although this exposition seemeth unworthy for Christian ears, yet I would hear you further, how he showeth himself in signs and wonders deceitful."

Bilney. "These wonders, which they call miracles, be wrought daily in the church, not by the power of God, as many think; but by the illusion of Satan rather, who, as the Scripture witnesseth, hath been loose now abroad five hundred years, according as it is written in the book of the Apocalypse, After a thousand years Satan shall be let loose, &c. Neither are they to be called miracles of true Christian men, but illusions rather, whereby to delude men's minds; to make them put their faith in our Lady, and in other saints, and not in God alone, to whom be honour and glory for ever."

Brusierd. "But that I believe and know that God and all his saints will take everlasting revenge upon thee, I would surely, with these nails of mine, be thy death, for this horrible and enormous injury against the precious blood of Christ. God saith, I will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he convert and live. And thou blasphemest him, as though he should lay privy snares of death for us secretly, that we should not espy them; which if it were true, we might well say with Hugh de Saint Victore in this manner: If it be an error, it is by thee, O God, that we are deceived; for these be confirmed with such signs and wonders, which cannot be done but by thee. But I am assured it is untrue and heretical, and therefore I will leave this matter, and will talk with you concerning the merits of saints; for once I remember, in a certain sermon of yours, you said, that no saint, though his suffering were never so great, and his life most pure, deserved any thing for us with God, either by his death or life: which is contrary to St. Augustine."

Bilney. "Christ saith one thing, St. Augustine another: whether of these two shall we believe? for Christ, willing to deliver us out of this dark dungeon of ignorance, gave forth a certain parable of ten virgins, of which five were fools, and five were wise. By the five foolish virgins, wanting the oil of good works, he meant all us sinners: by the wise

virgins, he meant the company of all holy men. Now let us hear what the five wise virgins said to the five foolish, craving oil of them; I think they, lest peradventure we have not sufficient oil for you. Get you rather to them and buy of them to serve your turn. What if they had not oil sufficient for themselves, as for the others, where then be the merits of them wherewith they can deserve both for themselves and for us, certes I cannot see."

Brusierd. "You wrest the Scriptures from their right understanding to a reprobate sense, the which is scarce able to hold mine eyes from tears, and with mine ears these words of you. Fare ye well."

The submission of Master Thomas Bilney.

The fourth day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, and all the clergy, came again in the chapter-house of Westminster; and also Master Bilney was brought, and was examined and admonished to abjure and recant; who answered that he would stand to his conscience. The bishop of London, with other bishops, did give the depositions of the witnesses, with his questions and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him to deliberate with himself, whether he would remain in the church, and renounce his opinions, or whether he would depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. Which done, the bishop asked him again if he would return? who answered, Let justice and judgment be done in the name of our Lord. And being divers times admonished to answer, he would make no other answer, but *Fiat justitia et erigatur templum domini*, &c., and, This is the day God made; let us rejoice and be glad in it. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Amen: Exurgat dominus et dissipentur inimici ejus.* And making a sign of the cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops he gave sentence against Master Bilney, being there present, in this manner: "The consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who has been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we will deliberate till to-morrow."

The fifth day of December, the bishops assembled there again, before whom Bilney was brought, whom the bishop asked, if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresy which he had preached. Whereupon Bilney answered that he would not be a slander to the church, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that if the multitude of witnesses in

credited, he might have thirty men of honest life in his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him. Which witnesses, the bishop said, were too late; for after publication they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney alleging the story of Susan and Daniel, the bishop of London exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies, and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

That afternoon, the bishop of London again asked whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies. Bilney answered, that he would not separate from the church; he required time and place to bring in witnesses: he was refused. Then the bishop once again asked of him, whether he would return to the catholic church: whereunto he answered, that if he could teach and prove sufficiently, that he was mistaken, he would yield and submit himself: and desired again to have time and space to bring in his refused witnesses; and other answer he could give none.

Then the bishop put Master Bilney aside, and counsel with his fellows; and afterwards called Master Bilney, asked him again, whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was lawful to hear a petition which was against him: and inquiring again, whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired to have time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked whether he would abjure, and instantly desired thereunto, or else that he must be read, he required the bishop to give him licence to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies with which he was defamed or no. The bishop answered him that he should have a little time to deliberate with Master Dancaster; but Bilney required that the next morrow, to consult with Master Dancaster and Master Dancaster, but the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal. But at last the bishop, inclining to him, granted him two nights' respite to deliberate, that is to say, till Saturday at nine o'clock in the evening: and then to give a plain determinate answer what he would do in the premises.

On the fourth day of December, in the year and second of Henry the eighth, the bishop of London with the other bishops assembled, Bilney also personally appeared before the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church,

and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted. Who answered, that now he was persuaded by Master Dancaster and others his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration; which the bishop granted. When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in the premises, he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed, and delivered it to the bishop, which then did absolve him, and, for his penance, enjoined him, that he should abide in a prison appointed by the cardinal, till he were by him released: and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bareheaded, with a faggot on his shoulder; and should stand before the preacher at Paul's Cross all the sermon time.

Here, forasmuch as mention is made before of five letters or epistles, which this good man wrote to Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, and by the said bishop delivered unto the registrars, we thought good to insert certain thereof, such as could come to our hands: the copy of which letters, as they were written by him in Latin, because they are in the former edition to be seen and read in the same Latin wherein he wrote them, it shall suffice in this book to express the same only in English. Concerning the first epistle, which containeth the whole story of his conversion, and seemeth more effectual in the Latin than in the English; we have exhibited it in the second edition, and therefore here have only made mention of the same briefly. The same in English is as followeth:

"To the reverend father in Christ, Cuthbert, bishop of London, Thomas Bilney wisheth health in Christ, with all submission due unto such a prelate:

"In this behalf, most reverend father in Christ, I think myself most happy that it is my chance to be called to examination before your Reverence, for that you are of such wisdom and learning, of such integrity of life, which all men do confess to be in you, that even yourself cannot choose, (if you do not too lightly esteem God's gifts in you,) as often as you shall remember the great things which God hath done unto you, but straightways secretly in your heart, to his high praise, say, He that is mighty hath done great things unto me, and holy is his name. I rejoice that I have now happened upon such a judge, and with all my heart give thanks unto God, who ruleth all things.

"And albeit (God is my witness) I know not myself guilty of any error in my sermons, neither of any heresy or sedition, which divers do slander me of, seeking rather their own lucre and advantage than the health of souls: notwithstanding I do exceedingly rejoice, that it is so foreseen by God's divine providence, that I should be brought before the tribunal seat of Tonsal, who knoweth as well as any other, that there will never be wanting a Jannes and a Jambres, who will resist the truth; that there shall never be lacking some Elymas, who will go about to subvert the straight ways of the Lord; and finally, that some Demetriuses, Pithonises, Balaams, Nicolaitans, Cains, and Ishmaels, will be always at hand, which will greedily hunt and seek after that which pertaineth unto themselves, and not that which pertaineth to Jesus Christ. How can it then be, that they can suffer Christ to be truly and sincerely preached? for if the people begin wholly in every place once to put their confidence in Christ, which was for them crucified, then straightways that which they have hitherto embraced instead of Christ, shall utterly decay in the hearts of the faithful.

"Then they shall understand that Christ is not in this place, or in that place, but the kingdom of God to be in themselves. Then shall they plainly see, that the Father is not to be worshipped, neither in the mount of Samaria, nor at Jerusalem, but in all places, in spirit and in truth: which thing if it come once to pass, the beasts of the field will think all their gain and lucre lost. In whom the saying of Ezekiel is fulfilled: My sheep are dispersed because they had no shepherd, and are devoured of the beast of the field, and strayed abroad: my flock hath erred and wandered in every mountain, and upon every high hill, and is dispersed throughout all the earth; and there is no man which hath sought to gather them together; no, there was no man which once sought after them. But if any man would seek to reduce those which were gone astray, into the fold of Christ, that is, the unity of faith, by and by there rise up certain against him, which are named pastors, but indeed are wolves; which seek no other thing of their flock, but the milk, wool, and flesh, leaving both their own souls, and the souls of their flock, unto the devil.

"These men, I say, rise up like unto Demetrius, crying out, This heretic dissuadeth and seduceth much people every where, saying, that they are not gods which are made with hands. These are they, these I say, most reverend father! are they, which, under the pretence of persecuting heretics, follow their own licentious lives; enemies unto the cross of Christ, which can suffer and bear any thing rather

than the sincere preaching of Christ crucified for our sins. These are they unto whom Christ threateneth eternal damnation, where he saith, Woe be unto you, scribes, Pharisees, and hypocrites! which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and you yourselves enter not in, neither suffer those which would enter, to come in. These are they that have come in another way to the charge of souls, as it appeareth; For if any man, saith Christ, come in by me, he shall be saved; and shall come in, and go out, and find pasture. These men do not find pasture, for they never teach and draw others after them, that they should enter by Christ, which alone is the door whereby we must come unto the Father; but not before the people another way, persuading them to come unto God through good works, oftentimes speaking nothing at all of Christ, thereby seeking rather their own gain and lucre, than the salvation of souls: in this point being worse than those which upon Christ (being the foundation) build wood, hay, and straw. These men call that they know Christ, but by their deeds they deny him.

"These are those physicians upon whom that man that was twelve years vexed with the bloody flux had consumed all that she had, and felt no better but was still worse and worse, until such time she came at last unto Christ; and after she once touched the hem of his vesture, through which she was so healed, that by and by she felt the life in her body. O mighty power of the most High, which I also, miserable sinner, have often felt, and felt, which, before I could come unto Christ, had even likewise spent all that I had upon ignorant physicians, that is to say, unlearned teachers of confession; so that there was but small strength left in me, (which of nature was weak,) small store of money, and very little understanding: for they appointed me fastings, watchings, buying of pardons, and masses; which things (as I now understand) they sought rather their own gain, than the salvation of the languishing soul.

"But at the last I heard speak of Jesus Christ, then when the New Testament was first set forth by Erasmus; which understanding to be done by him, and being allured rather by the name than for the word of God, (for at that time I knew not what it meant,) I bought it even by the price of God, as I do now well understand and prize, and at the first reading (as I well remember) I chanced upon this sentence of St. Paul, 1 Tim. i. 15, It is a true saying, and worthy to be embraced, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

to save sinners; of whom I am the chief
Principal. This one sentence, through God's
love and inward working, which I did not
deserve, did so exhilarate my heart, being be-
loaded with the guilt of my sins, and being
in despair, that immediately I felt a mar-
vellous comfort and quietness, insomuch that my
bones leaped for joy.

After this, the Scripture began to be more
dear unto me than the honey or the honey-
comb wherein I learned, that all my travails, all
tear and watching, all the redemption of
pardons, being done without trust in
Christ, who only saveth his people from their sins;
and, I learned to be nothing else but even
(Augustine saith) a hasty and swift running
in the right way; or else much like to the ves-
tment of fig leaves, wherewithal Adam and Eve
were in vain to cover themselves, and could
not obtain quietness and rest, until they
believed in the promise of God, that Christ, the seed
of a woman, should tread upon the serpent's head:
could I be relieved or eased of the sharp
and bitings of my sins, before I was taught
that lesson which Christ speaketh of in John
when as Moses exalted the serpent in the de-
sert, shall the Son of man be exalted, that all
who believe on him should not perish, but have
everlasting life.

When as (according to the measure of grace
which God gave unto me of God) I began to taste and savour
that heavenly lesson, which no man can teach but
God, who revealed the same unto Peter, I de-
scribed the Lord to increase my faith; and at last I
felt nothing more, than that I, being so comfort-
ed, might be strengthened by his Holy Spi-
rit, and grace from above, that I might teach the
people his ways, which are mercy and truth; and
that the wicked might be converted unto him by me,
who sometime was also wicked; which thing,
with all my power I did endeavour before my
superior and your fatherhood, Christ was blas-
phemed in me, (and this is my only comfort in these
afflictions,) whom with my whole power I do
commend and set forth, being made for us by God his
Father, our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification,
redemption, and finally our satisfaction; who
gave himself for us, (that is to say, a sacrifice for
our sins,) through him, should be made the right-
eousness of God; who became accursed for us, to
redeem us from the curse of the law; who also came
to save the righteous, but sinners to repentance.
I say, who falsely judge and think
themselves so to be, (for all men have sinned, and
in the glory of God, whereby he freely forgiveth

sins unto all believers, through the redemption which
is in Christ Jesus,) because that all mankind was
grievously wounded in him who fell amongst thieves,
between Jerusalem and Jericho. And therefore,
with all my whole power, I teach, that all men should
first acknowledge their sins, and condemn them, and
afterwards hunger and thirst for that righteous-
ness whereof St. Paul speaketh, The righteousness
of God, by faith in Jesus Christ, is upon all them
which believe in him; for there is no difference:
all have sinned, and lack the glory of God, and are
justified freely through his grace, by the redemp-
tion which is in Jesus Christ: the which whosoever
doth hunger or thirst for, without doubt they shall at
length be so satisfied, that they shall not hunger and
thirst for ever.

"But, forasmuch as this hunger and thirst was
wont to be quenched with the fulness of man's
righteousness, which is wrought through the faith of
our own elect and chosen works; as pilgrimages,
buying of pardons, offering of candles, elect and
chosen fasts, and oftentimes superstitious; and final-
ly all kind of voluntary devotions, (as they call
them,) against which God's word speaketh plain-
ly in Deut. iv. 2, saying, Thou shalt not do that
which seemeth good unto thyself; but that which I
command thee for to do, that do thou, neither add-
ing to, neither diminishing any thing from it. There-
fore, I say, oftentimes I have spoken of those works,
not condemning them, (as I take God to be my wit-
ness,) but reproving their abuse; making the law-
ful use of them manifest even unto children; ex-
horting all men not so to cleave unto them, that
they, being satisfied therewith, should loathe or wax
weary of Christ, as many do: in whom I bid your
fatherhood most prosperously well to fare.

"And this is the whole sum. If you will appoint
me to dilate more at large the things here touched,
I will not refuse to do it, so that you will grant me
time (for to do it out of hand I am not able for the
weakness of my body); being ready always, if I
have erred in any thing, to be better instructed."

*Another letter of Master Thomas Bilney, to
Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London.*

"Albeit I do not remember, reverend father in
Christ! whether I have either spoken or written
that the gospel hath not been sincerely preached now
of long time, which your Lordship seemeth to have
gathered, either by some Momus and sinister hear-
ers of my sermons, who (like Malchus, having their
right ear cut off) only bring their left ear to ser-
mons; or else by some words or writings of mine,
which have rashly passed me, rather than upon any
evil intent; yet, forasmuch as in this behalf your

have climbed another way, not being called.

What marvel is it if they do not preach, they are not sent, but run for lucre; seeking glory, and not the glory of God, and salvation of souls? And this is the root of all mischief in the church, that they are not sent inwardly; for without this inward calling it helpeth not before God, to be a hundred times elected, to be smitten by a thousand bulls, either by pope, or emperor. God beholdeth the heart, whose words are according to truth, howsoever we desire the judgment of men for a time; which also shall see their abomination. This, I say, is the signal of all mischief in the church, that we charge ourselves into the charge of souls, whose reward is the glory of God (which is, to enter the door) we do not thirst nor seek for, but for our own lucre and profit.

When it cometh, that we know not how to preach Christ purely; For how should they preach with the apostle, except they be sent? for as many thieves and robbers do preach him, with their lips only, for their heart is far from him; neither yet do we suffer those which do know to preach, but persecute them, and go about to pervert the Scriptures now springing, under the name of godliness; fearing, as I suppose, lest the Turks should come and take our place. Ah! wicked enemy Herod! why art thou afraid? He should come? He taketh not away mortal kingdoms, which giveth heavenly kingdoms. Blindness! O our great blindness! yea, more blindness of Egypt; of which if there be any that would deliver the people, by and by saith Pharaoh, Moses! why do ye cause the people to cease from their labours? and truly called their labours. Get rid of your burdens. Lay more work upon them, bid them to do it, that they hearken not unto it. Thus the people was dispersed throughout all Egypt, to gather up chaff; I say, to gather up chaff. Who shall grant unto us, that God will say, I have looked down, and beholden the state of my people which is in Egypt, and have heard their sighs, and am come down to deliver them? But whither hath this zeal carried me? Whether after knowledge or not, I dare not say: it becometh to you, reverend father! to judge.

Now you do look that I should show unto you (as you write,) how that they ought sincerely to preach, to the better edifying hereafter of the flock. Here, I confess, I was afraid that you might be spoken in some derision, until that I well perceived that you had written it with your own hand.

Then again I began to doubt, for what intent Tonstal should require that of Bilney: an old soldier, of a young beginner; the chief pastor of London, of a poor silly sheep. But for what intent soever you did it, I trust it was of a good mind; and albeit that I am weak of body, yet, through the grace of Christ given unto me, I will attempt this matter, although it do far pass my power: under the which burden if I be oppressed, yet I will not deceive you, for that I have promised nothing but a prompt and ready will to do that which you have commanded.

"As touching that pertaineth to preaching of the gospel, I would to God you would give me leave privately to talk with you, that I might speak freely that which I have learned in the Holy Scriptures for the consolation of my conscience; which if you will so do, I trust you shall not repent you. All things shall be submitted unto your judgment; who (except I be utterly deceived) will not break the reed that is bruised, and put out the flax that is smoking; but rather, if I shall be found in any error, (as indeed I am a man,) you, as spiritual, shall restore me through the spirit of gentleness, considering yourself, lest that you also be tempted: for every bishop, which is taken from among men, is ordained for men, not violently to assault those which are ignorant, and do err; for he himself is compassed in with infirmity, that he, being not void of evils, should learn to have compassion upon other miserable people.

"I desire you that you will remember me tomorrow, that by your aid I may be brought before the tribunal seat of my lord cardinal; before whom I had rather stand, than before any of his deputies.

Yours, THOMAS BILNEY."

A letter of Master Bilney, to Tonstal, bishop of London, fruitful and necessary for all ministers to read.

"Most reverend father! salutations in Christ. You have required me to write unto you at large, wherein men have not preached as they ought, and how they should have preached better. This is a burden too heavy for my strength, under the which if I shall faint, it belongeth to you, which have laid this burden upon my shoulders, to ease me thereof. As touching the first part, they have not preached as they ought, which, leaving the word of God, have taught their own traditions; of the which sort there are not a few, as it is very evident, in that they do report those which preach the word of God sincerely, to teach new doctrine. This is also no small testimony thereof, that in all England you shall scarce find one or two that are mighty in the

Scriptures; and what marvel is it, if all godly things do seem new unto them unto whom the gospel is new and strange, being nursed in men's traditions now a long time? Would to God these things were not true which I utter unto you! but alas, they are too true.

"They have also preached evil, which either have wrested the Scriptures themselves, or have rashly gathered them out of old rotten papers, being wrested by others: and how should it be but that they should wrest them, or else how should they judge them, being falsely interpreted by others, when they have not once read over the Bible orderly? Of this sort there is truly a very great number, from which number many great rabbins or masters shall hardly excuse themselves; whom the people have hitherto revered instead of gods. And these are they that now serve their bellies, seeking their own glory, and not the true glory of God, which might be set forth even by Balaam's ass; much less then ought we to condemn such abjects, which preach the word of God. We have, saith St. Paul, this treasure in bricke vessels, that the glory of the power might be of God, and not of us. God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and the weak things God hath chosen to confound the mighty; and vile things of the world, and despised, hath he chosen, and things that are not, to bring to nought things that are, that no flesh should glory in his sight. But now all men in a manner will be wise, and therefore they are ashamed of the simple gospel; they are ashamed truly to say with Paul, and to perform it indeed, I brethren, when I came unto you, did not come with excellency of words, or of wisdom, preaching the testimony of Christ; for I esteemed not myself to know any thing amongst you, but only Jesus Christ, and him crucified. O voice of a true evangelist! But now we are ashamed of this foolish preaching, by the which it hath pleased God to save all those that believe in him; and being puffed up with our own fleshly mind, we choose rather proudly to walk in those things which we have not seen, preaching fables and lies, and not the law of God, which is undefiled, converting souls.

"But how should they teach the law of God, which they have not once read in the books, much less learned at the mouth of God? But in a pastor and a bishop this is required: Thou, son of man! saith God, lay up in thy heart all my words which I do speak unto thee, &c.: and shortly after he saith, Thou, son of man! I have ordained and given thee a watchman unto the house of Israel. I have given thee, saith he; not coming in by ambition, nor thrusting in thyself, nor climbing in another

way, but I gave thee when thou lookedst not for it, that thou shouldst attend thereupon, and give warning from the top of the watch-tower, if any enemies should approach. I have given thee unto the house of Israel, and not the house of Israel unto thee, that thou shouldst acknowledge thyself to be the servant of the sheep, and not their lord; for I have not given the sheep for the shepherd, but the shepherd for the sheep. He that sitteth down, is greater than he that doth minister and serve unto him: which thing was well known of him who truly said, We are your servants for Christ's cause.

"But for what purpose have I given thee unto the house of Israel?—that thou shouldst only minister the sacraments? consecrate wood, stones, and churchyards? (This, I take God to witness, with great sighs and groans I write unto you, pouring out before you the grief of my heart.) No, truly. What then? First followeth the office of the bishop, Thou shalt hear the word out of my mouth. This is but a short lesson, but such as all the world cannot comprehend, without they be inwardly taught of God.

"And what else meaneth this, Out of my mouth thou shalt hear the word, but that thou shalt be taught of God? Therefore as many as are taught of God, although they be ever so well exercised in the Scriptures by man's help, yet are they not watchmen given by God; and much less are they that do not understand and know the Scriptures. And therefore such as these be, lest they should keep silence, and say nothing, are always bound upon the traditions and doctrines of men, which are lies: for he that speaketh of himself, speaketh of his own wisdom. Of these it is written, They would be doctors of the law, not understanding what they speak, neither whom they speak. Such of necessity they cannot be, who speak that with their mouth, which they do not believe, because they are not inwardly taught of God, neither are persuaded in their hearts that it is true: and therefore they are to be accounted as shepherds of sheep, although they boast themselves to be shepherds of the flock. But contrariwise, touching the learned pastors given by God, it may be true that they speak that which they know, and that which they have seen (even with the infallible eyes of God) and we do witness: and these are neither deceived nor do deceive. Moreover, the deceived are made to worse and worse, erring themselves, and leading others also to error; and because they are of the world, the world doth willingly hear them, and they are of the world, saith St. John, and they speak those things which are of the world, and the world giveth ear unto them.

"Behold, reverend father! this is the manner

daily preaching. Hath not the world given them now a long time with great pleasure? But the flesh could never suffer the weight of the cross, nor yet the wisdom of the which is an enemy unto God, neither is subject to law, nor can be. And why then are they to be heretics and schismatics, who will not please men, but only to their edifying? behold of that place of Scripture, God hath discomfited the bones of them which please men, saying, Speak unto us pleasant things. But when these matters pass, we will come unto that point, wherein you ask how a man should repent? Forsooth, if we had heard Him of our Father spake, saying, This is my dearly beloved, in whom I am well pleased, hear him; when speaking of himself, said, It was meet that I should suffer, and rise again the third day, and that in his name repentance and redemption of sins should be preached unto all people. Another thing is that, than the same which the evangelists do write, Go ye into the whole world and preach the gospel unto every creature: who believeth and is baptized shall be saved? Can be more pleasant, sweet, or acceptable to convicted consciences, being almost in despair, than these most joyful tidings?

But here, whether Christ have been a long time in England, and if I had heard them, yet whether within this year or two, I could not sufficiently judge of them. But this I dare be bold to say, that as many as I have heard of late preach, (even of the most famous,) they have preached repentance, that if I had heard such preaching in times past, I should utterly have been in despair. And to speak of one of those famous (not uttering his name,) after he had sharply preached against vice, (wherein he pleased every man, forasmuch as it could not be sufficiently set upon,) he concluded, "Behold," said he, "the last lien rotten in thine own lusts, by the end of these sixty years, even as a beast in his own filth, and wilt thou presume in one year to go forthward toward heaven, and that in thine age, as much as thou wentest backward from heaven toward hell many years?" Is not this, think you, a goodly sermon? Is this the preaching of repentance in the name of Jesus? or rather to tread down Christ and his doctrine? For what other thing did he speak in effect, than that Christ died in vain for him? He will not be thy Jesus or Saviour; thou shalt make satisfaction for thyself, or else thou shalt burn eternally! Then doth St. John lie, who saith, Behold the Lamb of God! which taketh away

the sins of the world; and in another place, His blood hath cleansed us from all our sins; and again, He is the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: besides an infinite number of other places. What other thing is this, than that which was spoken by the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of Peter, saying, There shall be false teachers that shall deny the Lord Jesus, who hath redeemed them? And what followeth upon such doctrine of devils, speaking lies through hypocrisy? A conscience despairing, and without all hope, and so given over unto all wicked lusts, according to the saying of St. Paul, After that they be come to this point, that they sorrow no more, they give themselves over unto wantonness, to commit all kind of filthiness, even with a greedy desire. For seeing that it is impossible for them to make satisfaction to God, either they murmur against God, or else they do not believe him to be so cruel, as they do preach and declare him to be.

"The want of paper will not suffer me to write any more, and I had rather to speak it in private talk unto yourself; whereunto if you would admit me, I trust you shall not repent you thereof: and unto me (Christ I take to my witness) it would be a great comfort, in whom I wish you, with all your flock, heartily well to fare.

"Your prisoner, and humble beadman
unto God for you,

THOMAS BILNEY."

Thus have you the letters, the abjuration, and the articles of Thomas Bilney. After this abjuration, made about A. D. 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as by the words of Master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh sermon preached before King Edward, which be these: "I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who, what time he had borne his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, (beholding this image of death,) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could, but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of Scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword. Yet for all this he was revived, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome."

Again, the said Master Latimer, speaking of Bilney in another of his sermons preached in Lincolnshire, hath these words following: "That same

he was burnt here in England
 te, was induced and persuaded
 r a faggot at the time when the
 id bare the swinge. Now when
 se to Cambridge again, a whole
 such anguish and agony, that
 id, neither eating nor drinking,
 communication of God's word;
 all the whole Scriptures were
 ended to his condemnation: so
 communed with him (for I was
 l with him); but all things what-
 ld allege to his comfort, seemed
 not him. Yet for all that after-
 n. God endued him with such
 tness of faith, that he not only
 the gospel of our Saviour Je-
 suffered his body to be burned
 's sake, which we now preach in

he first sermon of the said Mas-
 the duchess of Suffolk, be, yet
 Bilney, inferreth as followeth:
 id he, "occasion to tell you a
 ed at Cambridge. Master Bil-

Bilney, that suffered death for
 he same Bilney was the instru-
 called me to knowledge. For
 ext to God, for that knowledge
 word of God; for I was as ob-
 ny was in England, insomuch
 be made bachelor of divinity,
 ent against Master Philip Me-
 st his opinions. Bilney heard
 d perceived that I was zealous
 and came to me afterwards in
 ed me, for God's sake, to hear
 id so, and to say the truth, by
 med more than afore in many
 t time forward I began to smell
 nd forsake the school-doctors,
 &c. And much more he hath
 which ye may see hereafter in
 atimer.

reth how vehemently this good
 ith sorrow and remorse for his
 e almost of two years; that is,
 to the year 1531. It followed
 od's grace and good counsel,
 some quiet of conscience, being
 re over his life for the confession
 before he had renounced. And
 etermined in his mind, and set-
 ok his leave in Trinity Hall, at
 ; of certain of his friends, and

said, that he would go to Jerusalem; alluding be-
 like to the words and example of Christ in the Gos-
 pel, going up to Jerusalem, what time he was ap-
 pointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney,
 meaning to give over his life for the testimony of
 Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up
 to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more; and
 immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preach-
 ed first privily in households, to confirm the brethren
 and sisters, and also to confirm the anchoresses, whom
 he had converted to Christ. Then preached he
 openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preach-
 ing publicly the doctrine which he before had ab-
 jured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to
 beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly
 friends, in causes of religion. And so, setting for-
 ward on his journey toward the celestial Jerusalem,
 he departed from thence to the anchoress in Norwich,
 and there gave her a New Testament of Tyndale's
 translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man;
 whereupon he was apprehended and carried to pri-
 son, there to remain till the blind bishop Neve
 up for a writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men
 with the residue of their doctors and civil canons,
 sorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him
 to die in those opinions, saying, he should be de-
 ed body and soul if he so continued; among which
 first, were sent to him of the bishop, Dr. Calli-
 nister (as they call him) or provincial of the Grey
 Friars; and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar, who
 lay with him in prison in disputation, till the
 came that he should be burned. Dr. Calli-
 word of God, through the means of Bilney's doc-
 and good life, whereof he had good experience,
 somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side. Stokes
 remained obdurate, and doth yet to this day
 whose heart also the Lord (if it be his will) may
 and open the eyes of his old age, that he may
 sake the former blindness of his youth. As
 great doer against him was one Friar Bird with
 eye, provincial of the White Friars. This
 was a suffragan in Coventry, and afterwards
 of Chester, and was he that brought apples to
 ner, mentioned in the story of Hawkes. Another
 was a Black Friar, called Hodgkins, who
 being under the archbishop of Canterbury, was
 and afterwards, in Queen Mary's time, put to death
 his wife. These four orders of friars were
 is said) to bait Bilney; who, notwithstanding
 had planted himself upon the firm rock of
 word, was at a point; and so continued
 end.

But here now cometh in Sir Thomas More
 trumping in our way with his painted c

would needs take up this Thomas Bilney from us, and make him a convert after his sect. Thus these coated cards, though they could not by plain Scriptures convince him, being alive; yet now, after his death, by false play they will make him theirs, whether he will or no. This Sir Thomas More, in his railing preface before his book against Tyndale, doth challenge Bilney to his catholic church, and saith, that not only at the fire, but many days before, both in words and writing, he revoked, abhorred, and detested his heresies before holden. And how is this proved? By three or four mighty arguments, as big as mill-posts, fetched out of Utopia, from whence thou must know, reader, can come no fictions, but all fine poetry.

First, he saith, that certain Norwich men, writing in London, and denying that Bilney did recant, afterwards, being thereupon examined, were compelled to grant, that he, at his examination, read a bill; but what it was they could not tell, for they were not so near to hear him. And albeit they were not so near, yet some of them perceived certain things there spoken, whereby they thought that he did revoke. Some again added to those things spoken certain additions of their own, to excuse him from recantation.

Next, to answer hereunto, and to try out this matter somewhat roundly with Master More, let us see what conveyance he proceedeth in this narration.

"At his first examination," saith he, "he was stiff in his opinions, but yet God was so a Lord unto him, that he was fully converted to true catholic faith," &c. And when might his conversion begin? "Many days," quoth he, "before his burning." Here is no certain day assigned, but many days left at large, that he might have the larger room to walk invisible. Well, but how many days these could be, I would needs know of Master More, when he was not many days in their hands; no longer than they could carry him to London for a writ to burn him. Belike shortly after his apprehension, at the first sermon of the friars unto him, by and by he revolted to a strange matter, that he, which two years before had lain in such a burning hell of despair for his iniquity, and could find no other comfort than in returning to the same doctrine again, that he had denied, utterly resigning himself to death, and taking his leave of his friends, setting his face with Christ purposely to Jerusalem, voluntarily there to fall into the hands of the scribes and Pharisees for that doctrine's sake, should now so soon, even at the first brunt, revolt to the contrary doctrine again. It is not to be wondered that God was so good a Lord unto him," saith

Master More. That God was a good Lord unto him, very true it is: but that God did so turn him indeed, to be a member of that Romish Church, that hath not Master More yet sufficiently proved. To affirm without proof or demonstration in matters of story, it is not sufficient. But what hath been done indeed, that must be proved by good evidence, and special demonstration of witnesses, that we may certainly know it so to be.

It followeth moreover in Master More: "And there lacked not some," saith he, "that were sorry for it." No doubt but if our Bilney had so relented, some would have been very sorry therefore. But what one man in all this sum, in all Norwich, was sorry, that Master More must specify unto us before we believe him; so well are we acquainted with his poetical fictions. But how else should this narration of Master More seem to run with probability, if it were not watered with such additions? He addeth moreover, and saith, "And some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still did abide in them." This soundeth rather to come more near to a truth; and here is a knack of Simon's art, to interlard a tale of untruth with some parcel of truth now and then among it, that some things being found true, may win credit to the rest which is utterly false. And why then be not the letters of these Norwich men believed, for the not recanting of Bilney? "Because," saith he, "afterward they, being called to examination, it was there proved plainly to their faces, that Bilney revoked." By whom was it proved? "By those," saith he, "which at his execution stood by, and heard him read his revocation himself," &c. What men were these? or what were their names? or what was any one man's name in all the city of Norwich, that heard Bilney recant? There Master More will give us leave to seek them out if we can, for he can name us none. Well, and why could not the other part hear Bilney read his revocation as well as these? "Because," saith More, "he read so softly that they could not hear him."

Well, all this admitted, that Bilney read his revocation so softly that some could hear, some could not hear him, then this would be known, what was the cause why Bilney read his revocation so softly; which must needs be either for lack of good will to read, or good voice to utter. If good will were absent in reading that revocation, then it appeareth that he recanted against his own mind and conscience: if it were by imbecility of voice and utterance, then how followeth it, Master More! in this your narration, where you say, that the said persons which could not hear him read the bill, yet, notwithstanding,

standing could hear him rehearse certain other things spoken by him the same time in the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well, that he revoked his errors, &c. Ah Master More! for all your powder of experience, do ye think to cast such a mist before men's eyes, that we cannot see how you juggle with truth, and take you tardy in your own narration? unless peradventure you will excuse yourself, *per licentiam poeticam*, after the privilege of poets and painters.

Now if this vein of yours, which so extremely railleth and fareth against the poor martyrs and servants of Christ, be so copious, that you dare take in hand any false matter to prove, and to make men believe, that Bilney died a papist, yet the manner of handling hereof would have required some more artificial conveyance; that men, although they see the matter to be false, yet might commend the workmanship of the handler, which (to say the truth) neither hanged with itself, nor beareth any semblance of any truth. But because Master More is gone and dead, I will cease any further to insult upon him, lest I may seem to incur the same vice of his. Yet forasmuch as his books be not yet dead, but remain alive to the hurt of many, having therefore to do, not with him, but with his book-disciples, this would I know, how hangeth his gear together? Bilney was heard, and yet not heard; he spake softly, and yet not softly! Some said he did recant; some said he did not recant. Over and besides, how will this be answered, that forasmuch as the said Bilney (as he saith) revoked many days before his burning, and the same was known to him at London, then how chanced the same could not be as well known to them of Norwich? who (as his own story affirmeth) knew nothing thereof before the day of his execution; then, seeing a certain bill in his hand, which some said was a bill of his revocation, some other heard it not. All this would be made plain, especially in such a matter as this is, which he knew himself peradventure to be false: at least, he knew would be doubted, suspected, and contraried of a great multitude.

I pass now to his second reason, where he reporteth that the said Bilney, forthwith upon his judgment and degradation, kneeled down in the presence of all the people, and asked of the chancellor absolution from the sentence of excommunication; holding him well content with his death, which he confessed himself to have deserved, &c.

As touching the patient receiving of his death, I do well assent, although I do not think that he had deserved any such for his doctrine. And as for his kneeling down in the presence of the people, upon his judgment and degradation, as I do not deny

that he might so do, so I suppose again the cause of his kneeling not to be unto the chancellor, to ask absolution from his excommunication. And if he were assoiled from his excommunication, yet doth it not thereupon follow that he recanted, no more than before, when he came to Master Latimer in his study, humbly to be confessed and assoiled from his sins, as the blindness of that time then led him. But whether he kneeled down, and was assoiled or no, neither was I there to see him, nor yet Master More himself; and therefore, with the like authority as he affirmeth, I may deny the same, unless he brought better demonstration for his assertion than he doth, having no more for himself, but only his own, *αὐτὸς ἔφη*. And yet nevertheless, admit he did so, being a man of a timorous conscience, of a humble spirit, and not fully resolved touching the matter of the church, yet it followeth not thereby, (as is said,) that he revoked his other articles and doctrine by him before professed.

The like answer may also be shaped to his third reason, where he saith, that certain days after his judgment, he made great labour that he might receive the blessed body of Christ in form of bread, which the chancellor, after a great sticking and at length did grant, perceiving his devotion thereof, &c. Whereunto I answer as before, that it is impossible, but that Bilney might both hear and desire to receive the sacrament: for in this matter it may be that he was not resolved other than common custom then led both him and others. Neither do I find in all the articles objected against Bilney, that ever he was charged with any such opinion, concerning either the mass or sacrament; which maketh me think that he yet ignorant, and also devout as others then were.

Also fourthly, be it admitted, as Master More saith, that in receiving of the sacrament, he, kneeling up his hands, should say the collect, *Domine Jesu Christe*: and coming to these words, *Ecclesiam pacem et concordiam*, he knocked upon his breast divers times repeating the same words, &c. &c. being granted to Master More, yet it argueth necessary alteration of his former doctrine, which he preached and taught before. And yet if I had been to stand dallying with Master More, in such an official, and deny what he affirmeth, how could I make good that which he saith? He saith that Bilney, kneeling before the chancellor, asked absolution: then, coming to mass fully and devoutly, required to receive the body of Christ in form of bread, repeating divers times the words of the collect, *Domine Jesu Christe*. And what argument proveth he all this to be true of Master More in his preface before the books?

saith: ergo it is certain. If Master More never made fictions in his writings beside, never broken the head of verity in so many of his books as I could show him, then might argument go for somewhat. But here I ask, Master More present at the judgment of No. Or else, what registers had he for action? None. Or else, by what witnesses to vouch this to be certain? Go and seek witnesses, good reader! where thou canst find Master More nameth none. Only be Master More so saith, *that* is sufficient! Is this to Master More: although he hath credit so often, and may almost be bankrupt, let his word go for payment at this time, to imagine all to be oracles that he saith; unless here must needs remain a scruple: Will Master More, or (because he is gone) his disciples say to this; that if Bilney were assailed upon his judgment, (as they presume was he then afterwards degraded? what is this, to be forgiven first, and then to be after? Again, if he were (as they surmised) so fully to the catholic faith, and asked, why then did the chancellor stick so long a while, to housel him with the body of the form of bread? I am sure that if Christ were here himself in form of his own flesh, he would have stuck to receive him, being so asked at the first. To be short: If Bilney was lawfully reduced to the holy mother the Church, repenting his errors, and detesting his sins, and now being in no purgatory, but being present in heaven, as ye say he is, why then burn him whom ye yourselves knew should not? Thus if ye burn both God's enemies and his saints too, what cruel men are you! Here you will allege perhaps your law of religion by the which the first fall is pardonable, but a second fall into heresy is in no case pardonable; I standeth your law, I grant. But how this standeth with the true church of Christ, and his word, now let us reason. For this being a matter of politic or civil government, (where such is expedient for public necessity,) but only a mere law ecclesiastical, what a cruel mother is this, that will not and cannot forgive her child, rising and repenting the second fault or transgression committed, but needs must burn their bodies, their souls may be saved from the painful passage of purgatory, whom nevertheless they know shall be blessed in heaven! If God do not burn them, why do you burn them? If God do not condemn them, why do you condemn them? And if be the law of your church, according to your

doctrine, to burn them at the second time, though they be amended; how then doth this church agree with the word of Christ, and the nature of his true spouse, which only seeketh repentance and amendment of sinners? which once being had, she gladly openeth her bosom, and motherly receiveth them whensoever they return. Wherefore, if Bilney did return to your church, (as ye did say,) then was your church a cruel mother, and unnatural, which would not open her bosom unto him, but thrust him into the fire, when he had repented.

Furthermore, how will you defend this law by the word of God, who, in express words, teaching all bishops and pastors, by the example of Christ the great bishop of our souls, (being compassed about with temptations, that he might have the more compassion of them that be infirm,) exhorteth all other spiritual persons by the like example, saying, For every bishop which is taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, to offer gifts and sacrifice for sins, that he may be merciful to the ignorant, and to such as err; forasmuch as he himself is compassed about with infirmity, &c. Besides which scripture, add also, that some doctors of the canon law, if they be well scanned, will not deny, but that they which be fallen in relapse, whether it be *vere*, or *ficta*, yet if they earnestly return from their errors before the sentence be given, they may be sent to perpetual prison to some monastery, &c. Wherefore, if Bilney did so earnestly retract and detest his former opinions, so many days (as More saith) before his suffering, then needed not he to suffer that death as he did, but might have been sent to perpetual prison.

Thus, although I need not to stand longer upon this matter, being so plain, and having said enough, yet (briefly to repeat that which before hath been said) this I say again: first, if Thomas Bilney was assailed from excommunication, and after that heard his mass so devoutly, and at the end of the mass was confessed, and consequently after confession was houselled, and lastly, asked mercy for contemning of the church, as Master More doth bear us in hand, (to see now how this tale hangeth together,) why then did the chancellor stick so greatly to give him the sacrament of the altar, whom he himself had assailed, and received to the sacrament of penance before; which is plain against the canon law? Again, the said Thomas Bilney, if he were now received to the mother church by the sacraments of penance and of the altar, why then was he afterward degraded, and cut from the church, since the canon permitteth no degradation, but to them only which be incorrigible? Furthermore, the said Bilney, if he, being converted

so many days before (as More pretendeth) to the Catholic faith, was now no heretic, how then did the sentence pronounce him for a heretic? or finally, how could they, or why would they, burn him being a Catholic, especially since the canon law would bear with him, to be judged rather to perpetual prison in some monastery, as is afore touched, if they had pleased?

Wherefore, in three words to answer to Master More: first, All this tale of his may be doubted, because of the matter not hanging together: secondly, It may also well be denied, for, the insufficiency of probation and testimony: thirdly, If all this were granted, yet neither hath Master More any great advantage against Bilney, to prove him to have recanted; nor yet Master Cope against me, which, by the authority of Master More, seeketh to bear me down, and disprove my former story. For be it granted that Bilney, at his death, did hold with the mass, with confession, and with the authority of the Romish Church, being a humble-spirited man, and yet no further brought; yet all this notwithstanding proveth not that he recanted. Forasmuch as he never held nor taught any thing before against the premises, therefore he could not recant that which he never did hold.

For the better demonstration hereof I will recite out of the registers some part of his teaching and preaching, as was objected against him by one Richard Neal, priest; who, amongst other witnesses, deposed against him for preaching in the town of Wilsdon, these words following:

"Put away your golden gods, your silver gods, your stony gods, and leave your offerings, and lift up your hearts to the sacrament of the altar." Also the said Master Bilney said in his sermon, "I know certain things have been offered in such places, which have been afterwards given to abandoned women; and I call them abandoned women, that be naught of their living," &c.

Item, By another witness, named William Cade, it was deposed against him, thus to preach, "Jews and Saracens would have become Christian men long ago, had not idolatry of Christian men been, by offering of candles, wax, or money to the stocks and stones of images, set and standing in the churches," &c.

Item, By the said deponent against Bilney: that "the priests take away the offerings, and hang them about their women's necks: and after that, they take them again from the women if they please them not, and hang them upon the images; and is not that a great relic, when it is hanged there again?"

Item, By the said deponent it was testified

against Bilney: that "going on pilgrimages, naught, and that no man should use it, for better not, and rather to tarry at home, and somewhat in alms, and offer your hearts, with minds, to the sacrament, and leave your idle saints."

Item, By William Nelmis of Wilsdon, that he should preach, "They gild their gods, and tell them about, and men say they do speak; they do speak, it is the devil that speaketh in them, and not God," &c.

Item, By Thomas Daly of Wilsdon, that thus preached: "You come hither on pilgrimages with stocks and stones. You do naught; keep your hearts at home, and worship the sacrament at home."

Item, By friar John Huggen, that Bilney preached at Ipswich: "The coming of our Saviour Christ was long desired, and by divers prophets prophesied, that he should come. John the Baptist, more than a prophet, did not prophesy, but with his finger showed, Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world! Then if this were the very Lamb of God, John did demonstrate and show, which taketh away the sins of the world, what injury is this bull-bishop of Rome to our Saviour Jesus Christ, that he be buried in the cowl of St. Francis, and may remit four parts of the penance! What is left to our Saviour Jesus Christ which taketh away the sins of the world? This will I justify to be a great blasphemy against the blood of Christ," &c.

Item, By another friar, Julles, that Bilney preached: "I trust there shall and will come a new gospel beside me, the which shall show and preach the same faith and manner of living that we have, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, whereby you shall be brought from your error, wherein you have been so long seduced: for in this, there have been many that have slandered the gospel of our Saviour Christ; and he that speaketh our Saviour Christ, Matt. xviii."

Add moreover to these the testimony of Richard Seman, that Bilney in Ipswich should preach these words: "Our Saviour Christ is our Mediator between us and the Father: what then should we need to seek for remedy to any saint inferior to Christ? Wherefore to make such petition to any saint, but to our Saviour Christ, trusting thereby to have remedy, doth great injury to the blood of Christ, and deformeth our Saviour Christ; like as if a man should take and strike off the head, and set it up on the foot, and to set the foot above."

Thus much, being partly touched before, thought here to insinuate again out of the registers touching the opinions of Thomas Bilney; when

may appear the whole sum of his preaching and doctrine to proceed chiefly against idolatry, invocation of saints, vain worship of images, false trust in men's merits, and such other gross points of religion, as seemed prejudicial and derogatory to the good of our Saviour Jesus Christ. As touching the mass, and sacrament of the altar, as he never varied from himself, so he never differed therein from the most gross catholics. And as concerning the opinion of the Church of Rome, how blind it was at that time, may sufficiently appear by his own words in Latin, which I have to show, as followeth :

Credo plerasque leges pontificias utiles esse, necessarias, et ad pietatem quoque plurimum promouendas, nec sacris Scripturis repugnantes, imo ab illis plurimum observandas, &c. De omnibus legibus pronuntiare, utpote quas non legi, et non legi, nunquam in hoc legi, ut reprehenderem, ut discerem intelligere, ac pro virili facere, et cetera. De multiplicitate legum questus est suo pater St. Augustinus, et item Gearsonus, qui sic quomodo non post lapsum inter tot laqueos liberationum tuti esse possimus, quum primi patres adhuc puri, et ante lapsum, et unicum præceptum non observarint," &c. Moreover, concerning the authority of the keys, thus he writeth, touching to his twelfth article, "Soli sacerdotes, non rite per pontifices, habent claves, quarum ligant et solvunt (clave non errante) quod et in eis non dubito, quamlibet sint peccatores. Sacramentorum efficaciam non minuit, nedum ministeriorum indignitas, quamdiu ab Ecclesia sunt," &c.

These words of Bilney, written by him in Latin, though it may be thought how ignorant and ignorant he was, after the rudeness of those days, yet notwithstanding, it may appear, how true he is noted and slandered by Master More, my friend, to have recanted the articles, which he did never hold or maintain otherwise in his life. And therefore, (as I said,) though it be to Master More, or in his absence to my friends, that Bilney was assoiled, was confessed, and recanted before his burning, yet all this argueth that he recanted.

But I have sufficiently, I trust, put off the words of Master More and others, whereby they falsely to face us out, that Bilney the while again recanted at his death, it remaineth, in this part, that I likewise do infer my proposition, whereby I have to argue and convince, that he was not the second time recant, as he is understood. And first, I will begin even with the testimony of Master More's own words, being lord chancellor, when message

was sent to him for a writ of discharge to burn Bilney, spake in this wise to the messengers that came, "Go your ways," saith he, "and burn him first; and then afterwards come to me for a bill of my hand." Which words may give us evidence enough, that Bilney was not thought then to have recanted, for then the lord chancellor would not have been so greedy and hasty, no doubt, to have him despatched. And how standeth this with Master More's words now, which beareth us in hand, that he recanted many days before his burning?

The like evidence we may also take by the verdict of the bishop himself that burned him, whose words were these, (after he had burned him, and then heard tell of Doctor Shaxton,) "Christ's mother!" said he, (that was his oath,) "I fear I have burnt Abel and let Cain go," &c.; as who would say, "I had thought before, that I had punished Cain, and let Abel go; but now I fear I have burnt Abel, and let Cain escape." Hereby it is plain to understand what the bishop's judgment of Bilney, before his burning; that is, that he was a Cain, and the other an Abel: but after the burning of Bilney, the bishop hearing now of Shaxton, turneth his judgment, and correcteth himself, swearing now the contrary; that is, lest he had burned Abel, and let Cain go.

Furthermore, where the bishop feared, in burning Bilney, that he had burned Abel, what doth this fear of the bishop import, but a doubting of his mind uncertain? for who feareth that whereof he is sure? Wherefore the case is plain, that Bilney at his burning did not recant, as More reporteth. For then the bishop, knowing Bilney to die a catholic convert, and a true member of the church, would not have feared, nor doubted, but would have constantly affirmed Bilney to have died a true Abel indeed. And to conclude this matter, if Bilney died an Abel, then the bishop, by his own confession, must needs prove himself to be a Cain, which slew him. What more clear probation could we bring, if there were a thousand, or what need we any other, having this alone?

Now, for testimony and witness of this matter to be produced, forasmuch as Master More allegeth none to prove that Bilney at his death did recant, I will assay what testimony I have on the contrary side, to avouch and prove that Bilney did not recant.

And forasmuch as Bilney was a Cambridge man, and the first framer of that university in the knowledge of Christ, and was burned at Norwich, being not very far distant from Cambridge; there is no doubt but that amongst so many friends as he had in that university, some went thither to hear and see him. Of these one was Thomas Allen, then fellow

of Pembroke-hall, who, returning the same time from Bilney's burning, declared to Doctor Turner, dean of Wells, being yet alive, (a man whose authority neither is to be neglected, nor credit to be distrusted,) that the said Bilney took his death most patiently, and suffered most constantly, without any recantation for the doctrine which he before had professed.

In the city of Norwich, Necton and many others be now departed, who were then present at the burning of Bilney: nevertheless some be yet alive, whose witnesses, if need were, I could fetch with a little labour, and will (God willing) as time shall require. In the mean time, at the writing hereof there was one Thomas Russel, a right honest occupier, and a citizen of Norwich, who likewise, being there present on horseback at the execution of this godly man, beholding all things that were done, did neither hear him recant any word, nor yet heard of his recantation.

I could also add hereunto the testimony of another, being brother to the archbishop of Canterbury, named Master Baker, a man yet alive, who, being the same time present at the examination of Bilney, both heard him and saw him, when a certain friar called him heretic; whereunto Bilney, replying again, made answer, "If I be a heretic," said he, "then are you an antichrist, who of late have buried a certain gentlewoman with you, in St. Francis's cowl, assuring her to have salvation thereby." Which fact, although the friar the same time did deny, yet this cannot be denied but Bilney spake these words, whereby he may easily be judged to be far from the mind of any recantation; according as by the said gentleman it is also testified, that after that, he never heard of any recantation that Bilney either meant or made.

If I should recite all that here might be brought, I might sooner lack room in my book to contain them, than names enough to fill up a grand jury. But what need I to spend time about witness, when one Master Latimer may stand for a thousand, one martyr to bear witness to another? And though my friend Cope, pressing me with the authority of Master More, saith, that he will believe him before me; yet I trust he will not refuse to credit this so ancient a seignior, Father Latimer, being both in Bilney's time, and also by Bilney converted, and familiarly with him acquainted; who being the same time at Cambridge, I suppose would inquire as much, and could know more of this matter than Master More.

Touching the testimonial of which Latimer I have noted before, how he, in three sundry places of his sermons, hath testified of "good Bilney," of "that

blessed Bilney," of "Saint Bilney;" how he died patiently, "against the tyrannical see of Rome," &c. And in another sermon also, how the said Bilney "suffered his body to be burned for the gospel's sake," &c. Item, in another place, how "the said Bilney suffered death for God's word's sake."

I may be thought perhaps of some to have stayed too long about the discourse of this matter; but the caused that moved, and half constrained, me thereunto, was Sir Thomas More, sometime lord chancellor of England, and now a great arch-pillar of all our English papists; a man otherwise of a pregnant wit, full of pleasant conceits; also for his learning above the common sort of his estate: esteemed industrious no less in his studies, than well exercised in his pen; who, if he had kept himself in his own shop, and applied the faculty, being a layman, whereunto he was called, and had not overmatched himself to prove masteries in such matters where he had little skill, less experience, and which pertained not to his profession, he had deserved not only much more commendation, but also longer life.

But forasmuch as he, not contented with his own vocation, hath, with Uzzah, reached out his own hand to meddle with God's ark-matters, where he had little cunning; and while he thinketh to destroy religion, destroyeth religion, and is an utter enemy to Christ, and to his spiritual doctrine, and his afflicted church: to the intent therefore that he being taken for a special ringleader and a chief in the pope's church, might the better be known what he is, and that the ignorant and simple may see what little credit is to be given unto him, and in his other false facing out of matters, as namely this present history of Bilney's recantation, I diligently searched out and procured the true facts of Master Bilney's burning, with all the circumstances and points thereto belonging, testified not by somesays and by hearsays, (as Master More useth,) but truly witnessed, and faithfully recorded, by one, who, as in place and degree he mounteth the estate of Master More, (though he were lord chancellor,) so being also both a witness person, and there present the same time, and for the same purpose the day before to see him dying, was a present beholder of things there *αὐτόπτης καὶ μαρτύρ* of his martyrdom, where I am sure will counterpoise with the credit of Master More. The order of which martyrdom is as followeth:

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan, wood, according to the custom of their popish manner, by the assistance of all the friars and

suit. Which done, he was immediately
 led to the lay power, and to the two sheriffs
 city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This
 Necton was Bilney's special good friend,
 try to accept him to such execution as fol-
 but such was the tyranny of that time, and
 the chancellor and friars, that he could no
 do, but needs must receive him: who
 standing, as he could not bear in his con-
 himself to be present at his death, so, for the
 he was in custody, he caused him to be
 kindly looked unto, and more wholesomely
 turning his diet, than he was before.
 the Friday following, at night, which
 the day of his execution, being St. Mag-
 and on Saturday, the said Bilney had
 his friends resorting unto him in the Guild-
 he was kept. Amongst whom, one of
 friends, finding him eating of an ale-brew
 a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he
 that he was glad to see him at that time,
 before his heavy and painful departure,
 try to refresh himself. Whereunto he an-
 "O," said he, "I follow the example of the
 men of the country, who, having a ruinous
 to dwell in, yet bestow cost as long as they
 hold it up. And so do I now with this
 house of my body, and with God's creatures,
 to him, refresh the same as ye see."
 sitting with his said friends in godly talk to
 edification, some put him in mind, that though
 which he should suffer the next day, should
 great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of
 spirit should cool it to his everlasting re-
 At this word the said Thomas Bilney,
 by his hand toward the flame of the candle
 before them, (as also he did divers times
) and feeling the heat thereof, "O," (said
 "I feel by experience, and have known it long
 philosophy, that fire, by God's ordinance, is na-
 turely hot: but yet I am persuaded by God's holy
 and by the experience of some, spoken of in
 time, that in the flame they felt no heat, and
 in fire they felt no consumption: and I con-
 fidently believe, that howsoever the stubble of this
 body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and
 shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time,
 notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable."
 Here he was much treated of this place of Scrip-
 ture, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and
 called thee by thy name; thou art mine own.
 When thou goest through the water I will be with
 thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee.
 When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn
 thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee, for

I am the Lord thy God, the Holy One of Israel."
 This he did most comfortably treat of, as well in
 respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use
 of his friends there present; of whom some took such
 sweet fruit therein, that they caused the whole said
 sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some
 in their books; the comfort whereof, in divers of
 them, was never taken from them to their dying day.
 The Saturday next following, when the officers
 of execution (as the manner is) with their gloves
 and halberts were ready to receive him, and to lead
 him to the place of execution without the city gate,
 called Bishop's Gate, in a low valley, commonly
 called The Lollards' Pit, under St. Leonard's hill,
 environed about with great hills, (which place was
 chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the ex-
 ecution,) at the coming forth of the said Thomas
 Bilney out of the prison-door, one of his friends
 came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake
 to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be con-
 stant, and to take his death as patiently as he could.
 Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet
 and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner
 is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he
 for a while is tossed in the billows of the same, but
 yet, in hope that he shall once come to the quiet
 haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which
 he feeleth: so am I now toward this sailing; and
 whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall
 my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof, by
 the grace of God, desiring you to help me with
 your prayers to the same effect."
 And so he, going forth in the streets, giving much
 alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends,
 and accompanied by one Dr. Warner, doctor of
 divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did
 choose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for
 his ghostly comfort, came at the last to the place of
 execution, and descended down from the hill to the
 same, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves
 hanging down and his arms out, his hair being
 piteously mangled at his degradation (a little single
 body in person, but always of a good upright coun-
 tenance,) and drew near to the stake prepared; and
 somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he de-
 sired that he might speak some words to the people,
 and there standing, thus he said: "Good people!
 I am come hither to die, and born I was to live un-
 der that condition, naturally to die again; and that
 ye may testify that I depart out of this present life
 as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards
 Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a fast
 faith the articles of my creed." And then he began
 to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common
 Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Al-

mighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word "crucified," he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence; and then proceeding in the articles, and coming to these words, "I believe the catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words: "Good people! I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, where I was fellow; earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, showing that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring him to his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterward stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good and quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death; and ended at last his private prayers with the Psalm, beginning, Hear my prayer, O Lord! consider my desire. And the next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice: And enter not into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified: and so finishing that Psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready, and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, who spake but few words for weeping: upon whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks; and the last were these, "O Master Doctor! Feed your flock, feed your flock; that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing." And, "Farewell, good Master Doctor! and pray for me;" and so Warner departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping. And while Bilney thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present, (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his

examination and degradation, &c.,) came to him and said, "O Master Bilney, the people be persuaded that we be the causers of your death, and that we have procured the same, and thereupon it is likely that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity towards us, and discharge us of the matter:" whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people and said, "I pray you, good people! be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they: and so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire on the reeds, which made a great flame, which sparkled and deformed the view of his face; he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus!" sometimes, *Credo!* which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great in which it was said, that the fields were marvelously plagued by the loss of corn; and so, for a little while he stood without flame, the flame departing and coursing thrice ere the wood took strength to be sharper to consume him; and then he gave up the ghost, and his body, being withered, bowed downward upon the chain. Then one of the officers, his halberd, smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood upon it; and was consumed.

Thus have ye, good readers! the true life and martyrdom of this good man; that is, of the Saint Bilney, (as Master Latimer doth call him) without any recantation, testified and ratified by authority abovesaid: by which authority and being there present and yet alive, it is further constantly affirmed, that Bilney not only did not recant, but also that he never had any such scrip, or scroll, in his hand to read, either secretly or apertly, as Master More would bear us out. Wherefore, even as ye see Master More dealt with, so ye may trust him in the residue of his other life if ye will.

Master Stafford, of Cambridge.

As the death of this godly Bilney did much avail in Norfolk, where he was burned; so his travail, in teaching and exhorting others, was ample of life correspondent to his doctrine, and small fruit behind him in Cambridge, being means of framing that university, and drawing it unto Christ. By reason of whom, and by reason of another, called Master Stafford, the word began there most luckily to spread, and

to flourish; in the company of whom was Latimer, Dr. Barnes, Dr. Thistell of Pembroke, Master Fooke of Benet-college, and Soude of the same college, Dr. Warner mentioned, with divers others more. This Stafford was then the public reader of the lecture in that university; who, as he was professor of Christ's gospel, so was he as a follower of that which he professed, as by example here following may appear.

When the plague was then sore in Cambridge, amongst other a certain priest, called Sir Henry, being sore sick of the said plague, Master Stafford, hearing thereof, and seeing the horrible state his soul was in, was so moved in compassion to help the dangerous case of the priest, that, risking his own bodily death, to recover the priest from eternal damnation, came unto him, exerted so laboured him, that he would not leave him till he had converted him, and saw his countenance burned before his face. Which being Master Stafford went home, and immediately died, and, shortly after, most Christianly de-

parted, which Master Stafford, this moreover related, how that Master Latimer, being yet a zealous papist, standing in the pulpit when Master Stafford read, bade the scholars curse him; and also, preaching against him, exhorted the people not to believe him: and yet the same Latimer confessed himself, that he gave thanks to God, that he asked him forgiveness before he died. And thus much by the way of good example. Stafford, who, for his constant and godly life in such a cause, may seem not unworthy to be remembered with blessed Bilney, in the fellowship of holy martyrs.

The story of Master Simon Fish.

At the time of Master Bilney, and the fall of Cardinal, I should have placed the story of Simon Fish, with the book called *The Supplication of Devils*; declaring how, and by what means, it came to the king's hand, and what effect thereof was after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the clergy. But the missing of a few words in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though that be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and substance of the matter is this:

That the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams here also; and, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many; so that coloured hypocrisy, and false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be

espied more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high, but such as had fresh wits, sparkled with God's grace, began to espy Christ from antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion: in the number of whom was the said Master Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's Inn. It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about A. D. 1525, that there was a certain play or interlude made by one Master Roo, of the same inn, gentleman, in which play partly was matter against the Cardinal Wolsey; and when none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said cardinal, this aforesaid Master Fish took upon him to do it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, insomuch as he, being pursued by the said cardinal the same night that this tragedy was played, was compelled by force to void his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tyn-dale: upon occasion whereof, the next year following, this book was made (being about the year 1527); and so, not long after, in the year, as I suppose, 1528, was sent over to the Lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which book her brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king, which thing she so did. This was (as I gather) about A. D. 1528.

The king, after he had received the book, demanded of her who made it: whereunto she answered and said, a certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal. After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by the king's servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril or danger: whereupon she, thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband; who, understanding whose wife she was, showed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it like your Grace, not far off." "Then," saith he, "fetch him, and he shall come and go safe, without peril, and no man shall do him harm:" saying moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In the which mean time the cardinal was deposed, as is afore showed, and Master More set in his place of the chancellorship.

Thus Fish's wife, being imboldened by the king's words, went immediately to her husband, (being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of

the court,) and brought him to the king; which appeareth to be about A. D. 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with loving countenance. Who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together in hunting, the king at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him; who answered the king again, and said, he durst not so do, for fear of Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, and Stokesley, then bishop of London. This seemeth to be about A. D. 1530.

The king, taking the signet off his finger, willed him to have him recommended to the lord chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy as to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge, but he asked him, if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife? For she, a little before, had by chance displeased the friars, for not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say them in English. Whereupon the lord chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young daughter, which then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble. Of the which plague, her husband (the said Master Fish) deceasing within half a year, she afterwards married one Master James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of Gloucestershire; the which aforesaid Master James Bainham not long after was burned, as incontinently after, in the process of this story, shall appear.

And thus much concerning Simon Fish, the author of the Book of Beggars, who also translated a book, called The Sum of the Scripture, out of the Dutch.

Now cometh another note of one Edmund Moddis, the king's footman, touching the same matter.

This Master Moddis, being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, if it might please his Grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his Grace, he should see such a book as it was a marvel to hear of. The king demanded what they were. He said, "Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson." The king appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to show him. One of them said, that there was a book come to their

hands, which they had there to show his Grace. When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it. "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your Grace to hear it." "I thought so," said the king, "for if need were thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put it into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the book, &c.

Against this Book of the Beggars, being written in the time of the cardinal, another contrary book or supplication was devised and written shortly after the same, by one Sir Thomas More, knight, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, under the name and title of The poor silly Souls pulling out of Purgatory. In the which book, after the manner of Master More, the writer thereof, had first divided the whole world into four parts, that is, into heaven, hell, middle earth, and purgatory; then he mentioned the dead men's souls, by a rhetorical prosopopoeia, to speak out of purgatory pin-fold, sometimes lamentably complaining of, sometimes playfully dallying and scoffing at, the author of the Book of Beggars; sometimes scolding and railing at him, calling him fool, witless, frantic, an ass, a goose, a dog, a heretic, and all that naught is. He marvels, if these simple souls of purgatory should furnish and testy; for heat (ye know) is to soon inflameth choler. But yet these poor souls must take good heed how they call a fool and heretic so often; for if the sentence of the gospel doth pronounce them guilty of hell, to say, "Fool!" it may be doubted, lest that the simple, melancholy souls of purgatory, call man fool so oft as they have done, do bring themselves thereby out of purgatory-fire to the hell, by that just sentence of the Gospel. Neither the five wounds of St. Francis, nor the merits of St. Dominic, nor yet of all the saints, can release those poor wretches! But yet, as I do not, nor cannot think, that those souls either would so far overshoot that they were in purgatory, or else that they should have such fourth place of purgatory at all, (as is in Master More's Utopia,) as Master More in his comic vein doth imagine, I cease therefore to say of the souls departed, and lay all the wit upon Master More, the author and contriver of this poem, for not keeping decorum personarum, as a poet should have done. They that give

note this, in all poetical fictions, as a special fiction, to foresee and express what is convenient for every person, according to his degree of condition, to speak and utter. Wherefore if we that Master More saith, in the sequel of it, that grace and charity increase in them in the pains of purgatory, then is it not that such souls, lying so long in purgatory, so soon forget their charity, and fall a railing and supplication so fumishly, both against this such opprobrious and unsuiting terms, against John Badby, Richard Hovedon, John and Cobham, and other martyrs of the Lord, for his word : also against Luther, William Richard Hun, and other more, falsely by doctrine by them taught and defended ; it is not like that such charitable souls of would ever do, neither were it convenient in that case ; which indeed, though their were false, should redound to the more increase of their pain. Again, where the bishop of defineth the angels to be ministers to purgatory, some will think, peradventure, Master More have missed some part of his decorum, in the evil spirit of the author and the devil to linger, between middle-earth and purgatory, bringing tidings to the prisoned souls, both of the maker, and of the name of the maker.

As touching the manner how this devil came to purgatory, laughing, grinning, and gnashing of teeth, in sooth it maketh me to laugh, to see the jests of Master More. Beike then this merry devil, or else had eaten with his nature before ; which, coming into purgatory, to show the name of this man, could not tell tale without laughing. " But this was," saith he, " an envious and an envious laughing, with grinning and gnashing of teeth." And finally upon the same, was contrived this scoffing railing supplication of the pining souls of purgatory, as he himself doth term them. So then, was envying, envying, laughing, grinning, gnashing of teeth, paling, scoffing, railing, and begging all together to make a very black *sanctus* of purgatory. Indeed we read in Scripture, that the damned shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth in hell, and the souls and bodies of men shall be tormented ; who would ever have thought before, that the angel of this man that made the Book of purgatory, being a spiritual and no corporal substance, should have teeth to gnash, and a mouth to grin ? But when then stood Master More, I marvel, all this while, to see the devil laugh with his mouth wide, that the souls of purgatory might see all this ? Belike this was in Utopia, where Mas-

ter More's purgatory is founded ; but because Master More is hence departed, I leave him with his merry antics. And as touching his book of purgatory, which he hath left behind, because John Frith hath learnedly and effectuously overthrown the same, I will therefore refer the reader to him, while I repair again (the Lord willing) to the history.

After the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of The Beggars' Supplication aforesaid, to be strewed abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the said cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to attend to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's Majesty, saying, " If it shall please your Grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies ;" desiring his Grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely, this Book of the Beggars, and the New Testament of Tyndale's translation ; which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers others ; the tenor of which prohibition here followeth :

" Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official, health, grace, benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently, with all our power, to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things, which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and specially to the destruction of their souls. Wherefore we, having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth and the catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles, and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people ; attempting, by their wicked and perverse interpretations, to profanate the majesty of the Scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sence of the

same, of the which translation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocess of London in great number; which truly, without it be speedily foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us, with most deadly poison and heresy; to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine Majesty. Wherefore, we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, who seek the destruction of our flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeaconries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

"Given under our seal, the three and twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, anno 1526."

The like commission, in like manner and form, was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter, under the bishop's seal.

The names of the books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.

The Supplication of Beggars; the Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther; the New Testament of Tyndale; the Wicked Mammon; the Obedience of a Christian Man; an Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans; a Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son; Christian Economics; The Union of Dissenters; Pious Prayers; The Babylonish Captivity; John Huss on Hosea; Zwingle on the Anabaptists; On the Education of Children; Brentius on the Government of a State; Luther on the Galatians;

On Christian Liberty; Luther's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

Besides these books here before-mentioned a short time after there were a great number of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation; but yet by the bishop's curement, A. D. 1529.

The New Testament, in the catalogue cited, began first to be translated by William Tyndale, and so came forth in print about A. D. 1525, wherewith Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved at the manner how to destroy that false, erroneous translation he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tyndale, and showed the contrary unto the bishop. Tyndale, being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, presumed how that he would gladly buy the New Testaments. Packington hearing him say, "My lord! I can do more in this matter than the merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure," I know the Dutchmen and strangers that bought them of Tyndale, and have them to sell; so that if it be your Lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them: and so I will assure you to have any book of them that is printed and unsold. The bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, said, "Show your diligence, gentle Master Packington! I will for me, and I will pay whatsoever they cost, if they intend to burn and destroy them all at Paul's Cross." This Augustine Packington went unto William Tyndale, and declared the whole matter, and the compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money. After this, Tyndale reprinted the New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came this threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, "How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? you promised me that you would buy them all." Then answered Packington, "Surely, I bought all that were to be sold, but I perceive they have printed more since. It will never be better so long as they have the press and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure:" at which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

In short space after, it fortuned that George Joye, a student, was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, which was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies during the time that he was in the custody of Master More. After divers commun-

tions, amongst other things, Master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine! I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask; and I promise thee, I will show thee favour in all other things, whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you: know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money; and we, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and afore knowest from whence it came. I pray us, tell me, who be they that help them thus?" My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you thy: it is the bishop of London that hath holpen for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and it hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my troth," quoth More, "I shewed the same; for so much I told the bishop as he went about it."

Of this George Constantine, moreover, it is reported by Sir Thomas More, that he, being taken to hold, seemed well content to renounce his doctrine; and not only to disclose certain of his fellows, but also studied and devised, these books, which he himself, and other of his fellows, had brought and shipped, might come to the bishop's hands to be burned, and showed to the said Sir Thomas More, chancellor, the name that had them, and the marks of the seals, by which the books afterwards were found and burned. Besides this, he is reported to have disclosed divers of his companions, of whom some were abjured after, some had abjured; as Richard Necton, who was committed to prison upon the same, and is thought there to have died in prison, or else he had not escaped death, but should have suffered burning, if the Master More be to be credited.

Withstanding the same Constantine afterwards, with the help of some of his friends, escaped out of the prison, and after that, in the time of Edward, was one of them that troubled the bishop of St. David's, which after, in Queen Mary's time, was burned. But of Constantine

how he was made, how the bishops had procured the king a proclamation to be set forth in 1529, for the abolishing of divers books afore said, and also for the withstanding of all such as preached any thing against the dignity and authority of the Church of Rome. Upon this the king caused great persecution and trouble to be done to a poor innocent flock of Christ.

Which in this proclamation generally was forbidden, be afterwards in the

register, more specially named by the bishops; whereof the most part were in Latin, as are above recited, and some were in English, as these and others, partly also above expressed:

A Disputation between the Father and the Son; a Book of the old God and new; Godly Prayers; the Christian state of Matrimony; the burying of the Mass; the Sum of the Scripture; Mattens and Even-song, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Commendations, in English; an Exposition upon the seventh Chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians; the chapters of Moses called Genesis; the chapters of Moses called Deuteronomy; the Matrimony of Tyndale; David's Psalter in English; the Practice of Prelates; Hortulus animæ, in English; A. B. C. against the Clergy; the Examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Although these books, with all other of the like sort, by the virtue of this proclamation were inhibited to all Englishmen to use or to read; yet licence was granted before to Sir Thomas More, by Tonstal, bishop of London, A. D. 1527, that he, notwithstanding, might have and peruse them; with a letter also sent to him from the said bishop, or rather by the advice of other bishops, desiring him, that he would show his cunning, and play the pretty man, like a Demosthenes, in expugning the doctrine of these books and opinions: who, albeit he was no great divine, yet because he saw some towardness in him by his book of Utopia, and other fine poetry of his, therefore he thought him a meet man for their purpose, to withstand the proceedings of the gospel, either in making some appearance of reason against it, or at least to outface it, and dash it out of countenance. Wherein there lacked on his part neither good will nor labour to serve the bishop's turn, so far forth as all his rhetoric could reach; filling up with fineness of wit, and scoffing terms, where true knowledge and judgment of Scripture did fail; as by his works and writings against Bilney, Tyndale, Frith, Fish, Barnes, Luther, &c., may soon be discerned, if the reasons and manner of his handling be well weighed, and rightly examined with the touchstone of the Scriptures. But now to fall into our story again.

Upon this fierce and terrible proclamation afore said, thus devised and set out in the king's name, A. D. 1529, the bishops, which were the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have; neither did there lack on their part any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same: whereupon ensued a grievous persecution, and slaughter of the faithful; of whom the first that went to rack was Thomas Bilney, of whom sufficiently afore hath

and the next was Richard Bayfield, as shall shortly follow.

Richard Bayfield, martyr.

By the order of years and of times, as the our history requireth, next after the confession of Thomas Bilney, we have to treat of the confession of Richard Bayfield, which in the month of November, the same year, which was 1531, was burned in Smithfield.

Richard Bayfield, sometime a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barnes, and two godly men brickmakers, Master Maxwell and Master Wardens of their company, who were of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through conversation of life, converted many men both in London and in the country;

that year, of their own cost, went about to convert brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Dr. Barnes at that time, much resorted to the abbey of Bury.

Richard Bayfield was, to one Dr. Ruffam; who was at Louvaine together students. At that time happened that this Bayfield the monk was of the house, to provide lodging for the students, and to see them well entertained; who was much in Dr. Barnes's talk, and in the other things afore rehearsed; and at last, Dr. Barnes gave him a New Testament in Latin, and also gave him Tyndale's Testament in English, a book called The Wicked Mammon, the redemption of a Christian Man: wherein he had said so mightily in two years' space, that he was taken into the prison of his house, there sorely with a gag in his mouth, and then stocked; continued in the same torment three quarters of a year before Dr. Barnes could get him out; brought to pass by the means of Dr. Barnes, and so he was committed to Dr. Barnes to Cambridge with him. By that time he was there a good while, he tasted so well of the doctrine, that he never returned home again, but went to London, to Maxwell and Master Frith, they kept him secretly a while, and so went beyond the sea; Dr. Barnes being at Fleet for God's word. This Bayfield prospered in the knowledge of God, and came to Master Tyndale, and Master Frith; sought substance with him, and was their friend, and sold all their works, and the works of others, both in France and in England; coming to London, to Master Smith's shop in St. Dunstons, there he was betrayed, and taken out of that house to his bookbinder's in Mark Lane, where taken, and carried to Lollards' Tower, from thence to the coal-house; by rea-

son that one Parson Patmore, parson of Mark Baddam in Essex, then lying in Lollards' Tower, was in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ, then confirmed by him. This Parson Patmore, after his trouble, was abjured and condemned by the bishop to perpetual prison, and delivered afterwards by the king's pardon, as more appeareth in the sequel of his story among abjurers, &c. He was taken because he married his priest in those days. He was always corn in plenty, and when the market was very dear, he would send plenty of his corn to the poor to pluck down the prices thereof.

This Richard Bayfield, being in the coal-house, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied both by the arms in the middle, and legs, standing upright by the wall, divers times manacled, to accuse others that bought his books. But he accused none, but confessed his religion and confession of his faith, and at the end, and was, in the consistory of Paul's, taken to his trial, whether he would abjure or not. He said he would dispute for his faith, and to their great shame; Stokesley then being bishop, with the assistance of Winchester, and other bishops, wherof here followeth now the circumstances to be seen.

The articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the said bishops, A. D. 1531, Nov. 10, were these.

"I. That he had been many years a monk, professed, of the order of St. Benet, of St. Mary Bury, in the diocese of Norwich.

"II. That he was a priest, and had been a monk, and continued in the same order the space of ten years.

"III. That since the feast of Easter being beyond the sea, brought and procured divers and many books and treatises of sundry authors, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of other of his damnable sect, and of Erasmus the great heretic, and divers other heretics, in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

"IV. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain things contrary to the holy church, and especially that laud and praise should be given to God, and not to saints or creatures.

"V. That every priest might preach the word of God by the authority of the gospel, and not to the pope or cardinals for licence; as he had said (said they) by his confession before the said bishop.

"VI. That he judicially abjured the same things before the said bishop, and did renounce and swear them, and all other articles con-

determination of holy church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

"VII. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the said bishop.

"VIII. After his abjuration it was enjoined him for penance, that he should go before the king in procession, in the parish church of St. Dunstons at Billingsgate, and to bear a faggot of straw upon his shoulder.

"IX. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide a habit, requisite and meet for his new profession, as shortly as he might; and that he should come or go no where without such a habit, which he had not fulfilled.

"That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, sometime before the feast of the Ascension next ensuing his abjuration, he should go into the monastery of Bury, and there remain, according to the vow of his profession: which he did not fulfilled.

"That he was appointed by the said bishop to appear before the said bishop, the fifth of April next after his abjuration, to discharge the residue of his penance; and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

"That the twentieth day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said bishop in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich, and there it was newly enjoined him in penance, that he should provide him a habit meet for his order and profession, within eight days next following: which he had not done.

"That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London; and no more to come within the special licence of the bishop of London, his successor for the time being: which he did not fulfilled."

Of Richard Bayfield to the articles prefixed.

In the first article he confessed, that he was professed in the monastery aforesaid, A. D. 1512. In the second article he answered, that he was professed, and took orders, A. D. 1518. To the third article he confessed the bill and schedule to be given into his hand, which is annexed therunto, and that he had thought over the said books and works a great while, and a great number of every sort. When he was demanded for what intent he brought the said books into the realm; he answered, "To the intent that the word of Christ might be set forward, and that the people might be glorified in this realm amongst Chris-

tian people;" and that he had sold and dispersed many of those books before named, to sundry persons within this realm, and to divers of the diocese of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther were condemned as a heretic by the pope; he answered, that he heard say, that Martin Luther, with all his sect and adherents, were, and are, condemned as heretics by the pope. And being demanded, whether Zuinglius was of Luther's sect; he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked whether Zuinglius was a catholic; he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the books contained in the schedules did contain any errors in them; he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, that the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that Ecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretics; also that such as lean to Martin Luther be heretics. Also he confessed, that being beyond the sea, he heard say, before he brought into this realm the books contained in the said bills, that the king had by proclamation prohibited, that no man should bring into this realm any of Martin Luther's books or of his sect: which confession thus ended, the bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

Saturday, being the eleventh of November, Richard Bayfield appeared, and acknowledged the answers he made in the session the day before. This thing done, the official objected the fourth article unto him: whereunto he answered, that he could not tell whether there be any heresies in them; for he had read no heresies in them. And being demanded, whether he had read any of those books; he answered, that he had read the greater part of them here and there, but not throughout. He was demanded, whether he believed the aforesaid books to be good, and of the true faith? He answered, that he judged they were good, and of the true faith. Being inquired, what books he read in the realm? he said, that he had read the New Testament in Latin, and other books mentioned in the bills; but he read none translated: notwithstanding he did confess that he had read a book called Thorp's, in the presence and audience of others, and also a book of John Frith's purgatory, which he had read to himself alone, as he said; and also had read to himself a book called The Practice of Prelates; and also said, that he had read a book called The Parable of the Wicked Mammon, but in the presence and hearing of others which he knew not. Also he confessed that he had read The Obedience of a Christian Man, and The Sum of Scripture, among company, and also The Dialogue betwixt the Ploughman and the

Gentleman, among company, as he thought; also he had read a piece of the answer of Tyndale made to Sir Thomas More; likewise he had read the Dialogue of Frith, to himself: he had read also the prologues of the five books of Moses, contained in the long schedule, and in company, as he thought.

All which books he had read in manner aforesaid within these two years last past, and as for the New Testament in English, he read it before he had these books specified in the schedule before rehearsed.

To the third article, as touching Zuinglius and others, he supposed that they held the same doctrine that Luther did; but that he thought them to vary in some points.

The sixteenth day of November, Richard Bayfield appeared again before the bishop; who inquired of him, of what sect Zuinglius was. He said, he thought that he held with Luther in some points, &c.

Also he confessed, that first he brought books of the sorts abovenamed into this realm, about Midsummer was a twelvemonth, and landed them at Colchester; and afterwards brought part of them to this city; and some he dispersed and sold in this city. The second time that he brought books was about All-Hallowtide was a twelvemonth, and landed them at St. Catharine's; which books the lord chancellor took from him. Also that at Easter last was the third time that he brought over the books now showed unto him, and contained in these two bills, and landed with them in Norfolk, and from thence brought them to the city of London in a mail.

To the fifth, sixth, and seventh articles, he answered and confessed them to be true.

To the eighth he answered, that it was enjoined him as is contained in the article; the which injunction he fulfilled.

To the ninth he answered, that he did not remember it.

To the tenth he answered, that it was enjoined him that he should go to the abbey of Bury, and there continue; the which, he said, he did three times; but he did not wear his monk's cowl, as he was enjoined.

The eleventh article he confessed.

For the twelfth article, "That he did not wear his monk's habit according to the abjuration;" he referred himself to the acts, whether he were so enjoined or no.

To the thirteenth article he said, that he did not remember the contents thereof, but referred himself to the acts. Notwithstanding he confessed that he had no licence of the bishop of London to come to the city or diocese of London, nor to make any abode there.

The sentence given against Richard Bayfield in case of relapse.

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, in a inquisition of heresy, and relapse of the same, begun before Master Richard Foxford, doctor in both laws, our official, now depending before us, decided, against thee, Richard Bayfield, priest, monk, professed to the order and rule of St. Benedict, in the monastery of St. Edmund's in the diocese of Norwich, and by means of the same, within written under our jurisdiction, and to the favour rightly and lawfully proceeding, and to the favour possible, the merits and circumstances of the cause of this inquisition heard, weighed, considered, and fully discussed by us, the said bishop, reserving unto ourselves that which by law is to be reserved; have thought good to pronounce in this manner, to the pronouncing of our said sentence.

"Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, inquisition made, and alleged, and by thee judicially confessed, we do find that thou hast abjured all errors and heresies, and damnable opinions, and confessed, as well particularly as generally, that one Martin Luther, together with his adherents and complices, receivers and favourers, who they be, was condemned as a heretic by the authority of Pope Leo the Tenth, of most happy memory, and by the authority of the apostolic see, in all books, and all writings, schedules, and sermons, the said Master Luther, his adherents and complices, whether they be found in Latin, or in any languages imprinted or translated, for the same heresies and errors, and damnable opinions contained in them, are condemned, reprov'd, and utterly rejected; and inhibition made, by the authority of the said see, to all faithful Christians, under the pain of excommunication, and other punishments therein beheld to be incurred by the law, that no man by any means presume to read, teach, hear, impart, publish, or by any means do defend, directly or indirectly, secretly or openly, in their houses, or any other public or private places, any such manner of writings, books, errors, or articles, as are contained more at large in the apostolic letters, directed out in form of a public instrument; whereunto to the contents thereof, we refer ourselves as if it is expedient, and no otherwise. And forasmuch as we do perceive that thou didst understand the same, and yet these things notwithstanding, thou thy abjuration made, (as is aforesaid,) thou

...the same kind of books, both in Latin and
English, translated, set forth, and imprinted, con-
taining not only Lutheran heresies, but also the
most dangerous heresies of other heretics condemned, for
as thou hast brought over, from the parts
of the sea, a great number into this realm of
England, and specially to our city and diocese of
London, and hast procured them to be brought and
carried over; also hast kept by thee and sold
these books, and hast published and sent them
to divers men, and many of these books have
been printed and given unto divers persons
in our city and diocese of London, and have
been read and affirmed before the court
of Martin Luther and other heretics and
adherents, and all have received a
good and agreeable opinion of them.

That they are good and if he
by this means and judgment
praised Martin Luther and other
and hast favoured and upheld
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by the pretence of the premises, thou hast even by the law incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication : and thereby we pronounce and declare thee to have been and to be excommunicate, and clearly discharge, exonerate, and degrade thee from all privilege and prerogative of the ecclesiastical orders, and also deprive thee of all ecclesiastical office and benefice : also we pronounce and declare thee, by this our sentence or decree, the which we here promulgate and declare in these writings, that thou art actually to be degraded, deposed, and deprived, as followeth :

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee, Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege, out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction ; earnestly requiring and desiring, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment, to be done upon thee and against thee, in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness ; but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics, unto the unity of the catholic faith. This our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid."

On Monday, the twentieth of November, 1531, in the choir of the cathedral church of St. Paul, before the said John, bishop of London, judicially sitting, being assisted by John, abbot of Westminster ; Robert, abbot of Waltham ; and Nicholas, prior of Christ's Church, in London ; these honourable lords being also present ; Henry, earl of Essex ; Richard Gray, brother to the marquis of Somerset ; John Lambert, mayor of London ; Richard Gresham, and Edward Altam, sheriffs (the which mayor and sheriffs were required to be there present by the bishop of London's letters hereafter written, and by virtue of a statute of King Henry the Fourth, king of England) ; also in the presence of divers canons, the chancellor, official, and the archdeacon of London, with the bishops' chaplains, and a great number both of the clergy and laity ; Matthew Greston, the registrar, being also there present : Master Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, was brought forth by Thomas Turner the apparitor, his keeper, in whose presence the transumpt of the apostolic bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, upon the condemnation of Martin Luther and his ad-

herents, was brought forth and showed, sealed with the seal of Thomas Wolsey, late legate de Latere, and subscribed with the sign and name of Master Robert Tunnes, public notary ; and also the decrees upon the condemnation of certain books brought in by him, sealed with the seals of the archbishop of Canterbury, and subscribed by three notaries.

Then the bishop of London repeated in effect before him his abjuration which he had before made, and other his demerits committed and done, besides his abjuration ; and the said Bayfield said, that he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him ; and desired that the heresies contained in the books which he brought over, might be declared in open audience. Then the bishop, after certain talk had with the said Bayfield, as touching the desert of his cause, asked him whether he could show any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced a relapsee, and suffer punishment as a relapsee. The said Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said that he brought over those books for his money, and not to sow any heresies. And continuing the said Bayfield, with a vehement spirit, appeared,) said unto the bishop of London, "The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye are heretics ; and ye do not only live evil, but detain evil living, and also do let, that what true is, may not be known ;" and said that their doctrine is against Christ's gospel, and that their beliefs were never taken of Christ's church. Then the bishop, after long deliberation had, forasmuch as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could show no cause why he should not be declared a relapsee, made a decree and sentence against him ; by the which amongst other things, he condemned him as a heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into heresy, and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded, as is contained in the long sentence.

The aforesaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, and there solemnly actually degraded him before the people ; the thing being done, he dismissed him by the aforesaid from the ecclesiastical court : and delivered him to the secular power, being there present, redelivered him into their jurisdiction, without any writ or process half obtained, but only by virtue of the letters, by the statute of King Henry the Fifth, that behalf provided and directed unto the bishop's seal. The tenor of which letters after follow.

London, whether he would stand to the contents of his book, he answered, 'Look ye the book before and after, and I will be content to stand unto it.' Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing, he answered, that a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher or lower in heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Also being demanded, whether that with all his works, did not deserve heaven, he answered and said, that it was plain enough. Things being done, the bishop said further to Tewkesbury thus: 'I tell thee, before God which are here present, in examination of thee, that the articles above named, and which are contained in the same book, are false, and condemned by the holy church: how answerest thou?' And further, the said bishop of London said unto him again, 'I tell thee, before God which are here present,' &c.; and so again, what he thought of those articles. In many exhortations, he commanded him determinately under pain of the law, saying unto him, that if he refused to answer, he would declare him an open and obstinate heretic, by the order of the law. These things so saying, the bishop asked John Tewkesbury again, whether the said book, called *The Wicked Mammon*, were good?

To which interrogatory he answereth, that he hath in his conscience there is nothing in the book that which is true. And to this article he answered, that is, that faith only justifieth without works, he answereth, that it is well said. Whereupon the bishop inferred again, that the articles before named, with divers others contained in the said *The Wicked Mammon*, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reproved and condemned by the church: and, before God, and the people that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often, and very gently, exhorted John Tewkesbury, that he would revoke and retract his errors: otherwise if he did intend to stand in them, he must declare him a heretic; which he would be very sorry to do. These things saying, the bishop oftentimes offered him, that he might choose what spiritual or temporal man he would have to be his counsellor; and gave him time, as he thought fit, to deliberate with himself until the next

the same month of April, in the year afore said, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tunstall, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas Boleyn of Lincoln, and John of Bath and others, this John Tewkesbury was brought be-

fore them. After certain articles being repeated unto him, the bishop of London brought before him a certain book, called *The Wicked Mammon*, asking him whether the book was of the same impression and making as were his books that he had sold to others? who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the bishop of London asking him again, whether the book contained the same error or no? who answered again, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the gospel and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and of the others is all one. Further he said, that he had studied the Holy Scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament he knoweth the faults of his soul. Further, he was examined upon certain points and articles, extracted out of the said book of *The Wicked Mammon*, as followeth:

"First, That antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him; but antichrist is a spiritual thing.—Whereunto he answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it.

"Again, it was demanded of him touching the article whether faith only justifieth a man?—To this he said, that if he should look to deserve heaven by works, he should do wickedly; for works follow faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of his passion.

"That the devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law.—To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

"That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God.—To that he answered, that it is plain enough, considering what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth no ill in it.

"That the law of God requireth of us things impossible.—To that he answered, that the law of God doth command, that thou shalt love God above all things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in his conscience.

"That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so there is no law to him that believeth and is justified through faith.—To that he answered and said, he findeth no ill in it.

"All good works must be done without respect of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof.—To that he answered, 'It is truth.'

"Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven.—To that he answered, that the text is true as it lieth, and findeth no fault in it.

"Peter and Paul, and saints that be dead, are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive.—To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

"Alms deserve no reward of God.—To that he answered, that the text of the book is true.

"The devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer.—To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

"We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yea, where we were damned before we were born, we cannot love God, and cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and unjust; and flee from him, as did Cain.—To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

"We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, and a serpent is a serpent by nature.—To that he answered, that it is true, as it is in the book.

"Item, As concerning the article of fasting.—To that he answered and said, 'The book declareth itself.'

"Every one man is a lord of whatsoever another man hath.—To that he answered; 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.'

"Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another.—To that he answered and said, 'It is plain enough of itself.'

"As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God.—To that he answered, saying, 'It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God, it is all one.'

"That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plain enough.

"The merits of St. Francis and St. Dominic, and others, be damnable.—To that he answered and said, 'St. Paul repugneth against them.'

These articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would undertake to be sworn and sworn above rehearsed, or otherwise to revoke them? who answered that 'I put you under process, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the book is good enough.'

But when the bishop exhorted him to retract his errors. To this he said John Tewkesbury answered as he did in the first, as well as in the other process; and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the

it be reformed; I think it is good enough." This thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Galfrid Warton, Rowland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of divinity.

On the thirteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the chapel within the palace of London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, with his assistants, Nicholas, bishop of Ely, &c., Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the articles drawn out of the book called The Wicked Mammon, as followeth:

First, "Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thy deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, that neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved, except Christ be saved with thee.—To this he answered, that he found no fault in it.

Item, "We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that he trust not in his own righteousness.—To this he answered, "Take ye your prayer; I will take it well enough."

Item, "Now seest thou what alms men do wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh to do alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he owed him, the same is blind, and seeth not Christ's blood.—To this he answereth, that he findeth no fault in all the book, but that all the book is good, hath given him great comfort and light in his conscience.

Item, "That ye do do nothing to please man, but that be commanded.—To that he answered, and thinketh it good, by his troth.

Item, "So God is honoured on all manner of occasions: and to worship him otherwise than by his will is idolatry.—To that he answered, that he thought him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to retract his errors abovesaid; and after other exhortation had by the bishop, the said bishop did exhort him again to retract his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next session what he would do.

In the next session he submitted himself, and was enjoined penance, which was the eighth of May.

Supplicating that he should keep well his conscience, under pain of excommunication.

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done, the bishop oftentimes offered him, that
ould choose what spiritual or temporal man he
ld, to be his counsellor; and gave him time, as
e, to deliberate with himself until the next
ing."

Also in the same month of April, in the year
the Lord aforesaid, the bishop of London, Cuth-
Tunstall, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas
Ely, John of Lincoln, and John of Bath and
als, &c., this John Tewkesbury was brought be-

fore them. After certain articles being repeated
unto him, the bishop of London brought before him
a certain book, called *The Wicked Mammon*, ask-
ing him whether the book was of the same impres-
sion and making as were his books that he had sold
to others? who answered and said, it was the same.
Whereupon the bishop of London asking him again,
whether the book contained the same error or no?
who answered again, saying, I pray God, that the
condemnation of the gospel and translation of the
Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be
not in peril for it: for the condemnation of it and
of the others is all one. Further he said, that he
had studied the Holy Scripture by the space of these
seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his
face through the glass, so in reading the New Tes-
tament he knoweth the faults of his soul. Further,
he was examined upon certain points and articles,
extracted out of the said book of *The Wicked*
Mammon, as followeth:

"First, That antichrist is not an outward thing,
that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear
with wonders, as your forefathers talked of him;
but antichrist is a spiritual thing.—Whereunto he
answered and said, that he findeth no fault in it.

"Again, it was demanded of him touching the
article whether faith only justifieth a man?—To this
he said, that if he should look to deserve heaven by
works, he should do wickedly; for works follow
faith, and Christ redeemed us all with the merits of
his passion.

"That the devil holdeth our hearts so hard, that
it is impossible for us to consent unto God's law.—
To that he answered, that he findeth no fault in it.

"That the law of God suffereth no merits, neither
any man to be justified in the sight of God.—To
that he answered, that it is plain enough, consider-
ing what the law is; and he saith, that he findeth
no ill in it.

"That the law of God requireth of us things im-
possible.—To that he answered, that the law of God
doth command, that thou shalt love God above all
things, and thy neighbour as thyself, which never
man could do; and in that he doth find no fault in
his conscience.

"That as the good tree bringeth forth fruit, so
there is no law to him that believeth and is justified
through faith.—To that he answered and said, he
findeth no ill in it.

"All good works must be done without respect
of any thing, or any profit to be had thereof.—To
that he answered, 'It is truth.'

"Christ with all his works did not deserve hea-
ven.—To that he answered, that the text is true
as it lieth, and findeth no fault in it.

"Peter and Paul, and saints that be dead, are not our friends, but their friends whom they did help when they were alive.—To that he said, he findeth no ill in it.

"Alms deserve no reward of God.—To that he answered, that the text of the book is true.

"The devil is not cast out by merits of fasting or prayer.—To that he answered, thinking it good enough.

"We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we live under the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation, and the wrath of God upon us, yea, where we were damned before we were born, we cannot love God, and cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous and unjust; and flee from him, as did Cain.—To that he answered, and thinketh it good and plain enough.

"We are damned by nature, as a toad is a toad by nature, and a serpent is a serpent by nature.—To that he answered, that it is true, as it is in the book.

"Item, As concerning the article of fasting.—To that he answered and said, 'The book declareth itself.'

"Every one man is a lord of whatsoever another man hath.—To that he answered; 'What law can be better than that? for it is plainly meant there.'

"Love in Christ putteth no difference betwixt one and another.—To that he answered and said, 'It is plain enough of itself.'

"As concerning the preaching of the word of God, and washing of dishes, there is no difference as concerning salvation, and as touching the pleasing of God.—To that he answered, saying, 'It is a plain text, and as for pleasing God, it is all one.'

"That the Jews of good intent and zeal put Christ to death. To that he answered, that it is true, and the text is plain enough.

"The sects of St. Francis, and St. Dominic, and others, be damnable.—To that he answered and said, 'St. Paul repugneth against them.'

These articles being so objected, and answer made unto them by John Tewkesbury, the said bishop of London asked him whether he would continue in his heresies and errors above rehearsed, or renounce and forsake them? who answered thus: "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let it be reformed; I think the book is good enough."

Further, the bishop exhorted him to recant his errors. To this the said John Tewkesbury answered as is above written; to wit, "I pray you reform yourself, and if there be any error in the book, let

it be reformed; I think it is good enough." This thing being done, the bishop appointed him to determine better with himself against the morrow, in the presence of Master John Cox, vicar-general to the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Galfride Warton, Rowland Philips, William Philow, and Robert Ridley, professors of divinity.

On the thirteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord abovesaid, in the chapel within the palace of London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London with his assistants, Nicholas, bishop of Ely, &c. Tewkesbury again appeared, and was examined upon the articles drawn out of the book called *The Wicked Mammon*, as followeth:

First, "Christ is thine, and all his deeds be thine deeds; Christ is in thee, and thou so knit to him inseparably, that neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither canst thou be saved, except Christ be saved with thee.—To this he answered, that he found no fault in it."

Item, "We desire one another to pray for us. That done, we must put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and that he trust not in his own righteousness."—To this he answered, "Take ye what will; I will take it well enough."

Item, "Now seest thou what alms manereth wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh what alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he owed him, the same is blind, and seeth not Christ's blood."—To this he answereth, that he findeth no fault therein in the book, but that all the book is good, and hath given him great comfort and light in his conscience.

Item, "That ye do do nothing to please man, but that he commanded."—To that he answered, and thinketh it good, by his troth.

Item, "So God is honoured on all sides, when we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances: and to worship him otherwise than by his word is idolatry."—To that he answered, that it is good, and him well.

The examination of these articles being done, the bishop of London did exhort the said John Tewkesbury to recant his errors abovesaid; and after other communication had by the bishop with him, the said bishop did exhort him again to recant his errors, and appointed him to determine with himself against the next session what he would do.

In the next session he submitted himself, and confessed his opinions, and was enjoined penance, which was the eighth of May.

Imprimis, That he should keep well his conscience, under pain of relapse.

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be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

"Fifthly, He saith, *that* faith only justifieth, which lacketh not charity.

"Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient Mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto saints. Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem: 'Hail Queen our advocate,' &c.; to which he answered, that he knew none other advocate but Christ alone.

"Seventhly, He affirmeth that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

"Eighthly, He affirmeth, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

"Ninthly, He affirmeth, that a priest, by receiving of orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased; or else not.

"Tenthly, and last of all, he believeth that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

"Whereupon the bishop's chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could show any cause why he should not be taken for a heretic, falling into his heresy again, and receive the punishment of a heretic. Whereunto he answered that he had wrong before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he hath wrong again."

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; the which the said Tewkesbury confessed; and thereupon the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him unto the sheriffs of London for the time being, who were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam, who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's eve, being the twentieth of December, in the year aforesaid; the tenor of whose sentence, pronounced against him by the bishop, doth here ensue, word for word.

"In the name of God, Amen. The deservings and circumstances of a certain cause of heretical pravity, and falling again thereunto by thee John Tewkesbury, of the parish of St. Michael's in the Quern, of the city of London, and of our jurisdiction, appearing before us sitting in judgment, being heard, seen, and understood, and fully discussed by us John, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London; because we do find by inquisitions, manifestly enough, that thou didst abjure freely and voluntarily before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, thy ordinary, divers and sundry heresies, errors, and damnable opinions, contrary to the determination of our mother holy church, as well special as general, and that since and beside the aforesaid abjuration thou art

again fallen into the same damnable heresies, opinions, and errors, (which is greatly to be lamented,) and the same dost hold, affirm, and believe: we therefore, John, the bishop aforesaid, the name of God first being called upon, and the same only God set before our eyes; and with the counsel of learned men assisting us in this behalf, (with whom in this cause we have communicated of our definitive sentence and final decree, in this behalf to be done,) do intend to proceed and do proceed in this manner. Because, as it is aforesaid, we do find thee, the aforesaid John Tewkesbury, of our jurisdiction, to be a contemner of the first abjuration; and moreover before and after the aforesaid first errors and other damnable opinions, to have fallen, and to be a heretic fallen, and to have incurred the pain of a fallen heretic: we do pronounce, determine, declare, and condemn thee of the premises, to have incurred the guilt of the great excommunication, and do pronounce thee to be excommunicated; also do declare thee, the said Tewkesbury, to be again fallen again into heresy, to be in the power and in their judgment (as the holy fathers have decreed); and here we do leave thee to the aforesaid secular power, and to their judgment, beseeching them earnestly, in the bowels of Christ, that such severe punishment and execution as in this behalf is to be done against thee, be so moderated, that no rigorous rigour be used to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the terror, fear, and rooting out of heretics, and conversion to the catholic faith and unity, our final decree which we declare by these writings."

This aforesaid sentence definitive against Tewkesbury was read and pronounced by the bishop of London, the sixteenth day of the month of December, in the year aforesaid, in the house of Thomas More, high chancellor of England, parish of Chelsea. After this sentence, they received the aforesaid Tewkesbury into custody, and carried him away with them, and afterwards burned him in Smithfield, as is before having no writ of the king for their warrant.

John Randall.

Now also it cometh into my remembrance of another, one John Randall my kinsman, through the privy malice of divers, had an unlike tragical end and death to that of John Hun, before mentioned.

This John Randall being a young man of Christ's college, in Cambridge, about the year of our Lord 1531, had one Wyer for his tutor, whom, for the love of the Scriptures and

he began not only to be suspected but also hated. And as this was unknown unto any, it is uncertain, whether he were afterwards kept by him or no; because as yet it is not light. But the matter happened in this, the young man, being studious and scarcely five years old, was long lacking among his friends; at last, after four days, through the help of the corpse, his study door being broken, he was found hanged with his own girdle with- out, in such sort and manner that he had leaning upon his Bible, and his finger pointing to a place of Scripture, where predestination is set out. Surely this matter lacked no sin- gle, of exquisite policy and craft of some old and wicked man, whosoever he was that did, that it should seem that the poor young man's fear of predestination was driven to such that other young men being feared through the same should be kept back from the study of letters as a thing most perilous. And albeit the history do not pertain to these times, yet it is by no means to be omitted, both for the memorable memory of the thing, as also for the sake of the story that it seemeth not to be so in any other place.

Apprehension of one Edward Freese, a painter.

Edward Freese was born in York, and was appointed to a painter in the same city; and by the way of working for his master in Bearsy abbey, at some such occasion, was known unto the abbot of the same house; for he was a boy of a pregnant age, and the abbot favoured him so much, that he kept him in his years of his master, and would have made him a monk. And the lad not liking that of living, and not knowing how to get out, because he was a novice, ran away after a long space, came to Colchester, in Essex, and remaining according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been some good time, he was hired to paint certain pictures for the new inn, in Colchester, which is in the middle of the market-place; and in the upper part of the cloths, he wrote certain sentences of Scripture; and by that he was plainly known to some of them that they call heretics. And on a time, he being at his work in the same inn of the town, when they had seen his work, they about to take him; and he, having some inkling of it, thought to shift for himself, but yet was not so forcibly in the yard of the same inn; and after he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly im-

prisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife; Wylie, and his wife and son; and Father Bate, of Rowsedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of saw-dust, or at least a great part thereof; and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long space, by much suit he was removed to Lollard's Tower. His wife, in the time of the suit, while he was yet at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then great with child, the porter lifted up his foot and struck her on the body, that at length she died of the same; but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all stocked for a long time, and then they were let loose into their prisons again. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some other irons. This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, "Doctor Dodipall would make me believe the moon were made of green cheese." And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists so long that the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By means of his manacles he could not comb his head, and he remained so long manacled, that his hair was folded together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after a long suit he was brought out into the consistory at Paul's, and (as his brother did report) they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man was in that case, that he could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man; and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing but "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had spoiled his body, and destroyed his wits, they sent him back again to Bearsy abbey; but he came away from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: albeit he never came to his perfect mind, to his dying day.

His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also the wife of the said Father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king without redress, and at the last she delivered one into his own hands, and he read it himself, whereupon she was appointed to go to Chancery-lane, to one whose name (as is thought) was Master Selyard; and at last she got a letter of the said Selyard to the bishop; and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that

some good should come to her husband thereby. And because the wicked officers in those days were crafty, and desirous of his blood, as some others had proved their practice, some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed; for it was after this manner:—After commendations had, &c., “Look, what you can gather against Father Bate, send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, that I may certify the king’s Majesty,” &c. Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband’s life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him; for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old registers and otherwise, Friar Roy was burned in Portugal; but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death was, we can have no understanding: but what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies which he left here in England.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the clergy made to the king, the translation of the New Testament, with a great number of other books, were forbidden. For the bishops coming into the Star Chamber the twenty-fifth day of May, and communing with the king’s counsel, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the translations of Tyndale and Joye were not truly translated; and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops: wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation, which caused the people much to study Tyndale’s translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tyndale’s translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul’s Church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

James Bainham, lawyer, and martyr.

James Bainham, gentleman, son to one Master Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, being vir-

tuously brought up by his parents in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that he gave himself to the study of the law, being a man of virtuous disposition, and godly conversation, mightily addicted to prayer, an earnest reader of Scriptures, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or reward; briefly, a singular example to all lawyers.

This Master Bainham, as is above noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid, for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and arrested with a serjeant-at-arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor’s house at Chesham, where he continued in free prison awhile, till the time that Sir Thomas More saw he could not prevail in perverting him to his sect. Then he took him into prison in his own house, and whipping him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of Treason, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked; so he was, Sir Thomas More being present him till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of acquaintance, nor would show where his books were, and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him, they could by tortures and torments, then he was brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth day of December, A. D. 1531, at the said town of Chelsea, and there examined by these articles and interrogatories ensuing.

I. Whether he believed there were any purgatory of souls hence departed?—Whereunto he answered as followeth: “If we walk in light, we are in light, we have society together with God, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, to forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all unrighteousness.”

II. Whether that the saints hence departed should be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us? To this he answered on this wise: “My children, I write this unto you, that you know that no man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the just, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not only for our sins, but for the sins of the whole world.” And further

of these words, Let all the saints of God pray; being demanded what he meant by that. All the saints, he answered, that he meant them, those that were alive, as St. Paul wrote the Corinthians, and not those that be dead: he prayed not to them, he said, because he knew that they which be dead cannot pray for themselves, when the whole church is gathered together, they used to pray one for another, or desire prayer for another, with one heart; and that the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours: "and he said he, "as our Saviour Christ prayed at the Father: Father, take this cup from me if it may be; yet thy will be fulfilled."

He was demanded whether he thought that departed were yet in heaven or no?—To which he answered and said, that he believed that they were, if it pleased God to have them, that is to say, the faith of Abraham; and that herein he committed himself to the church.

He was demanded of him, whether he thought necessary to salvation, for a man to confess his sins to a priest?—Whereunto his answer was this: It was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another: as for any other confession, it was none. And further he said, that if he heard a sermon, or any where else, where the word of God is preached, and there took repentance for himself, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven him, and that he needed not to go to any confessor.

That he should say and affirm, that the truth of Holy Scripture hath been hid, and appeared again eight hundred years, neither was known before.—To this he said, that he meant no more, but that the truth of Holy Scripture was made manifest these eight hundred years past, so plainly and fully declared unto the people, as it hath been in these six years.

He was demanded further, for what cause Holy Scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these eight hundred years before?—Whereunto he answered, That he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the vein of Holy Scripture, except Master Crome and Master Latimer.

And he said, moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and declare the word of God, and that before that time it did preach but only that folks should believe in the church did believe; and then if the church was corrupted, men should err too. Howbeit the church of Rome, he said, cannot err: and that there were two churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of antichrist; and that this church of

antichrist may and doth err; but the church of Christ doth not.

VII. Whether he knew any person that lived in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time?—He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

VIII. He was asked what he thought of purgatory and of vows?—He answered, if any such thing had been moved to St. Paul of purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for a heresy. And when he heard Master Crome preach and say, that he thought there was a purgatory after this life, he thought in his mind that the said Master Crome lied, and spake against his conscience; and that there were a hundred more who thought the same as he did: saying moreover, that he had seen the confession of Master Crome in print, God wot, a very foolish thing, as he judged.

And as concerning vows, he granted that there were lawful vows, as Ananias vowed, for it was in his own power, whether he would have sold his possession or not, and therefore he did offend. But vows of chastity, and all godliness, is given of God by his abundant grace, the which no man of himself can keep, but it must be given him of God. And therefore, a monk, friar, or nun, that hath vowed the vows of religion, if they think after their vows made, that they cannot keep their promises that they made at baptism, they may go forth and marry, so that they keep, after their marriage, the promise that they made at baptism. And finally he concluded, that he thought there were no other vows, but only the vow of baptism.

IX. He was demanded, whether Luther, being a friar, and taking a nun out of religion, and afterwards marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein?—He answered, That he thought nothing. And when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no? he made answer he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of anointing, being asked to say his mind, he answered and said, "It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such anointing and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers, he saw, were said thereat.

Likewise touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these: "That as many as repent, and do on them Christ, shall be saved; that is, as many as die concerning sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith: that is, by keeping the promise

made. For ye are kept by grace and faith, saith St. Paul, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God."

He was asked moreover of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not, and whether it conferreth grace; being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away?—His answer was, that matrimony is an order or law, that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women, and not sin.

Lastly, for his books of Scripture, and for his judgment of Tyndale, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, that he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tyndale within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church, at Paul's Cross; but, for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbid it. Confessing moreover, that he had in his keeping within this month these books; the Wicked Mammon, the Obedience of a Christian Man, the Practice of Prelates, the Answer of Tyndale to Thomas More's Dialogue, the book of Frith against Purgatory; the Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk: adding furthermore, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it utterly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know (said he) that Tyndale was a naughty fellow.

Also to these answers he subscribed his name. This examination, as is said, was the fifteenth of December. The next day following, namely, the sixteenth of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the bishop of London, in the aforesaid place of Sir Thomas More at Chelsea; where, after the guise and form of their proceedings, first his former articles with his answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. This done, they asked him whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the catholic church, from whence he was fallen, and to which he might be yet received, as they said: adding, moreover, many fair, enticing, and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself, saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of his mother was open for him: otherwise, if he would continue stubborn, there was no remedy. Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways he would take, the case present now required a present an-

swer, for else the sentence definitive was that to be read, &c.

To conclude long matter in few words, wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between the one hand and death on the other, giving over to the adversaries, gave answer to them, that he was contented to submit to those things wherein he had offended, except he was deceived by ignorance.

Then the bishop, requiring him to say plainly of his answers above declared, what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no. To this Bainham said, that it was true to him to judge. And then asked of the bishop whether there was any purgatory, he answered, he could not believe that there was any after this life. Upon other articles being asked, and demanded, he granted as followeth:

"That he could not judge whether Baynes was in the true faith of Christ or no: that a man who hath taken a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin; that a priest, promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife: that he thinketh the apostles to be in error, that Luther did naught, in marrying a woman; that a child is the better for confirmation: that it is no offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the like; and he said, that he pondered those points more than he did before."

Upon these answers, the bishop, thinking him in safe custody to further trial, committed him to one of the compters.

The time thus passing on, which brings things to their end, in the month of February following, A. D. 1532, the aforesaid James Bainham was called for again to the bishop's court, before his vicar-general and other his assistants, to whom Foxford, the bishop's chancellor, recited his articles and answers above mentioned; saying, that he intended not to receive him to the communion of the holy mother church, unless he knew that Bainham to be returned again purely and wholly to the catholic faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the church, to whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, that he hath and doth believe the holy church, holdeth the faith of the holy mother, the catholic church.

Wherefore the chancellor, offering to him the form of his abjuration, after the form of the pope's decree conceived, required him to read it; who was contented, and read to the clause of the abjuration containing these words: "I voluntarily, as a penitent person returned from my heresies, do hereby abjure"—And there he stayed and would

er, saying, that he knew not the articles in his abjuration to be heresy, therefore not see why he should refuse them. This chancellor proceeded to the reading of the definitive, coming to this place of the sentence, the doctrine of the determination of the &c., and there paused, saying, he would rest till he saw his time: whom then desired to be good unto him, affirming that he knew that there was a purgatory; such of the apostles were in heaven, &c. he again desired him to read the sentence, but he again desired him to be good unto him; he ceased the sentence, and said that he kept this his confession for that time, as

him, for that present, was returned to him again; who then, the fifth day after, the eighth of February, appeared, as before the consistory; whom the aforesaid chancellor repeating again his articles and answers, he would abjure and submit himself. Who said that he would submit himself, and a good Christian man should. Again, the second time asked if he would "I will," said he, "forsake all my articles, meddle no more with them;" and so being led to lay his hands upon the book, read aloud openly. After the reading whereof, he put into these words, saying, that because there were many words in the said abjuration which were obscure and difficile, he protested that he intended not to go from such defence, as he might have had before his oath. Which the chancellor asked him why he made that protestation. Bainham said, for fear lest any man should do accuse me hereafter. Then the chancellor taking the definitive sentence in his hand, he himself (as appeared) to read the same, Master Bainham," said he, "take your oath, on the book; or else I will do mine office against you:" and so immediately he took the book and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

When done, the chancellor, receiving the abjuration at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay five pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him to go before the cross in procession at Paul's Cross, with a faggot upon his back, the next Sunday; and so to return with him to the prison again, there to abide the king's determination: and so, the seventeenth day of February, he was released and dismissed home; which he had scarce continued a month, but he be-

wailed his fact and abjuration; and was never quiet in mind and conscience until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness, before the congregation in those days, in a warehouse in Bow-lane. And immediately, the next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand in English, and the Obedience of a Christian Man in his bosom, and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping tears, that he had denied God; and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: "for," said he, "if I should not return again unto the truth, (having the New Testament in his hand,) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment." And there he prayed every body rather to die by and by, than to do as he did: for he would not feel such a hell again as he did feel, for all the world's good. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others; so that shortly after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

The process against James Bainham in case of relapse.

The nineteenth day of April, 1532, Master Richard Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, accompanied by certain divines, and Matthew Grefton the registrar, sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the Tower; before whom the vicar-general rehearsed the articles contained in his abjuration before made, and showed him a bound book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, that it was good. Then he showed him more of a certain letter sent unto the bishop of London, the which also he acknowledged to be his; objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the abjuration which he had before recited: showing him moreover certain letters which he had written unto his brother, the which he confessed to be his own writing; saying moreover, that though he wrote it, yet there is one thing in the same that is naught, if it be as my lord chancellor saith. Then he asked of Bainham, how he understood this which followeth, which was in his letters: "Yet could they not see nor know him for God, when indeed he was both God and man; yea, he was three persons in one, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." And Bainham said it was naught. Which things thus done, there was further objected unto him these words, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our Lady. The which article Bainham denied. The said Bainham, amongst other talk, as touching

the sacrament of the altar, said, "Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, but received by faith." Further it was objected against him, that notwithstanding his abjuration, he had said, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical or memorial body. The which article Bainham denied. It was further laid unto him, that he should say that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief, and a murderer, and a devil in hell: whereunto he answered thus: that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a murderer; and if he did not repent him of his murder, he was rather a devil in hell, than a saint in heaven.

The twentieth day of April, in the year aforesaid, the said James Bainham was brought before the vicar-general, in the church of All Saints, of Barking, where he ministered these interrogatories unto him:

First, That since the feast of Easter last past, he had said, affirmed, and believed, that the sacrament of the altar was but a mystical body of Christ; and afterwards he said, it was but a memorial. Which article Bainham denied. Then the vicar-general declared unto him, that our holy mother the catholic church determineth and teacheth in this manner: that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there remaineth no bread. The official asked Bainham, whether he did so believe or not? To this Bainham answered, saying, that St. Paul calleth it bread, rehearsing these words, As oft as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death: and in that point he saith as St. Paul saith, and believeth as the church believeth. And being demanded twice afterwards, what he thought therein, he would give no other answer.

Item, That since the feast of Easter aforesaid, he had affirmed and believed, that every man that would take upon him to preach the gospel of Christ clearly, had as much power as the pope. To this article he answered thus: "He that preacheth the word of God purely, whatsoever he be, and liveth thereafter, he hath the key that bindeth and looseth both in heaven and earth; which key is the same Scripture that is preached: and the pope hath no other power to bind and to loose, but by the key of the Scripture.

Item, That he affirmed that St. Thomas of Canterbury was a thief and a murderer, and in hell.—To this he answered as before.

Item, That he said, that he had as leave pray to Joan his wife, as to our Lady. This he denied as before.

Item, That he affirmed and believed, that Christ himself was but a man.—This article he also denied.

The premises thus passed, the vicar-general received Francis Realms, John Edwards, Raton, John Ridley, Francis Driland, and Ralph as witnesses to be sworn upon the articles and to speak the truth before the face of James Bainham, in the presence of Master Nayler, vicar of Barking; Master John Bachelor of divinity; William Smith, Richard Thomas Wimple, and Richard Gill.

The twenty-sixth day of April, in the year aforesaid, before Master John Foxford, vicar of the bishop of London, in the presence of Greston, registrar; and Nicholas Wilson, William Philley, professors of divinity; John William Middleton, and Hugh Aprice, the law: Master Richard Gresham, sheriff of London, and a great company of others: James Bainham, was brought forth by the lieutenant of the Tower, in whose presence the vicar-general heard the merits of the cause of inquiry against him, and proceeded to the abjuration. And when the judge read the article following, contained in the abjuration: "Item, That I have said, that I will not believe whether any souls departed be yet in heaven, but I believe that they be there as it pleaseth God to have them; that is to say, in the faith of the apostles or any others be in heaven or no?" James answered, "That I did abjure, and if I had not been, I would not have abjured at all."

After all the articles were read contained in the abjuration, and certain talk had as touching the sacrament of baptism, the said James Bainham spake these words: "If a Turk, a Jew, or a Christian man." Then the official showed him the letters which he sent unto him, written with his own hand, and asked him, whether he thought as touching this clause following: "Could they not see and know him for God, who he was both God and man, yea, he was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit." Whereunto Bainham said that it was naughty, but he did it by ignorance, and did not oversee his fault. Then Master Nicholas Wilson, among other things touching the sacrament of the altar, declared unto him that the church did believe the very body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. Bainham answered, "The bread is not Jesus Christ's body is not chewed with teeth, therefore it is but bread." Being further demanded what he thought in the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, God and man in flesh and blood; and divers doubtful answers, Bainham answered thus:

"He is there very God and man, in form of bread." is not necessary, forasmuch as the tenor thereof is all one with that which passed before in the story

This done, the official declared unto him the of Bayfield, alias Somersam. Here also should en-

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a bed of roses." These words spake he in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms, as I said, were half consumed.

John Bent, martyr.

At the writing hereof, came to our hands a certain notice of one John Bent, who about this present time, or not long before, being a tailor, and dwelling in a village called Urchevant, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wiltshire, for denying the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

One Trapnel, martyr.

Also much about the same time, was one Trapnel burned in a town called Bradford, within the same county.

The history of three men hanged for the burning of the rood of Dover-court; collected out of a letter of Robert Gardner, who was one of the doers of the same.

In the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an idol named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was much and great resort of people: for at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover-court was so great, that no man had power to shut the church door where he stood; and therefore they let the church door, both night and day, continually stand open, for the more credit unto their blind rumour. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar sort, seemed a great marvel unto many men; but to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, it was greatly suspected, specially unto these, whose names here follow: as Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debnam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardner of Dedham, whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honour and power of the Almighty living God so to be blasphemed by such an idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before, and the night after, were exceeding foul and rainy. It was from the town of Dedham, to the place where the filthy Rood stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in that their enterprise, that they went these ten miles without pain, and found the church door open, according to the blind talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. Which happened well for their purpose, for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut, as to keep it open; and for proof thereof, they took the idol from

his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile to the place where he stood, without any rest, the said idol. Whereupon they struck fire to the flint-stone, and suddenly set him on fire, which did so brim, that he lighted them home a good mile of the ten.

This done, there went a great talk about they should have great riches in that place: but was very untrue; for it was not their thought, as they themselves afterward came to know, for there was nothing taken away but his shoes, and the tapers. The tapers did help him, the shoes they had again, and the coat which Thomas Rose did burn; but they had neither halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel.

Notwithstanding, three of them were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains half a year after, or thereabout. Robert King was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; Robert Debnam was hanged at Cataway-Causey; Nicholas Marsh was hanged at Dover-court: which three, through the Spirit of God, at their death, did edify the people in godly learning, than all sermons that had been preached there a long time before.

The fourth man of this company, named Robert Gardner, escaped their hands and fled; he was cruelly sought for to have had the like fate. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end!

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in several places: as the image of the crucifix in the big church of Coggeshall, the image of St. Petronal in the church of Great Horkesleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronal in a chapel of Ipswich.

Also John Seward of Dedham overthrew an image in Stoke park, and took two images out of a church in the same park, and cast them into the water.

The story, examination, death, and martyrdom of John Frith.

AMONGST all the chances and changes of this world, there hath been a great time when things seemed unto men more grievous, and the lamentable and cruel handling of John Frith, learned and excellent a young man.

and so profited in all kind of learning and
age, that scarcely there was his equal amongst
companions; and besides, withal, had such a
of life joined with his doctrine, that it was
judge in whether of them he was more com-
ble, being greatly praiseworthy in them both:
teaching his doctrine, by the grace of Christ
speak hereafter.

the great godliness which was in him, this
ave for experiment sufficient, for that not-
ding his other manifold and singular gifts
ments of the mind, in him most pregnant,
that he might have opened an easy way
mour and dignity, notwithstanding he chose
holly to consecrate himself unto the church
excellently showing forth, and practising
the precept so highly commended of the
ers, touching the life of man: which life,
y, is given unto us in such sort, that how
he better the man is, so much the less he
live unto himself, but unto other, serving
common utility; and that we should think
part of our birth to be due unto our parents,
part unto our country, and the greatest
all to be bestowed upon the church, if we
counted good men. First of all he began
at Cambridge; in whom nature had plant-
ing but a child, marvellous instincts and
learning, whereunto he was addicted. He
was a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready
to receive and understand any thing, inso-
that he seemed not to be sent unto learning,
born for the same purpose. Neither was
any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that
desire, or worthy of his disposition; whereby
he to pass, that he was not only a lover of
learning, but also became an exquisite learned man;
in which exercise when he had diligently labour-
ed many years, not without great profit both of
Latin and Greek, at the last he fell into knowledge
acquaintance with William Tyndale, through
whose instructions he first received into his heart
the word of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York,
was to build a college in Oxford, marvellously
sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frides-
day, but now named Christ's-church, not so much
as (it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare
to learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory
known, and to leave a perpetual name unto
himself. But that building, he being cut off by
the stroke of death, (for he was sent for unto the
king, accused of certain crimes, and in the way, by
moderate purgations, killed himself,) was left
begun, partly half ended and imperfect, and

nothing else save only the kitchen was fully finish-
ed. Whereupon Rodulph Gualter, a learned man,
being then in Oxford, and beholding the college,
said these words in Latin: *Egregium opus, car-
dinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popu-
lum.* How large and ample those buildings should
have been, what sumptuous cost should have been
bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived
by that which is already builded, as the kitchen, the
hall, and certain chambers, where there is such
curious graving and workmanship of stone-cutters,
that all things on every side did glisten for the ex-
cellency of the workmanship, for the fineness of the
matter, with the gilt anticks and embossings; inso-
much that if all the rest had been finished to that
determinate end as it was begun, it might well have
excelled not only all colleges of students, but also
palaces of princes. This ambitious cardinal gather-
ed together into that college whatsoever excellent
thing there was in the whole realm, either vest-
ments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision
of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also
appointed unto that company all such men as were
found to excel in any kind of learning and know-
ledge; whose names to recite all in order would be
too long. The chief of them which were called
from Cambridge were these: Master Clerk, master
of arts, of thirty-four years of age; Master Frier,
afterwards doctor of physick, and after that a strong
papist; Master Sumner, master of arts; Master
Harman, master of arts, afterwards fellow of Eton
college, and after that a papist; Master Bettes,
master of arts, a good man and zealous, and so re-
mained; Master Cox, master of arts, who conveyed
himself away toward the north, and after was school-
master of Eton, and then chaplain to Doctor Good-
rich, bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to King
Henry, and, of late, bishop of Ely; John Frith,
bachelor of arts; Bayly, bachelor of arts; Good-
man, who being sick in the prison with the others,
was had out, and died in the town; Drumme, who
afterwards fell away and forsook the truth; Thomas
Lawney, chaplain of the house, prisoner with John
Frith.

To these join also Taverner of Boston, the good
musician, besides many other called also out of other
places, most picked young men, of grave judgment
and sharp wits; who, conferring together upon the
abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the
church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the
cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave
under the ground of the same college, where their
salt-fish was laid; so that, through the filthy stench
thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them,
taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon

the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

The troublers and examiners of these good men, were these : Dr. London ; Dr. Higdon, dean of the said college ; and Dr. Cottesford, commissary.

Master Clerk, Master Sumner, and Sir Bayly, eating nothing but salt-fish from February to the midst of August, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master Bettes, a witty man, having no books found in his chamber, through entreaty and surety got out of prison, and so remaining a space in the college, at last slipped away to Cambridge, and afterwards was chaplain to Queen Anne, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clerk's books under the boards in his school, yet the cardinal, for his music, excused him, saying that he was but a musician : and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford ; which Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, which bare then faggots, went over the sea, and after two years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading, (as is thought,) and had the prior over with him.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination ; where the simple man, which could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. After he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not, for all that, declare what he was, at the last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith, by and by, began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster, by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such a state and misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the Latin into the Greek, wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster towards him, that he brought him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad ; whereupon the

schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did show unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely dismissed out of the stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of Sir Thomas More, who, at the time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways of havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if a man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn, seeketh some place to hide him in. Thus fleeing from place to another, and often changing both his quarters and place, yet could he be in safety no place ; no, not long amongst his friends ; in the last, being traitorously taken, (as ye shall hear,) he was sent unto the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, especially in writing with Sir Thomas More.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and extent of doctrine, it may appear not only by his works, which he wrote of the sacrament, but also in that which he entitled Of Purgatory. In the quarrel he withstood the violence of three obstinate enemies ; that is to say, of Rochester, and Rastal, whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, beset and assailed against him. But he, as a Hercules, not against two only, but even with them all at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal to his part.

Besides all these commendations of this man, there was also in him a friendly and moderate moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with learned godliness ; which virtue hath always prevailed in the church of Christ, that, with all other good gifts of knowledge, be they what they will, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do much hurt. And would God that all things and places, were so free from all kinds of divisions, there were no mention made amongst the Catholics, Zuinglians and Lutherans, when neither Luther nor Luther died for us ; but that we might all be one in Christ. Neither do I think that more grievous could happen unto these words than their names so to be abused to sects and factions, which so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither do I here discover the part came nearest unto the truth, neither do I intermeddle in this matter, that I will do

on either part, but rather wish of God I
in either part unto the other.

Now, so far as we treat of the story of
Frith, I cannot choose, but must needs earn-
estly embrace the prudent and godly
action which was in that man, who, maintain-
ing a quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's
no less godly than learnedly, (and so as
in a manner had done it more learned-
ly,) yet he did it so moderately, with-
out contention, that he would never seem to
oppose the papists, except he had been driven
to of necessity. In all other matters, where
he did not move him to contend, he was ready
to do all things for quietness' sake, as his most
reason and answers did declare. For when
putting in a certain place upon the sacra-
ment against him the authority of Doctor
for the presence of the body and blood in
element, he answered unto More and his com-
pany that he would promise under this condition,
that the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be
as ratified, he would never speak more words
in that point they did both agree with him,
the sacrament was not to be worshipped; and
idolatry being taken away, he was content to
leave every man to judge of the sacrament, as God
put into their hearts: for then there remain-
ed no more poison, that any man ought or might be
of. Wherefore, if they did agree in that
was the chief point of the sacrament, they
easily accord and agree in the rest.

As much he wrote, in the treatise entitled *The*
of Barnes against More; which words of this
weak martyr of Christ, if they would take place
in the divisions and factions of these our
with great ease and little labour men might
ought to a unity in this controversy; and much
concord and love should be in the church, and
few offence given abroad than there is.

As to our story again of John Frith. After he
was sufficiently contended in his writings with
Rochester, and Rastal, More's son-in-law, he
was last carried to Lambeth, first before the bi-
shop of Canterbury, and afterward unto Croydon,
to the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause.
At all, he was called before the bishops, in a
public assembly at London, where he constantly
pleaded himself, if he might have been heard.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of
condemnation and the articles which were object-
ed against him, are comprised and set forth by him-
self in a letter written and sent unto his friends,
that he was prisoner in the Tower.

A letter of John Frith to his friends, concerning his
troubles; wherein, after he had first with a brief
preface saluted them, entering then into the mat-
ter, thus he writeth:—

"I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth some
deal vex you, to see the one part have all the words,
and freely to speak what they list, and the others to
be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently.
But refer your matters unto God, who shortly shall
judge after another fashion. In the mean time I
have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what
articles were objected against me, and what were
the principal points of my condemnation, that ye
might understand the matter certainly.

"The whole matter of this my examination was
comprehended in two special articles, that is to say,
Of Purgatory, and Of the Substance of the Sacra-
ment.

"And first of all, as touching purgatory, they in-
quired of me whether I did believe there was any
place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after
this life? But I said, that I thought there was no
such place: for man (said I) doth consist and is
made of two parts, that is to say, of the body and
the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this
world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon
every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly
oppression, persecution, imprisonment, &c. The last
of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon
us: but the soul is purged with the word of God,
which we receive through faith, to the salvation
both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a
third part of a man besides the body and the soul,
I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye
do call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this,
I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop
of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither
part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed
under pain of damnation, whether there be such a
purgatory or no?

"Secondly, They examined me touching the sa-
crament of the altar, whether it was the body of
Christ or no?

"I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's
body, and also our body, as St. Paul teacheth us in
1 Cor. x. 16. For in that it is made one bread of many
corns, it is called our body, which, being divers and
many members, are associate and gathered together
into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine,
which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and
is made into one liquor. But the same bread again,
in that it is broken, is the body Christ; declaring
his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to
redeem us from our iniquities.

"Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily are Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

"In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.

"Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No, (said I,) I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part, (which is the affirmative,) so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love; and one to bear another's infirmity.

"After this they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, 'He was carried in his own hands.'

"Whereunto I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he hath in another place, 'He was carried on as it were in his own hands:' which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet he, writing unto Boniface, doth plainly admonish all men, that the sacraments do represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves they do take their names. And therefore, according to this rule it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

"Then they alleged a place of Chrysostom, which, at the first blush, may seem to make much for them, who, in a certain Homily upon the supper, writeth thus: 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid; for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth or abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' &c.

"These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who, in another Homily, saith on this manner; 'The inward eyes,' saith he, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over

all creatures, and do not think of the bread baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. I saith, Dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes, as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him which is signified by the bread. And in like manner he seeth it, and again he seeth it as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes; with his inward eyes he seeth it not; that is, he regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not of it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we do any thing else negligently, we cannot be content to say, we see not what we do; not indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, we doth not attend unto that which the eyes do behold.

"In like manner may it be answered unto which followeth; 'Do they avoid from thee, as other meats do?' he, 'into the draught as other meats do?' I do not so say, for other meats, passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nutriment unto the body, be voided into the draught; but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourisheth both body and soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

"And as before I said that the external eyes behold the bread, which the inward eyes, otherwise occupied, do not behold or think of, even so our outward man doth digest the bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward man neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh of the thing itself that is signified by that bread. Therefore Chrysostom, a little before the place which they alleged, saith, 'Lift up your minds, O hearts:' whereby he admonisheth us to look upwards, and consider those heavenly things which are presented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine itself.

"Here they said, that was not Chrysostom's meaning, but that by this example he declared that there remained no bread nor wine. I answered, that was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to another purpose, but to call away our spiritual eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things that are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him which is signified unto us by the bread. The very words which follow, sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the text.

where he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes ; that is to say, spiritually.

"But whether Chrysostom's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way soever we do understand them. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remain, we have no further to travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do not remain, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falsely named sacraments and mysteries, which may be said in no place to be in the nature of things: that which is in no place, how can it be a sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, when we speak only of the outward forms and shapes, as we call them,) it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that they by the substance of the body are not consumed in any place: wherefore it must necessarily follow the words of Chrysostom to be understood in such sense as I have shewed.

"Here peradventure many would marvel, that for such as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament is separate from the articles of faith, and that no man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge for on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do condemn or deprecate the other, but that all love and charity be still maintained and kept in this dissension of opinions; what is the cause, why I would therefore so willingly die? The cause why I die is this: for that I do not agree with the divines and other head preachers, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not changed. Which thing if it were most true, I shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or doctors,) yet shall they bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it ever so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the Scripture and in other places, which we are not bound of conscience to believe as an article of faith. So it is that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I was accused of these things, and yet, for all that, I will not make it an article of faith, but that you may, without any danger of damnation, either believe it, or think it otherwise.

"As touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons do move me thereto: first, for that I do plainly see it

to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures, or of approved doctors. Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more than the necessary points of their creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth consist, especially such things, the belief whereof have no certain argument of authority or reason. I added moreover, that their church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us, under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles. Thirdly, because I will not, for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, which, altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion as I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Œcolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, which will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an article of faith."

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of John Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the twentieth day of June, A. D. 1533, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who, sitting in St. Paul's, on Friday the twentieth day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory, unto the said Frith, as is above declared; to the which when he had answered, and showed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterwards subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words: "I, Frith, thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published."

But when Frith by no means could be persuaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, *Fiat judicium et justitia*; he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him.

This sentence read, the bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of the aforesaid John Frith into their charge; who, being so delivered over unto them the fourth day of July, in the year aforesaid, was by them carried into

Smithfield to be burned. And when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death; for when the faggots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave, with his blood, a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back: but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow than to be careful for himself.

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his holy name! Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the bishop of London certified King Henry the Eighth of his worthy, yea, rather wolfish, proceeding against these men.

Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one Master Warren, a tailor in Watling Street. And as it happened that he went upon a holyday into Fleet Street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the king's tailor, at that present called Master Malte; and being suspected by the same Holt, which was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet Bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to show forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding the said Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest man, he had a file conveyed unto him, where-with he filed off his irons, and when he spied his time, he got out of the gate. But being a man unskilful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, which was a hypocrite, as Holt was. Which Withers, understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where he had to do, from Low Sunday till Whitsuntide, and then brought

him to London, to the house of one John Chapman in Hosier Lane beside Smithfield, and there left him by the space of two days.

Then he came to the said Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him. And when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good; and Holt, for his part, said that if he should bring any man in trouble, (as the voice was that he had done the said Andrew,) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up: insomuch that they would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat for their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out of their mouths to others. When they had supped, they went their ways, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, which was banished from his house by an injunction, for he had been four years in prison for Christ's cause. And within an hour after that Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one called Sergeant Weaver, came and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the before-named Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes which Sergeant Weaver had brought with him, and so carried them to the bishop's house: but Andrew Hewet they sent to the Lollard's Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder, watched by two priests' servants. The next day Bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, after they were examined with a few words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, for this threat, that he should tell another tale, if he should sit there till his heels did decay; and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber. By God's provision, he was well delivered from prison, albeit he could not enjoy his liberty, because of the bishop's injunction, but he sold all that he had in Essex; for the bishop's injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And John Chapman, after five weeks' imprisonment (three weeks he sat in the stocks,) by a writ made unto the lord chancellor, which at that time was Lord Audley, after many threatening delivered: but the said Andrew Hewet, after his long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to be burned with John Frith. The examination of Hewet here followeth.

On the twentieth day of the month of June, Andrew Hewet was brought before the court of the bishop of London, where was objected

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"So," saith he, "do not I believe." "Why not?" said the bishop. "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men, who say, Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord."

Then certain of the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." "Truly," saith he, "I am content therewithal." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions; whereunto he answered, that he would do as Frith did: whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them; but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore on the fourth day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Doctor Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog; at which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. These his words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

The history of the persecution and death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Dowel, alias Hoker.

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and, by order of degree, of the university there made master of arts, and, as some think, was also a priest; a man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore, thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the university, and went into Devonshire, A. D. 1524, and first dwelled in a market-town, named Torrington, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there; where, for the better maintenance of himself and his wife, he did practise to teach young children, and kept a school for the same purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year

there, he came to the city of Exeter; and there, hiring a house in a street called the Butcher Row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore, understanding that one William Strowd, esquire, of Newnham, in the county of Devonshire, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him; wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his being in the country, writing among other things these words: "Because I would not be a whorehouse, or an unclean person, therefore I married a woman with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, to escape the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."

But, as every tree and herb hath its due fruit, so did it appear by this. For he, daily seeing the glory of God to be blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he was not quiet till he did utter his mind. Wherefore, dealing privately with certain friends, he did plainly open and disclose his heart, and plainly and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, who were dearly bought, were, by blind guides, carried long to everlasting damnation: and therefore could no longer endure, but must needs, and did utter their abominations; and for his own part, the testimony of his conscience, and for the glory of God's true religion, would yield himself willingly (as near as God would give him leave) to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging that death should be more profitable to the glory of God, and for the edifying of his people, than to have yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and a faithful soldier to the end: which done, he

bestowing of such books as he had, and very after, in the month of October, he wrote his certain scrolls of paper, which, in secret, he set upon the doors of the cathedral of the city; in which was written, "The antichrist; and we ought to worship God and no saints."

When the bills were found, there was no small ado, a little search made for the inquiry of the that should set up these bills: and the and his officers were not so busy to make to find this heretic, but the bishop and all were as hot as coals, and enkindled as they had been stung with a sort of wasps. To keep the people in their former blindness, it was taken that the doctors should in to the pulpit every day, and confute this. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by sat down by two men, who were the busiest in the city in seeking and searching for this; and they, beholding this Benet, said the other, "Surely this fellow, by all likelihood, is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and good to examine him." Nevertheless, when he well beheld him, and saw the quiet and behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the sermons, his godliness in the church, being always seen in his book, which was a Testament in the tongue, they were astonished, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading his book. As touching this point of Benet's course in the church, I find the reports of some a little to vary, and yet not much contrary to the other. For in receiving the letters and charge of a certain minister, who at the same time was present at the doing hereof in Exeter, thus I moreover added, concerning the behaviour of Thomas Benet in the church:

At that time, saith he, as I remember, Dr. More-Crispin, Caseley, with such others, bare the charge there. Besides these, were also preachers, one Dr. Bascavild, an unlearned doctor, God send him: and one Dr. David, as well learned as he, a Grey Friar, and Doctor I-know-not-who, a Black Friar, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one bachelor of divinity, a Grey Friar named Gregory Basset, more learned indeed than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he was most; which Gregory, not long before, was revolted from the way of righteousness, to the way of Belial: for in Bristol, saith the author, he was in prison long, and was almost famished, for want of a book of Martin Luther, called his Ques-

tions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of youth a certain catechism. To be short, the brains of the canons and priests, the officers and commons of that city, were very earnestly busied, how, or by what means, such an enormous heretic, who had pricked up those bills, might be espied and known: but it was long first. At last, the priests found out a way to curse him, whatsoever he were, with a book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort:

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua, There is blasphemy in the army; and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious: and so concluded that that foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was, for that his blasphemy, damnably accursed; and besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a shearmen or two, whose houses, I well remember, were searched for bills at that time, and for books, that knew any thing of God's matters, or how God doth bless their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate thus:

The pope's curse, with book, bell, and candle.

"By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have,—in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John, our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, who serve God daily in this cathedral church,—fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he, or she, or they, plenarily, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Ac-

cursed may they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him, or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers, of the church; from the participation of the holy mass; from all sacraments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread and holy water; from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters; from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles): and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle); and let us pray to God and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and so he put out the third candle,) except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church: and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent." *

Now this fond foolish fantasy and mockery being done and played, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous; Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, and within himself, and for a great space could not cease; by which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he should so laugh. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast! With that there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or no. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies,

being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house; where he, being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the morning following, to set the said bills upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was setting one of the said bills upon a gate, called The little Stile, it chanced that one W. S., going to the cathedral church to hear a mass, called Barton's Mass, which was then daily said about five o'clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was, did charge him to be the heretic that had set up the bills upon the gates: wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to ward.

On the morrow began both the canons and the heads of the city joined with them, to fall to examination; with whom, for that day, he had not much communication, but confessed and said to them, "It was even I that put up those bills; and if it were to do, I would yet do it again; for in them I have written nothing but that is very truth." "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your antichrist the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but a word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, the matter of God hidden. But now I trust that your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened, and come to light; for God will so have it, and longer will suffer you."

The next day after, he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, called The shop's Prison, where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as a dog should find. Then the bishop, associating unto him Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and other of his clergy and friars, began to examine him and to him, that, contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. Whereunto he answered in a calm manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and silence his adversaries, but also brought to the great admiration of him; the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took

* So far is this horrible curse from being obsolete, that there are several yet more instinct with cursing in the Pontificale Romanum; a book in the possession of every Romish bishop

and priest, and embodying the formulas according to which they bless and curse at this day. Popery accommodates itself to circumstances, but never changes.

with him to persuade him from his erroneous
to recant and acknowledge his fault, touch-
bills; but they did but dig after day; for
appointed him to be a blessed witness of
name, and to be at defiance with all their
persuasions.

declare here with what cruelty the officers
his house for bills and books, how cruelly
they handled his wife, charging her
enormities, it were too long to write.
like a good woman, took all things pa-
that they did unto her; like as in other
she was contented to bear the cross with
to fare hardly with him at home, and to live
meat and drink, that they might be the
somewhat to help the poor, as they did
utmost of their power.

With all other priests and friars, Gregory
was most busy with him. This Gregory
as is partly touched before, was learned,
a pleasant tongue, and not long before was
from the truth, for the which he was im-
in Bristol a long time; at whose examina-
was ordained a great pan of fire, where his
brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced
burn his hands off: whereupon he there be-
recanted, and became afterwards a mortal
to the truth all his life. This Gregory, as
was fervent with the poor man, to please
of that church, and marvellously tor-
his brains, how to turn him from his opinions;
and he was so diligent and fervent with him,
he would not depart the prison, but lay there
and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour;
and Benet was at a point not to deny Christ before
So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers,
in spirit, insomuch that he said in open audience,
there never was so obstinate a heretic.

matter between Gregory Basset and Thomas
Benet.

the principal point between Basset and Benet
touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome,
in his bills he named antichrist, the thief, the
treasurer, and the murderer of Christ's flock: and
disputations lasted about eight days, where,
many times, repaired to him both the Black and
Friars, with priests and monks of that city.
that had some learning persuaded him to be-
the church, and showed by what tokens she is
na. The others unlearned railed, and said that
devil tempted him, and spat upon him, calling
heretic; who prayed God to give them a better
and to forgive them: "For," said he, "I
rather die, than worship such a beast, the very

whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly
doth appear by his doings." They asked, What he
did, that he had not power and authority to do, be-
ing God's vicar? "He doth," quoth he, "sell the
sacraments of the church for money, he selleth re-
missions of sins daily for money, and so do you like-
wise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses
for souls in feigned purgatory: yea, and ye spare
not to make lying sermons to the people, to main-
tain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole
world doth begin now to note your doings, to your
utter confusion and shame." "The shame," said
they, "shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou
foul heretic! Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy
church? what a perverse heretic art thou!" "I
am," said he, "no heretic, but a Christian man, I
thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all
things done and used in the church to the glory of
God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in
your church, but what maintaineth the devil."
"What is our church?" said they. "It is not my
church," quoth Benet, "God give me grace to be
of a better church, for verily your church is the
plain church of antichrist, the malignant church, the
second church, a den of thieves, and an awmbry of
poison, and as far wide from the true, universal, and
apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth."

"Dost not thou think," said they, "that we per-
tain to the universal church?" "Yes," quoth he,
"but as dead members, unto whom the church is
not beneficial; for your works are the devices of
man, and your church a weak foundation: for ye
say and preach that the pope's word is equal with
God's word in every degree." "Why," said they,
"did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give
the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" "He said
that," quoth he, "to all, as well as to Peter; and
Peter had no more authority given to him than they,
or else the churches planted in every kingdom by
their preaching are no churches. Dost not St.
Paul say, Upon the foundations of the apostles and
prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church
that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or
congregation, and not God's. And as every church
this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or
pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching
and administration of the sacraments under the
prince, the supreme governor under God, so, to say
that all the churches with their princes and govern-
ors be subject unto one bishop, is detestable heresy;
and the pope, your god, challenging this power to
himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in
the church, and the most foul whore; of whom John,
in the Revelation, speaketh."

"O thou blind and unlearned fool!" said they,

"is not the confession and consent of all the world, as we confess and consent—That the pope's Holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?" "That is," said Benet, "because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay." "We think," said they, "thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church." "Look!" said he, "where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ; and where only Christ is the Head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth:—of that church will I be!"

"Doth not the pope," said they, "confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?" "Yes," said he, "but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock." "And wilt thou not believe indeed," said they, "that the pope is God's vicar?" "No," said he, "indeed." "And why?" said they. "Because," quoth he, "he usurpeth a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles; and also because, by force of that usurped supremacy, he doth blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded." "What," said they, "if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment: should he then be his vicar?" "Then," said he, "would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in his diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no such seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom. And what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church." "And doth not," said they, "our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?" "Yea," said he, "I

think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also: but neither he nor you are the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, so that no man may read it but yourselves. And when ye preach, God knoweth how you handle it; in such manner that the people of Christ know no gospel well, but the pope's gospel; and so the blind are made blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ, confidence is none; but only in popish traditions and fantastical inventions."

Then said a Black Friar unto him, (God had made him a blockhead,) "Do we not preach the gospel of Christ?" "Yes," said he, "but what preaching of Christ is that, when therewith ye extol superstitions, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls of Rome, and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters; ye take yearly money of them, ye put them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them, yea, and do a thousand superstitious things, of which a man may be weary to speak of them." "I," said the friar, "that thou art a damned wretch, will have no more talk with thee."

Then stepped to him a Grey Friar, a doctor, (knoweth of small intelligence,) and laid before him great and many dangers. "I take God to reward me," said Benet, "my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, and of your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer bear; I had rather, by death, (which I know is far off,) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist, your pope." "Your pope," said the friar, "is the vicar of God, and his ways are the ways of God." "I pray you," said Benet, "depart from me, and tell not me of his ways. He is only my way, who saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In his way we walk, his doings shall be my example; not your way, nor your false pope's. His truth will I embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more given to vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you this day, everlasting death should hang over me, and no reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me: your company liketh me not."

Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet troubled and plagued by these and such other hypocrites. It was

the matter to declare all things done and
him in the time of his imprisonment; and
of the people that time, by means of ignor-
ance hot against him: notwithstanding they
never move his patience; he answered to
matter soberly, and that, more by the aid of
spirit, than by any worldly study. I think
at the least fifty years old. Being in prison,
he provided sustenance for him; and when
minded, he comforted her, and gave her many
and godly exhortations, and prayed her to
do nothing to apply unto his adversaries.

When these godly canons and priests, with
priests and friars, had done what they could,
perceived that he would by no means relent,
they, proceeding unto judgment, drew out
a sentence against him, condemning him,
in manner is, to be burned. Which being
and the writ which they had procured being
from London, they delivered him on the
of January, 1531, unto Sir Thomas Denis,
sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned. The
martyr, rejoicing that his end was approaching
as the sheep before the shearer, yielded
with all humbleness to abide and suffer the
of persecution. And being brought to his
place, in a place called Livery-dole, without
he made his most humble confession and
unto Almighty God, and requested all the
to do the like for him; whom he exhorted
with gravity and sobriety, and with such a
oration, to seek the true honouring of God,
the true knowledge of him; as also to leave
fancies, fantasies, and imaginations of man's in-
vention, that all the hearers and beholders of him
astonied and in great admiration; insomuch
the most part of the people, as also the scribe
wrote the sentence of condemnation against
and pronounce and confess that he was God's
man, and a good man.

Nevertheless two esquires, namely, Thomas Cam-
dell and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by
first with fair promises and goodly words, but
after through rough threatenings, willed him
to make his errors, and to call to our Lady and
saints, and to say, I pray holy Mary, and all
saints of God, &c. To whom, with all meek-
ness, he answered, saying, "No, no; it is God
upon whose name we must call; and we have
no other advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ,
who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand
of his Father, to be an advocate for us; and by
his merits we offer and make our prayers to God,
which will have them to take place and to be heard."
To which answer the aforesaid Barnehouse was

so enkindled, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike,
and having set it on fire, he thrust it unto his
face, saying, "Ah! whoreson heretic! pray to our
Lady, and say, Holy Mary, pray for us, or, by
God's wounds, I will make thee do it." To whom
the said Thomas Benet, with a humble and a meek
spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir! trouble
me not." And holding up his hands, he said,
"Father, forgive them." Whereupon the gentlemen
caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and
therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands
to heaven, saying, "O Lord, receive my spirit."
And so, continuing in his prayers, did never stir
nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of
the fire, until his life was ended. For this the
Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and
blessing, that at the latter day we may with him
enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for
the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a jerkin of neat's
leather; at whose burning, such was the devilish
rage of the blind people, that well was he or she
that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

Hitherto we have run over, good reader, the
names and the acts and doings of them, which have
sustained death, and the torment of burning, for
Christ's cause, through the rigorous proclamation
above specified, set out, as is said, in the name of
King Henry, but indeed procured by the bishops.
Which proclamation was so straitly looked upon,
and executed so to the uttermost in every point, by
the said popish prelates, that no good man that
breathed, whereof Esdras speaketh, could peep out
with his head ever so little, but he was caught by
the back, and brought either to the fire, as were
these above mentioned; or else compelled to ab-
jure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as
well men as women; whose names, if they were
sought out through all registers in England, no
doubt it would make too long a discourse. Never-
theless, omitting the rest, it shall content us at this
present, briefly, as in a short table, to insinuate
the names, with the special articles, of such as, in
the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley,
were molested and vexed, and, at the last, compelled
to abjure, as here may appear.

*A table of certain persons, abjured within the
diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley,
with the articles alleged against them.*

Jeffery Lome, A. D. 1528.

Imprimis, for having and dispersing sundry books
of Martin Luther's, as also for translating into the

English tongue certain chapters of the work of Luther, *De Bonis Operibus*: as also, certain chapters of a certain book called *Piæ Predicationes*, wherein divers works of Luther be comprehended.

Item, For affirming and believing that faith only, without good works, will bring a man to heaven.

Item, That men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the church.

Item, That we should pray to God only, and to no saints.

Item, That Christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

Item, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's soul, and should not be used.

Item, That we should not offer to images in the church, nor set any lights before them.

Item, That no man is bound to keep any manner of fasting days, instituted at the church.

Item, That pardons granted by the pope or the bishop do not profit a man.

For these articles Jeffery Lome was abjured before the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln; no mention being made of any penance enjoined him.

Sigar Nicholson, stationer, of Cambridge,
A. D. 1528.

His articles were like; and moreover for having in his house certain books of Luther, and other prohibited, and not presenting them to the ordinary. The handling of this man was too, too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up in such a manner as well suffereth not to be named.

John Raimund, a Dutchman, A. D. 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.

Paul Luther, Grey Friar, and warden of the house at Ware, A. D. 1529.

His articles were for preaching and saying that it is pity that there be so many images suffered in so many places, where indiscreet and unlearned people be; for they make their prayers and oblations so entirely and heartily before the image, that they believe it to be the very self saint in heaven.

Item, That if he knew his father and mother were in heaven, he would count them as good as St. Peter and Paul, but for the pain they suffered for Christ's sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no saint; for saints in heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in

this world, than a man in the north country knoweth what is done in the south country.

Roger Whaplod, merchant tailor, sent, by Thomas Norfolk, unto Dr. Goderidge, the following, to be read at his sermon in the church, A. D. 1529.

"If there be any well-disposed person who will do any cost upon the reparation of the church in Fleet Street, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and chattels of one Richard Hun, late merchant tailor of London, which was intestate, or else to me, and they shall have of the same six pounds thirteen shillings and six pence, and a better penny, of the goods of Richard Hun; upon whose soul, and all Christian souls, Jesus have mercy!"

For the which bill, both Whaplod and Hun were brought and troubled before the bishop, and also Dr. Goderidge, which took a groat for reading the said bill, was suspended for a time from preaching the mass, and also was forced to revoke the sentence at Paul's Cross; reading this bill as followeth.

The revocation of Dr. William Goderidge, at Paul's Cross.

"Masters! so it is, that where in my late sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Tuesday in Easter last past, I did pray specially for the soul of Richard Hun, late of London, merchant tailor, a heretic, the laws of holy church justly condemned: by the which whereof I greatly offended God and his church, the laws of the same, for which I have submitted me to my ordinary, and done penance thereforasmuch as, peradventure, the audience that there offended by my said words, might take occasion thereby to think that I did favour the heretic, or any other, I desire you, at the instance of Almighty God, to forgive me, and not so to take of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore, before God and you, I declare myself that I am not favoured him or any other heretic, nor here intend to do, but at all times shall defend the catholic faith of holy church, according to my profession, to the best of my power.

Robert West, priest, A. D. 1529.

Abjured for books and opinions contrary to the proclamation.

Nicholas White of Rye, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—For speaking against the priests saying of matins; against praying for them that are dead; against praying to God for small trifles, for the cow calving, the hen hatching, &c.: for spe-

ing against the relic of St. Peter's finger; against oblations to images; against vowing of pilgrimage; against priesthood; against holy bread and holy water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, priest, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—That pardons granted by the pope are naught, and that men should put no trust in them, but only in the passion of Christ: that he, being led by the words of the gospel, in Matt. vii., concerning the broad and narrow way, and also by the epistle of the mass, beginning, *Vir fortissimus Judas*, had erred in the way of the pope, and thought, that there were but two ways, and no purgatory: that men ought to worship no images, nor set up lights before them: that pilgrimage doth nothing avail: that the gospel was not truly preached for the space of three hundred years past, &c.

William Wegen, priest at St. Mary Hill, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—That he was not bound to say his mass nor other service, but to sing with the choir as they came to prime; and then, saying no more twice, thought he might well go to mass: that he said mass oftentimes, and had not said his mass and his divine service before: that he had gone without confession made to a priest: that it was sufficient for a man, being in deadly sin, to ask God mercy for his sin, without further confession made to a priest: that he held against pilgrimage and called images, stocks, stones, and witches. That he being sick, went to the Rood of Margaret Patens; and said before him twenty prayers; and when he saw himself never the better, then he said, "A foul evil take him, and all his images."

That if a man keep a good tongue in his mouth, he fasteth well.

For commending Luther to be a good man, preaching twice a day, &c.

For saying that the mass was but a ceremony made to the intent that men should pray

For saying, that if a man had a pair of shoes or a book in his hand at the church, and were used to pray, it was naught, &c.

Hale, holy water clerk of Tolenham, A. D. 1529.

His articles:—That offering of money and candles did not avail, since we are justified by the blood of Christ.

For speaking against worshipping of saints, and the pope's pardons. For saying, that

since the sacraments that the priest doth minister be as good as they which the pope doth minister, he did not see but the priest hath as good authority as the pope.

Item, That a man should confess himself to God only, and not to a priest, &c.

William Blomfield, monk of Bury.

Abjured for the like causes.

John Tyndale, A. D. 1530.

For sending five marks to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain letters from his brother.

William Worsley, priest and hermit, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—For preaching at Halestede, having the curate's licence, but not the bishop's.

Item, For preaching these words, "No man riding on pilgrimage, having under him a soft saddle, and an easy horse, should have any merit thereby, but the horse and the saddle," &c.

Item, For saying that hearing of matins and mass is not the thing that shall save a man's soul, but only to hear the word of God.

John Stacy, tiler, A. D. 1530.

His articles were against purgatory, which, he said, to be but a device of the priests to get money: against fasting days by man's prescription, and choice of meats: against superfluous holy days: Item, against pilgrimage, &c.

Lawrence Maxwell, tailor, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood; but that he received him by the word of God, and in remembrance of Christ's passion.

Item, That the order of priesthood is no sacrament: that there is no purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curson, monk of Eastacre, in Norfolk, A. D. 1530.

His articles were these:—For going out of the monastery, and changing his weed, and letting his crown to grow; working abroad for his living, making copes and vestments. Also for having the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and another book containing certain books of the Old Testament, translated into English, by certain whom the papists call Lutherans.

Thomas Cornewell or Austy, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—It was objected, that he, being enjoined afore, by Richard Fitzjames, bishop of Lon-

don, for his penance to wear a faggot embroidered upon his sleeve under pain of relapse, he kept not the same; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual custody in the house of St. Bartholomew, from whence afterwards he escaped and fled away.

Thomas Philip, A. D. 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by Sir Thomas More, to Bishop Stokesley by indenture. Besides other articles of purgatory, images, the sacrament of the altar, holy-days, keeping of books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracy's Testament; and in his chamber in the Tower was found cheese and butter in Lent-time. Also, that he had a letter delivered unto him going to the Tower. Which letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only Tracy's Testament, and his butter in Lent. One Stacy first bare witness against him, but after, in the court, openly he protested that he did it for fear. The bishop then willing him to submit himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy church, he said "he would:" and when the form of his abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said, He would appeal to the king as supreme head of the church, and so did. Still the bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, That he would be obedient as a Christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any heresy during his life, nor to favour any heretics.

But the bishop, not yet content, would have him to read the abjuration after the form of the church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, that he would forswear all heresies, and that he would maintain no heresies, nor favour any heretics. The bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the abjuration formed after the pope's church: to whom he said, If it were the same abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but stand to his appeal made to the king, the supreme head of the church under God. Again the bishop asked him, if he would abjure or not. "Except," said he, "you will show me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeal;" and he required the bishop to obey the same. Then the bishop, reading openly

the bill of excommunication against him, desired him for contumax, and an excommunicated charging all men to have no company, and to do with him. After this excommunication became of him, whether he was holpen by peal, or whether he was burned, or whether in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the registers.

A letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

"The favour of him that is able to keep you from you fall not, and to confess your name in the name of glory, and to give you strength by his name to confess him before all his adversaries, for ever. Amen.

"Sir, the brethren think that there be diverse brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek their freedom in the Lord, that they may deliver them to the Lord's adversaries, as they say they have done you. Wherefore, if so it be that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, the brethren, desire you above all things to be true and fast in the Lord's verity, without fear; for he will be your help, according to his promise, so that they shall not diminish the least hair of your head without his will; unto the which submit yourself and rejoice: for the Lord will show you how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished: and therefore cast all care on him, for he careth for you. And in all you suffer as a Christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorify God on that behalf; Looking unto Christ the author and finisher of our faith, who for the joy that was set before him, abode the shame, and despised the shame. Notwithstanding, though we suffer the wrong after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but reproveth him that smote him wrongfully. And so like saith St. Paul also. So that we must not suffer wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore, according both to God's law and man's, you are not bound to make answer in any cause, till your accusers come before you; which if you require and thereon do stick, the false brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a mean that they shall not craftily, by questions take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in Acts xx. it is written, It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that be shew

perish, before that he which is accused have his accusers before him, and have licence to answer for himself, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused. And also Christ willeth that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stand. And in 1 Tim. v. 19, it is written, Against a senior receive none accusation, but under two or three witnesses. A senior, in this place, is any man that hath a house to govern. And also their own law is agreeable to this. Wherefore, seeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accusations such witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of grace, which hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and establish you, that to him may be glory and praise ever. Amen."

Thus ye have heard the letter delivered to Thomas Tracy. Now followeth the testament of William Tracy.

A little before this time, William Tracy, a wealthy esquire in Gloucestershire, and then dwelling in Toddington, made, in his will, that he would have no funeral pomp at his burying, neither pass upon mass; and he further said, that he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, not by any saint. This gentleman died, and his executor, brought the will to the bishop of Exeter to prove: which he showed to the bishop, and there most cruelly they judged he should be taken out of the ground, and be burnt as a heretic, A. D. 1532. This commission was sent to Dr. Parker, chancellor of the diocese of Exeter, to execute their wicked sentence; which he did the same. The king, hearing his will should be taken out of the ground and burned, by his knowledge or order of his law, sent his chancellor, and laid high offence to him, who excused himself by the archbishop of York which was lately dead; but in conclusion he gave him three hundred pounds to have his

will and testament of this gentleman, thus proved by the clergy, was as hereunder fol-

loweth. In the name of God, Amen. I, William Tracy, knight in the county of Gloucester, esquire, make this testament and last will as hereafter followeth, and before all other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any mistrust, that by his grace, and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his blood and of his resurrection, I have and shall

have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.

"And touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient, (as I suppose,) without any other man's works or merits. My ground and belief is, that there is but one God and one Mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in heaven or in earth to be mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all others to be but as petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace: and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promises of Christ: He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.

"As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; for St. Augustine saith, concerning the respect due to the dead, that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead: and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

"As touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat, &c. And it followeth, That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me, &c. And ever we should consider that true saying, that a good work maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth by faith, and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sin, &c.

"And all my temporal goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and Richard my son, whom I make mine executors. Witness hereof mine own hand the tenth of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth."

This is the true copy of his will, for which, (as you heard before,) after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

The table continued.

John Periman, skinner, A. D. 1531.

His articles were much like unto the others before; adding, moreover, that all the preachers then at Paul's Cross preached nothing but lies and flatterings, and that there was never a true preacher but one; naming Edward Crome.

Robert Goldstone, glazier, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That men should pray to God only, and to no saints: that pilgrimage is not profitable: that men should give no worship to images. Item, for saying, that if he had as much power as any cardinal had, he would destroy all the images that were in all the churches in England.

Lawrence Staple, serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For having the Testament in English, the five books of Moses, the Practice of Prelates, the Sum of Scripture, the A. B. C.

Item, About the burning of Bainham, for saying, "I would I were with Bainham, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me."

Item, That he moved Henry Tomson to learn to read the New Testament, calling it The Blood of Christ.

Item, In Lent past, when he had no fish, he did eat eggs, butter, and cheese. Also, about six weeks before Master Bilney was attached, the said Bilney delivered to him at Greenwich four New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, which he had in his sleeve, and a budget besides of books, which budget he, shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto Bilney, &c.

Item, On Fridays he used to eat eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Henry Tomson, tailor, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That which the priest lifteth over his head at the sacring-time, is not the very body of Christ, nor is it God; but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor Tomson, although at the first he submitted himself to the bishop, yet they with sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell, of Cologne, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That he cared not for going to the church to hear mass, for he could say mass as well as the priest: That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear mass, he

said, he had as lieve go to the gallows, where the thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. Margaret Patens, and there holding his arms across, he said unto the people, that he could make as good a knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

Robert Man, serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—There is no purgatory: That the pope hath no more power to grant pardon than another simple priest: That God gave no more authority to St. Peter than to another priest: That the pope was a knave, and his priests knaves all, for suffering his pardons to go abroad to deceive the people: That St. Thomas of Canterbury is no saint: That St. Peter was never pope of Rome.

Item, He used commonly to ask of priests when he came, whether a man were accursed, if he handled a chalice, or no? If the priest would say Yea: then would he reply again thus; "If I have a sheep-skin on his hands," meaning a pair of gloves, "he may handle it." The priests say Yea. "Well then," quoth he, "ye will make me believe, that God put more virtue in a sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian man's hand, for whom he died."

Henry Feldon, A. D. 1531.

His trouble was for having these books in English: A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Dialogue of Mark, a written book containing the Ten Commandments, and The Creed, in English; The Ten Commandments, and The Sixteen Commandments of Charity.

Robert Cooper, priest, A. D. 1531.

His article was only this:—For saying the blessing with a shoe-sole, is as good as the blessing with a shoe-sole, &c.

Thomas Roe, A. D. 1531.

His articles were, for speaking against auricular confession and priestly penance, and against preaching of the doctors.

William Wallam, A. D. 1531.

His opinion: That the sacrament of the Eucharist is not the body of Christ in flesh and blood; but there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood in the form of bread.

Grace Palmer, A. D. 1531.

Witness was brought against her by her neighbours, John Rouse, Agnes his wife, John St. Osithe's, for saying, "Ye use to bear

day: it skilleth not whether you bear any
it is but a thing used, and need not."

"Ye use to go on pilgrimage to our Lady
of Walsingham and other places: ye
tarry at home, and give money to suc-
ce and my children, and other of my poor
ours, than to go thither; for there you shall
a piece of timber painted: there is neither
Lady.

For repenting that she did ever light can-
dles before images.

That the sacrament of the altar is not the
Christ; it is but bread, which the priest
showeth for a token or remembrance of Christ's

Philip Brasier, of Boxted, A. D. 1531.

Articles:—That the sacrament holden up be-
fore the priest's hands is not the body of Christ,
and is done for a signification: That
men to a priest needeth not: That images be
of gold and stones: That pilgrimage is vain:
praying, that when there is any miracle done,
they do anoint the images, and make men be-
lieve that the images do sweat in labouring for them;
that the offerings the priests find their harlots.

Fairstede, of Colchester, A. D. 1531.

Articles:—For words spoken against pilgrim-
age and images. Also for saying these words, "That
ye should come that men should say, Cursed
be they that make these false gods" (meaning
the images).

John Bull, of Much Hadham, draper, A. D. 1531.

Articles:—That there be three confessions;
the first to God; another to his neighbour whom
he hath offended; and the third to a priest; and
without the two first confessions, to God and
his neighbour, a man could not be saved. The
confession to a priest, is necessary for counsel
to the ignorant and unlearned, to learn how to
make their confession with a contrite heart unto God,
how to hope for forgiveness; and also in what
manner they should ask forgiveness of their neighbour
whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that
John was a good man. Item, That he reported,
that the credence and report of Master Patmore,
parson of Hadham, that where Wickliff's bones
were burnt, sprang up a well or well-spring.

John Haymond, millwright, A. D. 1531.

Articles:—For speaking and holding against
pilgrimage and images, and against prescribed fast-
days.

That priests and religious men, notwithstanding
their vows made, may lawfully forsake their vows
and marry.

Item, For having books of Luther and Tyndale.

Robert Lambe, a harper, A. D. 1531.

His article:—For that he, standing accused two
years together, and not fearing the censures of the
pope's church, went about with a song in commend-
ation of Martin Luther.

John Hewes, draper, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For speaking against purgatory,
and Thomas Becket.

Item, At the town of Farnham, he, seeing Edward
Frensham kneeling in the street to a cross carried be-
fore a corse, asked, To whom he kneeled? He said,
To his Maker. "Thou art a fool," said he, "it is not
thy Maker; it is but a piece of copper or wood," &c.

Item, For these words, "Masters! ye use to go
on pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon
your poor neighbours, who lack succour," &c.

Also for saying, that he heard the vicar of Croy-
don thus preach openly, That there was much im-
morality kept up by going on pilgrimage to Wilsdon
or Mouswell, &c.

Thomas Patmore, draper, A. D. 1531.

This Patmore was brother to Master Patmore,
parson of Hadham, who was imprisoned in the Lol-
lards' Tower for marrying a priest, and in the same
prison continued three years.

This Patmore was accused by divers witnesses,
upon these articles:

That he had as lieve pray to yonder hunter (point-
ing to a man painted there in a stained cloth) for a
piece of flesh, as pray to stocks that stand in walls
(meaning images).

Item, That men should not pray to saints, but to
God only: "For why should we pray to saints?"
said he, "they are but blocks and stocks."

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept
from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a tree wherein stood an image,
he took away the wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it
was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after
he was dead.

Also in talk with the curate of St. Peter's, he de-
fended that priests might marry.

This Patmore had long hold with the bishop of
London. First, he would not swear, *Infamia non
precedente*. Then he would appeal to the king:
but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the
bishop's nets, that he could not get out: but at last

he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the king a hundred pounds.

Note in the communication between this Patmore and the priest of St. Peter's, that whereas the priest objected against him (as is in the register) that priests have lived unmarried and without wives these fifteen hundred years in the church; he, and all other such priests, therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in these volumes, that priests here in England had wives by law within these five hundred years and less.

Simon Smith, master of arts, of Gunwell-hall, Cambridge, and Joan Bennore his wife, A. D. 1531.

This Simon Smith, and Bennore his wife, were the parties whom Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, above mentioned, did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual prison. For the which marriage, both the said Simon, and Bennore his wife, were called to examination before the bishop, and he caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how and where he married; then, after his marriage, how long he tarried; whether he went beyond sea; where he was, and with whom; after his return whither he resorted; how he lived; what mercery-ware he occupied; what fairs he frequented; where he left his wife; how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how she was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their register. And though they could fasten no other crime of heresy upon him, but only his marriage, yet, calling both him and her (being great with child) to examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer penance.

Thomas Patmore, parson of Hadham, A. D. 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the parsonage of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of Tonstal his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more; behaving himself in life and conversation without any public blame or reproach; until John Stokesley was preferred unto the said bishopric, who, not very long after his installing, either for malice not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the benefice, (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the king, as also unto Queen Anne, then marchioness of Pembroke,) caused him to be attached and brought before him; and then, keeping him prisoner in his own palace, a certain time afterwards committed

him to Lollard's Tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years, without fire or candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him; not suffering any of them, notwithstanding, to come unto him, no, not in his sickness. Howbeit sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially either before himself, or else his vicar-general Foxford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry articles, viz. first, whether he had been at Wittenberg; secondly, and had seen or talked with Luther; thirdly, or with any Englishman, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what books he bought there, either Latin or English; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of Luther, Ecolampadius, Pomerane, or Melancthon.

Besides these, he ministered also other articles unto him, touching the marriage of Master Smith (before mentioned) with one Joan Bennore, charging him that he both knew of and also consented unto their marriage, the one being a priest and his curate, and the other his maid-servant; that he had persuaded his maid-servant to marry with his said curate, alleging unto her, that that it were not lawful in England for priests to marry, yet it was, in other countries beyond seas. That after their said marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said Smith to minister his cure all Easter-time, and fifteen days after that at their departure out of England, he was with them at the Bell in New Fish Street; and again, at their return into England, did meet at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said Smith a priest's gown.

He objected, moreover, against him in these articles, that he had affirmed at Cambridge, first, that he did not set a bottle of hay by the pope's shop's curse; secondly, and that God binds impossible things, that he may save us on any mercy; also thirdly, that though young children be baptized, yet they cannot be saved except they have faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against the law to burn heretics.

Unto these articles, after long imprisonment, and great threats of the bishop and his vicar, he answered, making first his appeal unto God, wherein he showed, that forasmuch as he had most unjustly, and contrary to all divine law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with these articles of heresy, without having any just proof or demonstration thereof; as also, contrary to the law, keeping him in most strait prison, so that he was in great sickness taken thereby, as especially to

grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the word of God and his sacraments as he would); and then, to minister unto him such articles, mingled with interrogatories, as neither touched any heresy nor transgression of any law, but rather showing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alleged, was compelled, and did, appeal from him and all his officers unto the king's Majesty, whom, under God, he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not show himself obstinate against the bishop, being his ordinary, (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceeding against him,) he was nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this his answer: First, that howsoever the bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not publicly named among good and grave men, according to which he was not, by the law, bound to answer to any of those articles.

And as touching the first six articles, (as whether he was at Wittenberg, and spake with Luther, or other, or bought or read any of their books,) because none of those things were forbidden by any law, neither was he publicly accused of any; (for that it was permitted to many good men to do them,) he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith with Joan Bennet, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master Smith; but, that he gave his counsel thereunto, he utterly denied. And as touching the contracting of the marriage between them, he thought it not at all against God's law, for that the first creation made marriage lawful for all: neither thought he it unlawful for him, to be present at their marriage, either to keep him as his curate, or to lend or give him any thing needful; for he said he showed more charity than the priests, who had taken all things from them); and he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that priests' marriages were not lawful.

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contrary by the Scriptures, but that a priest might marry a wife; howbeit, by the laws of the church, he thought that a priest might not marry. But the chancellor still so urged him to show whether a priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that priests might not marry without offence to God, because the church had forbidden it, and therefore a priest could not marry without deadly sin.

Now as touching the four last articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might perhaps jestingly say, That a bottle of hay were more profitable to him than the pope's curse, which he thought true. Also to the second, he affirmed that God had set before us, by his precepts and commandments, the way to righteousness, which way was not in man's power to go and keep; therefore Paul saith, Gal. iii. 19, that the law was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator; but yet, to fulfil it, it was in the hand, that is, power, of the Mediator. That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the law; for it was in no man's power to observe it: but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodness of God; according to the psalm, Praise the Lord, all ye nations; and according to the saying of Paul, that he that glorieth may glory in the Lord; who hath sent his Son to do for us that which it was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we ourselves could have done, that is to say, fulfil the law. As for the third, he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptized without faith; which faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given to infants? To the last he said, that if he spake it, he meant it not of those that St. Bernard called heretics, (with more adulterers, thieves, murderers, and other open sinners, who blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good, making light darkness, and darkness light,) but he meant it of such as men call heretics, according to the testimony of St. Paul, Acts xxiv. 14, I live after the way, saith he, that men call heresy, whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.

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After these answers thus made, the bishop, with his persecuting Foxford, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was fain, through human infirmity, to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwards made such suit unto the king, (by means

of the queen,) that after three years' imprisonment, he was both released out of prison, and also obtained of the king a commission unto the Lord Audley, being then lord chancellor, and to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Cromwell, then secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the bishop and his chancellor against the said Patmore, notwithstanding his appeal unto the king; and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said Patmore again unto his said benefice. But what was the end and issue of this commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, book-binder, a Frenchman, A. D. 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penance, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, A. D. 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.

W. Nelson, priest, A. D. 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of Periman certain books of Luther, Tyndale, Thorp, &c., and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the king's proclamation, for which he was abjured. He was priest at Leith.

Thomas Eve, weaver, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That the sacrament of the altar is but a memory of Christ's passion. That men were fools to go on pilgrimage, or to set any candle before images. Item, It is as good to set up staves before the sepulchre, as to set up tapers of wax. That priests might have wives.

Robert Hudson of St. Sepulchre's, A. D. 1531.

His article:—On Childermas-day (saith the register) he offered in Paul's church at offering-time, to the child bishop (called St. Nicholas) a dog for devotion, (as he said,) and meant no hurt; for he thought to have offered a halfpenny, or else the dog, and thought the dog to be better than a halfpenny, and the dog should raise some profit to the child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth dog, &c.

Edward Hewet, serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His crime:—That after the king's proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in English; also the book of John Frith against purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, servant, A. D. 1531.

His article:—That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these books; The Testament in English, The Sum of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in English, hidden in his bed-straw at Worcester.

Michael Loble, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That he, being at Antwerp, bought certain books inhibited, as The Revelation of Antichrist, The Obedience of a Christian Man, The Wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, For speaking against images and purgatory. Item, For saying, that Bilney was a good man, and died a good man, because of a bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A boy of Colchester, A. D. 1531.

A boy of Colchester, or Norfolk, brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of books, about four before the said Bayfield was taken; for which lad was taken, and laid in the Compter by More, chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, tailor, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That he lodged oftentimes in house Richard Bayfield, and other good men: he received his books into his house, and used reading in the New Testament: he had also Testament of William Tracy: he believed there was no purgatory.

William Lincoln, prentice, A. D. 1532.

His articles:—For having and receiving from beyond the sea, of Tyndale, Frith, and others. Item, He doubted, whether there any purgatory; whether it were well done to candles to saints, to go on pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel, of Boxted, A. D. 1532.

His heresy was this:—For having and the New Testament in English, the Psalter in English, and the book called A B C.

John Medwel, servant to Master Carket,

This Medwel lay in prison twenty-four till he was almost lame. His heresies—That he doubted whether there was any purgatory. He would not trust in pardons, in the promises of Christ. He doubted of the merits of any but only of Christ did. He doubted whether pilgrimages, and candles to images, were meritorious

that he should not put his trust in any saint. He had in his custody, the New Testament in Latin, the Examination of Thorp, The Wicked Man, a book of Matrimony.

Robert Fulman, servant to a goldsmith, A. D. 1532.

A young man was attached, for receiving certificates at Antwerp of George Constantine, and bringing them over into England, and selling to sundry persons, being books prohibited by excommunication. Item, He thought then those books had been good, and that he had been in error many times past.

Margaret Bowgas, A. D. 1532.

Heresies were these:—Being asked if she would go on pilgrimage, she said, "I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or other saint; and as for them, they shall do me, if they will," &c. Then Richard Foxe, parson of Milend, by Colchester, asked her if she said her Ave Maria. "I say," said she, "I say Mary, but I will say no further." Then he, if she left not those opinions, she would be a faggot. "If I do, better, then, I shall," she, adding moreover, "that she would not go to die there-for:" to whom the priest replied and said, She would be burned. Here Margaret, again replying, asked the priest, "made martyrs?" "Tyrants," quoth the priest, "make martyrs, for they put martyrs to death." "So they shall, or may, me," quoth Margaret. At length, with much ado, and great persuasion, she gave over to Foxford, the chancellor, and submitted herself.

John Tyrel, an Irishman, of Billerica, tailor.

His articles were these:—That the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ, but only a piece of bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that heresy, he answered he said, that about three weeks before Midsummer last, he heard Master Hugh Latimer preach at St. Mary, Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and do their pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Master Latimer in his sermon did set at little the sacrament of the altar.

William Lancaster, tailor, A. D. 1532.

The case laid to this man was, that he had in his possession the book of Wickliff's Wicket. Item, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, not to be the body of

Christ really, &c. Item, Upon the day of Assumption, he said, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the sacrament of the altar.

Robert Topley, friar, A. D. 1532.

His articles:—He being a Friar Augustine of Stoke-clare, forsook his habit, and going in a secular man's weed ten years, married a wife, called Margaret Nixon, having by her a child; and afterwards, being brought before the bishop, he was by him abjured, and condemned to be imprisoned in his former monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his wife again.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Friar, at Stoke-clare.

By the occasion of this Robert Topley aforesaid, place is offered to speak something likewise of Thomas Topley, his brother belike, and also a friar of the same order and house of Stoke-clare. This Thomas Topley had been converted before by one Richard Foxe, priest of Bumstead, and Miles Coverdale, insomuch that he, being induced, partly by them, partly by reading certain books, cast off both his order and habit, and went like a secular priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to Cuthbert, bishop of London, A. D. 1528, before whom he made this confession as followeth:

"All Christian men, beware of consenting to Erasmus's Fables, for by consenting to them, they have caused me to shrink in my faith, that I promised to God at my christening by my witnesses. First, as touching these Fables, I read in Colloquium, by the instruction of Sir Richard Foxe, of certain pilgrims, which, as the book doth say, made a vow to go to St. James, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute St. James in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his wife and his children; and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed that he was in heaven, and yet he said that he was a great liar. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from devotion to saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine service of them was very good, and is; though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such fables, and also because of other foolish pastimes; as dancing, tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuneed thus, about half a year ago, that the said Sir Richard went forth, and desired me to serve his cure for him; and as I was in his chamber, I found a certain book called Wickliff's

Wicket, whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterwards, also, when I remembered it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless, I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon St. Anthony's day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said book, (which did make the sacrament of Christ's body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christ's passion,) till I heard Sir Miles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawn from that blessed sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ's body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, for because I have not been stedfast in that holy order that God hath called me unto by baptism, neither in the holy order that God and St. Augustine have called me to by my religion," &c.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with Sir Miles Coverdale, late friar of the same order, going in the habit of a secular priest, which had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus's works, and also upon confession. The which Sir Miles said, and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a priest; which opinion this respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he saith, that at the said sermon, made by the said Sir Miles Coverdale at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of images in the church, saying and preaching, that men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardiner, Augustine Friar, of Clare.

With this Topley I may also join William Gardiner, one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise, by the motion of the said Richard Foxe, curate of Bumstead, and by showing him certain books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was for the same abjured by Cuthbert, bishop, the same year, 1528.

Richard Johnson, of Boxted, and Alice his wife.

This Richard and his wife were favourers of God's word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from Salisbury to Boxted by reason of persecution, where they continued a good space. At length, by resort of good men, they began to be suspected, and especially for a book of Wickliff's Wicket, which was in their house, they

were convented before Stokesley, bishop of London, and there abjured.

So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them which during those bitter days, before the coming in of Queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. Such decrees and injunctions then were set forth by the bishops, such laws and proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of oath to make one detect another so subtilly, that scarcely any good man could or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased, in such sort as our story also almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these:

Arthur and Gefferey Lome.

John Tibauld, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.

Edmund Tibauld, and his wife.

Henry Butcher, and his wife.

William Butcher, and his wife.

George Preston, and his wife.

Joan Smith, widow; also her sons Robert

Richard, and her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth.

Robert Hempsteed, and his wife.

Thomas Hempsteed, and his wife.

John Hempsteed, their son.

Robert Faire.

William Chatwals.

Joan Smith, widow, otherwise called Agnes; also her sons John, Thomas, and Christopher, and her daughters Joan and Alice.

John Wiggen.

Nicholas Holden's wife.

Alice Shipwright.

Henry Brown.

John Craneford.

All these were of the town of Bumstead, being detected by Sir Richard Foxe, then bishop of London, and all put together in prison to the number of thirty-five, to be abjured by the said bishop.

Moreover, in other towns about Suffolk and Essex, others also were detected, as in the town of Bybrook, these following :

Isabel Choote, widow ; also her sons John, William, Christopher, and Robert ; her daughter Margaret, and Katharine her maid.

Thomas Choote, and his wife.

Harvie, and his wife.

Thomas, his son.

Agnes, his daughter.

Bateman, and his wife.

John Smith, and his wife.

Thomas Butcher, and his wife.

Robert Catlin, a spoon-maker.

Christmas, and his wife.

William Bechwith, his wife and his two sons.

John Pickas, and his wife.

William Pickas, his brother.

Girling, his wife and his daughter.

Matthew's wife.

Johnson, his wife and his son.

Thomas Hills.

Roger Tanner.

Christopher Raven, and his wife.

John Chapman, his servant.

Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to John Chapman.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and led them to his house, as Thomas Bate, Simon the priest's wife, Roger Tanner, with a number, which ye may see and read in our first

act. In this Richard Chapman, this, by the is to be noted, that as he was in his coat and rejoined, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-leg, to fore the procession, and to kneel upon the cold in the church all the sermon time, a little lad, him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare and having pity on him, came to him, and nothing else to give him, brought him to kneel upon ; for which the boy was cruelly taken into the vestry, and there unmercifully beaten, for his mercy showed to the poor

In these, divers others were about London, and other places also, partakers of the same and affliction for the like cause of the which number come in these which here-

France, priest.

Best.

John Turke.

William Raylond of Colchester.

Henry Raylond, his son.

Marion Matthew, or Westden.

Dorothy Long.

Thomas Parker.

M. Forman, bachelor of divinity, parson of Honey Lane.

Robert Necton.

Katharine Swane.

Mark Cowbridge of Colchester.

Widow Denby.

Robert Hedil of Colchester.

Robert Wigge, William Bull, and George Cooper, of London.

John Toy, of St. Faith's, London.

Richard Foster of London.

Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington.

Alice Gardener, John Tomson, and John Bradley and his wife, of Colchester.

John Hubert, of Esdonland, and his wife.

William Butcher, whose father's grandfather was burned for the same religion.

Abraham Water of Colchester.

All these in this table contained, were troubled and abjured, A. D. 1527, and A. D. 1528.

John Wily the elder.

Katharine Wily, his wife.

John Wily, son of John Wily the elder.

Christian Wily, his wife.

William Wily, another son.

Margaret Wily, his wife.

Lucy Wily, and Agnes Wily, two young girls.

These eight persons were accused A. D. 1532, for eating pottage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. James's even.

Also another time, upon St. Peter's even, as Katharine Wily did lie in childbed, the other wives, with the two girls, were found eating all together of a broth made with the fore-part of a rack of mutton.

Item, The aforesaid John Wily the elder had a primer in English in his house, and other books.

Also he had a young daughter of ten years old, which could render by heart the most part of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew. Also could rehearse without book, The Disputation between the Clerk and the Friar.

Item, The said John Wily had in his house a treatise of William Thorp, and Sir John Oldcastle.

A note of Richard Bayfield above mentioned.

Mention was made before of Richard Bayfield,

monk of Bury, who in these perilous days, amongst other good saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard; but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been showed; which now, as in searching out of registers we have found, so we thought good here to adjoin the same, with the words and confession of the same Edmund Peerson, which detected him in manner as followeth:

The accusation of Edmund Peerson against Richard Bayfield.

"The thirteenth day of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, A. D. 1527, Sir Richard Bayfield said, that my lord of London's commissary was a plain Pharisee; wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome doctrine, he trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a Pharisee as yet, he said.

"Also he said that he cared not even if the commissary and the chancellor both heard him; for the chancellor, he said, was also a Pharisee, and he trusted to make him a Christian man.

"Also he said he was entreated by his friends, and, in a manner, constrained to abide in the city against his will, to make the chancellor, and many more, perfect Christian men; for as yet many were Pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

"Also he said that Master Arthur and Bilney were, and be, more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the commissary, the chancellor, my lord of London, or my lord cardinal.

"Also he said that if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in or hold, they shall be martyrs before God in heaven.

"Also he said, After Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

"Also he said that he would favour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their living to be so good; for they did wear no shirts of linen cloth, but shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his purse, he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.

"Also he said that no man should give laud or praise, in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any saint in heaven, but only to God; To God alone be all honour and glory.

"Also he said, 'Ah, good Sir Edmund! ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a Pharisee, with many others of your company: but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect Christian men, ere I depart from the city; for I

purpose to read a common lecture every day at St. Foster's church, which lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls that be false Pharisees.'

"Also he said that Bilney preached nothing at Wilsdon, but what was true.

"Also he said that Bilney preached true at Wilsdon, if he said that our Lady's crown of Wilsdon, her rings and beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the ministers of Christ's church; 'for that I have seen myself,' he said, 'here in London, and that will I abide by.'

"Also he said, He did not fear to commune and argue in Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, even if it were with my lord cardinal.

"Also he said that he would hold Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, and abide by them, that they were true opinions, to suffer death therefor; 'I know them,' said he, 'for such noble and excellent men in learning.'

"Also he said, If he were before my lord cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naughtily in imprisoning Arthur and Bilney, who were better disposed their livings to God, than my lord cardinal, or my lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

"Also he said, My lord cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God; for Christ (he said) taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions or dignities of this world, nor did Christ teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set pearl and precious stones; nor had Christ ever crosses of silver, two axes, or a pillar of silver gilt.

"Also he said that every priest might preach the gospel without licence of the pope, my lord cardinal, my lord of London, or any other man; and he would abide by: and thus he verified it, as is written, Mark xvi., Christ commanded every man to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the word of God by the authority of this gospel; not to run to the pope, nor to any other man for licence: and that he would abide by, he said.

"Also he said, 'Well, Sir Edmund! I will do what you will, and every man, and my lord cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by, that my lord cardinal doth punish Arthur and Bilney justly, for there be no truer Christian men in this world living, than they two be; and that I will do it by might and power, as one who would may I do, and this will I do: who shall not but he doth it of no justice.'

"Also about the fourteenth day of October past, at three o'clock at afternoon, Sir

came to St. Edmund's in Lombard Street, and found me, Sir Edmund Peerson, Sir James and Sir Miles Garnet, standing at the utter-
 end of the personage; and Sir Edmund said
 Richard Bayfield, 'How many Christian men
 have made, since ye came to the city?' Quoth
 Richard Bayfield, 'I came even now to make
 a Christian man, and these two other gentle-
 men with thee; for well I know ye be all three
 Christians yet.'

He said to Sir Edmund, that Arthur and
 were better Christian men than he was, or
 than that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

"By me, EDMUND PEEERSON."

Thus we have, as in a gross sum, compiled
 the names and causes, though not of all, yet
 not, and too great, a number of good men
 and women, which in those sorrowful days
 the year of our Lord 1527, to this present
 year, that is, till the coming in of Queen Anne
 1533, that is, till the coming in of Queen Anne
 manifold ways vexed and persecuted under
 any of the bishop of Rome. Where again
 to note, that from this present year of our
 Lord 1533, during the time of the said Queen
 we read of no great persecution, nor any
 man to have been in the church of England,
 by that the registers of London make men-
 tion of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists, of
 whom were put to death in sundry places of the
 city A. D. 1535; other ten repented and were

Where note again, that two also of the
 company, albeit the definitive sentence was
 yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the
 king, which was contrary to the pope's law.

To proceed forth in our matter; After that
 the pope and heads of the clergy had thus a long
 taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel au-
 thority against the poor wasted flock of the Lord,
 and, furthermore, to stretch forth their rigour
 and severity, to attach and molest also other great
 men of the temporality; so it fell, that in the
 beginning of the next or second year following,
 that is, A. D. 1534, a parliament was called by
 the king about the fifteenth day of January: in
 this parliament, the commons, renewing their old
 complaint of the cruelty of the prelates
 and ordinaries, for calling men before them *ex*

For such was then the usage of the ordi-
 naries and their officials, that they would send for
 men and lay accusations to them of heresy, only
 saying to them that they were accused; and
 then minister articles to them, but no accuser
 should be brought forth: whereby the commons
 were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the

party so cited must either abjure or do worse: for
 purgation he might none make.

As these matters were long debating in the com-
 mons' house, at last it was agreed that the temporal
 men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver
 them to the king. Whereupon, on the eighteenth
 day of March, the common speaker, accompanied
 with certain knights and burgeses of the commons'
 house, came to the king's presence, and there de-
 clared how the temporal men of his realm were sore
 aggrieved with the cruel demeanour of the prelates
 and ordinaries, which touched their bodies and
 goods so nearly, that they of necessity were en-
 forced to make their humble suit, by their speaker,
 unto his Grace, to take such order and redress in
 the case, as to his high wisdom might seem most
 convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the commons, although the
 king at that time gave no present grant, but sus-
 pended them with a delay, yet notwithstanding, this
 sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the
 temporal men against the spirituality, lacking no-
 thing but God's helping hand to work in the king's
 heart for reformation of such things, which they all
 did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lord's
 divine providence fail in time of need, but soon
 ministered a ready remedy in time expedient. He
 saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual clergy
 grown to such a height as was intolerable. He saw
 again, and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter
 afflictions, of his oppressed flock; his truth decayed,
 his religion profaned, the glory of his Son defaced,
 his church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was
 high time for his high majesty to look upon the
 matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and won-
 drous means, which was through the king's divorce-
 ment from Lady Katharine, dowager, and marrying
 with Lady Anne Bullen, in this present year; which
 was the first occasion and beginning of all this
 public reformation which hath followed since, in this
 church of England, and to this present day, accord-
 ing as ye shall hear.

*The marriage between King Henry and Queen
 Anne Bullen; and Queen Katharine divorced.*

IN the first entry of this
 king's reign ye heard be-
 fore, how, after the death
 of Prince Arthur, the Lady
 Katharine, princess dow-
 ager, and wife to Prince
 Arthur, by the consent
 both of her father and his,
 and also by the advice of
 the nobles of this realm,

to the end her dowry might remain still within the realm, was espoused, after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, which was this King Henry.

Thus then, after the declaration of these things gone before, next cometh to our hands (by the order and process of the time we are now about) to treat of the marvellous and most gracious work of the holy providence of God, beginning now to work, at this present time, here in England, that which neither durst be attempted before by any prince within this realm, nor yet could ever be hoped for by any subject; concerning the abolishing and overthrow of the pope's supremacy here in the English church: who through the false pretended title of his usurped authority, and through the vain fear of his keys, and cursed cursings and excommunications, did so deeply sit in the consciences of men; did keep all princes and kings so under him; briefly, did so plant himself in all churches, taking such deep root in the hearts of all Christian people so long time, that it seemed not only hard, but also impossible, for man's power to abolish the same. But that which passeth man's strength, God here beginneth to take in hand, to supplant the old tyranny, and subtle supremacy of the Romish bishop. The occasion hereof began thus, (through the secret providence of God,) by a certain unlawful marriage between King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine, his brother's wife; which marriage, being found unlawful, and so concluded by all universities, not to be dispensed withal by any man, at length brought forth a verity long hid before; that is, that the pope was not what he was accounted to be; and, again, that he presumptuously took more upon him than he was able to dispense withal.

These little beginnings being once called into question, gave great light to men, and ministered withal great occasion to seek further: insomuch that at length the pope was espied, both to usurp that which he could not claim, and to claim that which he ought not to usurp. As touching the first doubt of this unlawful marriage, whether it came of the king himself, or of the cardinal, or of the Spaniards, as the chronicles themselves do not fully express, so I cannot assuredly affirm. This is certain, that it was not without the singular providence of God, (whereby to bring greater things to pass,) that the king's conscience herein seemed to be so troubled, according as the words of his own oration, had unto his commons, do declare; whose oration hereafter followeth, to give testimony of the same.

This marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith

the pope, the omnipotent vicar of Christ, a favour dispense, if it please him? The pope then ruled at Rome, was Pope Julius the third, by whose dispensation, this marriage, which in sense of nature would admit, nor God's law could bear, was concluded, approved, and ratified continued as lawful, without any doubt of the space of nearly twenty years, till about the year 1527, that a certain doubt began first to move the Spaniards themselves, of the emperor's marriage, A. D. 1523; at what time Charles the fifth, being here in England, promised to marry Mary, daughter to the king of England; which promise the Spaniards themselves were not contented, objecting this, among many other things, that the said Lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife.

Whereupon the emperor, forsaking that marriage, did couple himself with Lady Isabel, daughter to King Emanuel of Portugal. This marriage was done A. D. 1526. After this marriage, the emperor, the next year following, King Henry the Eighth, disappointed thus of the emperor, entered rather was laboured to by the French ambassador, for the said Lady Mary to be married to the king's son, duke of Orleans; upon the talk after long debating, at length the matter brake off by a certain doubt of the president, casting the like objection as the Spaniards made before; which was, Whether the marriage between the king, and the mother of this Lady Mary had been his brother's wife before, were they married? And so the marriage, twice unluckily broken off, in like sort brake off again, and was never concluded, which happened A. D. 1527.

The king, upon the occasion hereof casting these things in his mind, began to consider the matter more deeply, first, with himself, after, with some of his nearest council; wherein two things were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage between the king and his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law, then neither was his conscience clear in the matter, nor yet the state of the realm in the succession of the daughter. It happened at that time that the cardinal, which was then nearest to the king, had fallen out with the emperor, not helping him to the papacy, as yet we have heard; for which cause he helped to bring the matter forward by all the practice he might. The king, perplexed in his conscience, and for the commonwealth, and partly also inclined to the cardinal, could not so rest; but inquired to feel what the word of God, and learning,

to it. Neither was the case so hard, after it came to come in public question, but that by will of God, and the judgments of the best clerks, and also by the censure of the chief cities of all Christendom, to the number of more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful. These censures, books, and writings, of so many doctors, clerks, and universities, sent from all parts of Christendom to the king, albeit they sufficed to have fully resolved, and did indeed touch the king's conscience touching this scruple of marriage; yet would he not straightway use advantage which learning did give him, unless withal the assent as well of the pope, as also of the emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorized before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about that which the pope before him had locked; and less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, when in any doubt; which was like to come, if marriage were proved undispensable by God's will, which his predecessor, through his plenary power, had licensed before. Again, the emperor, on his side, would be no less hard for his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the emperor's near aunt, and a Spaniard born. Nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel whether both would say unto it; and therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome, to weigh with Pope Clement. To the emperor was sent Sir Nicholas de Witt, knight, ambassador in the court of Gaunt. Pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and sequel of the matter, sent Cardinal Georges (as is said) into England, joined with the Bishop of York.

At the coming of these legates, the king, first shewing unto them the grief of his conscience, seemed to be moved by great reasons and persuasions sufficiently to shew the good will of those two legates to his majesty, who also, of their own accord, pretended no unwillingness to show a willing inclination to further the king's cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such others, murmured the queen, and talked their pleasure, and would not be stopped. Wherefore, to satisfy the blind and foolish communication of these also, seeing the coming of the cardinals, cast out many lewd words, as that the king would, "for his pleasure," have another wife, with like unbecoming talk; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with divers other persons, to resort to his palace of Bridewell, on the eighth day of November, A. D. 1529, where,

openly speaking in his great chamber, he had these words in effect, as followeth:

The king's oration to his subjects.

"Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort: it is not unknown unto you, how that we, both by God's provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this realm of England almost the term of twenty years; during which time, we have so ordered us (thanked be God!) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we think that neither you, nor any of your predecessors, ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, or in more estimation, under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death; for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you, and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, King Edward the Fourth; and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.

"And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy; yet it hath been told us, by divers great clerks, that neither she is our lawful daughter, nor her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done, to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his brother's wife, which is directly against God's law and his precept. Think you, my lords, that these words touch not my body and soul? Think you that these doings do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom; and for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man indif-

ferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never thing more pleasant, or more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended, (as you well know,) she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and in all good qualities appertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I, these twenty years almost, have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God's law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving a companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery, to God's great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefs I seek a remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning; and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience, and saving of our soul: and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart."

Shortly after this oration of the king, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two legates, being requested of the king, for discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen lying then in the palace of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed judges indifferent, between the king and her, to hear and determine, whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not.

When she understood the cause of their coming, being thereat something astonished at the first, after a little pausing with herself, thus she began, answering for herself.

"Alas, my lords, (said she,) is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean season question was never made before? Divers prelates yet being alive, and lords also, and privy councillors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest; - and now

to say it is detestable and abominable, I think great marvel: and, in especial, when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and the love and natural affection that King Ferdinand my father, bare unto me, I think in myself neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, nor so wise, and of so small imagination, but they considered what might follow of our marriage; and in answer to the king, my father, sent to the court of Rome there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a licence and dispensation, that I might be the one brother's wife, and peradventure another known, might, without scruple of conscience, with the other brother lawfully, which licence I never should lead, I have yet to show: which thing I desire me to say, and surely believe, that our marriage was both lawful, good, and godly.

"But of this trouble I may only thank your lord cardinal of York. For because I have considered at your high pride and vain glory, and how you have hated and abhorred your voluptuous life and abominable habits, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore, of malice you have kindled a fire, and set this matter abroad; and, in answer to the king, for the great malice that you bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate more than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you pope by force: and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends; and you have made him true promise; for all his wars and vexations may only thank you. And as for me, his poor wife and kinswoman, what trouble you have put upon me by this new-found doubt, God knoweth; to which I commit my cause, according to the truth."

The cardinal of York excused himself, saying That he was not the beginner nor the mover of this doubt, and that it was sore against his will, that ever the marriage should come in question; he said that by his superior, the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause; and he swore on his profession to hear indifferently. But whatsoever was said, she believed him not; so the legates took their leave of her, and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and were interpreted by Cardinal Campeius's secretary, who was present, and afterwards, by Edward Hall, translated into English.

By these premises it is sufficient to judge and understand what the whole occasion was, that brought this marriage first into doubt, so that there need not any further declaration in words upon this matter. But this one thing will I say, if I might be bold to speak what I think: other men may say what they list. This I suppose, that the stay of

marriage was taken in good time, and not without the singular favour of God's providence. For if that one child, coming of this aforesaid marriage, did so greatly endanger this whole realm of England to be entangled with the Spanish nation, that if God's mighty hand had not been betwixt, God only knoweth what misery might have ensued; what peril then should thereby have followed, if, in the continuance of this marriage, more issue had sprung thereof!

But to return again to our matter concerning the whole process and discourse of this divorcement, briefly to comprehend in few words, that which might be collected out of many; after this answer was given of the queen, and her appeal made to the pope, the king, to try out the matter by Scriptures and by learning, sent first to the pope, then to most part of all universities, to have it decided to the uttermost.

In the next year ensuing, A. D. 1530, at the Black Friars' of London was prepared a solemn place for the two legates: who, coming with their crosses, pillars, axes, and all other Romish ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were ascited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the two legates the twenty-eighth day of May; where a commission of the cardinals first being read, wherein it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the matter between them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two proctors. Then the queen was called, who being accompanied with four ladies, and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, came personally herself before the king; who there, after her obeisance, with a sad countenance, having not many words with her, appealed from the legates, as judges not committed, to the court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat by, and every day arguments on both sides were made, but nothing definitively was determined. The time passed on, in the month of June, the king desirous to see an end of the controversy, being at his court, and the queen came also, where he, being under his cloth of estate, uttered these words, which can best declare his own mind, which here I thought to notify, that they who are in the chronicles present, may here read his words the better understand the matter.

The king's oration to the legates.

My lords, legates of the see apostolic, who be judges in this great and weighty matter, I

most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good Christian man knoweth what pain and what unquietness he suffereth, which have his conscience grieved. For I assure you, on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scanty study any thing which should be profitable for my realm and people: and for to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, never prince had such another: and therefore, if I would willingly change, I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you, my lords, at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth."

When the king had thus said, the queen departed without saying any thing. The queen again, on the other part, (who had before appealed to the pope,) assisted with her councillors and doctors, who were four bishops, that is, Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asaph, with other learned men whom the king had licensed her to choose, was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered, that she would abide by her appeal. That notwithstanding, the councillors on both sides every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at last the divines were all of one opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother, which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, that Prince Arthur, her husband, confessed the act done, by certain words spoken; which, being recorded in other chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of Prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the prince of Wales almost half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if she had not been carnally known.

Also she herself caused a bull to be purchased, in which were these words, "peradventure carnally known;" which words were not in the first bull granted by July, at her second marriage to the king. Which second bull, with that clause, was only purchased to dispense with the second matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which bull needed not to have been purchased, if there had

been no carnal copulation, for then the first bull had been sufficient.

Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that Prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the said Lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certain book of records which we have to show touching this marriage, that the same time when Prince Arthur was first married with this Lady Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinand, certain ambassadors of Ferdinand's council were then sent hither into England for the said purpose, to see and to testify concerning the full consummation of the said matrimonial conjunction; which councillors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirm to both their parents, that the matrimony was consummated by that act, but also did send over into Spain, to her father, such demonstrations of their mutual conjunction as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste ears. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question.

Besides that, in the same records appeareth that both he and she not only were of such years as were meet and able to explete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales, by the space of three quarters of a year.

Thus, when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three causes. One was, because, if it should be broken, the only child of the king should be a bastard, which were a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindness between her kindred and this realm. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space had made the marriage honest. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's council, and in especial by the bishop of Rochester, which stood stiff in her cause. But yet God's precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, that the court of Rome had dispensed with that marriage. To this some lawyers said, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God.

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, forasmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the court of Rome, and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king to cast favour to the Lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind themselves out of that brake betimes; and so Cardinal Campeius, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to

Rome again, as is partly above touched. The seeing himself thus to be deferred and delayed, the cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the cardinal of York followed not long after.

This was A. D. 1530. Shortly after it happened the same year, that the king by his ambassadors was advertised, that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bologna. Wherefore he directed Thomas Bullen, lately created earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stokesley, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, and Dr. Lee, afterwards bishop of York, with a message to the pope's court, where also the emperor was. Pope Clement, understanding the king's request, and fearing what might follow of learning and Scripture here should take place, the authority of their dispensations; and minding doubting the emperor's displeasure, bare himself strange off from the matter, answering the ambassadors with this delay, that he presently would define in the case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do justice.

Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this or in any other, having both the Scripture to warrant him, and his law in his own hands to warrant yet, for quietness' sake, and for that he would not rashly break order, (which rather was a disorderly deed,) he bare so long as conveniently he could. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm to do.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass full things, as afterwards followed, which his divine providence was disposed to work. For else, as touching the king's intent and purpose, he never minded any such thing as to seek the will of the pope, but rather sought all means contrary, both to establish the see of Rome, and also to do the good will of the same see and court of Rome, if it might have been gotten. And therefore, intending to sue his divorce from Rome, at the first beginning, his device was, by Stephen Gardiner, ambassador at Rome, to exalt the cardinal of York as is before showed, to be made pope and universal bishop, to the end that he, ruling that apostolic matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumour of the war, which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he

and it, and the English cardinal had once been pope, no doubt but the authority of that see never been exterminated out of England. But being more merciful unto us, took a better way so; for both without and contrary to the king's intention, he so brought to pass, that neither the king of York was pope, (which should have been quite cost to the king,) and yet nevertheless the king was pope for his purpose too, and that much better he looked for. For he was rid, by lawful dissent, not only from that unlawful marriage which troubled his conscience, but also from the misrule of the pope's usurped dominion, which troubled the whole realm; and all at one time.

God's holy providence ruling the matter, and when the king could get no favourable answer of the pope touching his cause, being so good a man, he was forced to take the redress of his cause into his own hands, and seeing this Gordian knot could not be loosed at Rome, he was driven to his will, as God would, to play the noble soldier himself, and with the sword of his princely authority knapped the knot at one stroke clean, losing, as it were, with one solution in questions. For where the doctors and canonists long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly solve the largeness and fulness of the pope's power, both temporal and spiritual; the king, with the sword, did so cut off both his swords, that he dispatched them both clean out of England, as he will see more anon. But first the king, like a wise prince, before he would come to the head sore, thought best to pare away such rank and putrefied places as were about it; and therefore, following his own proverb, like as one that is about to cast down an old rotten wall, will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones at the top, so he, to prepare his way better to the pope, first began with the cardinal, casting him by the law of præmunire, out of his goods and possessions: and so at length, by poisoning himself, procured his own death; which was A. D. 1530. This done, shortly after, about the year 1532, the king, to provide betimes against mischiefs that might come from Rome, gave forth estoons this year, touching the abolishing of the pope, the abolishing of the king's supremacy; the tenor of which here followeth:

The king's Highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, or use and put in execution, or publish any thing heretofore, within this year past purchased, or to be purchased hereafter,

containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this his said realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his Grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his Highness's indignation, and imprisonment and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his Grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others."

It chanced about the same time, or a little before, that the king, taking more heart unto him, partly encouraged by the treatise afore mentioned, called "The Supplication of Beggars," which he had diligently read and perused, and partly provoked by the pride and stoutness of the clergy, brake off with the cardinal, caused him to be attainted in the præmunire, and afterwards also to be apprehended.

After this was done, the king, then proceeding further, caused the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the king's bench to make their appearance, forasmuch as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the power legantine of the cardinal, by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the præmunire, and therefore were called into the king's bench to answer. But before the day of their appearance, the prelates together in their convocation concluded among themselves a humble submission in writing, and offered the king for a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them of their præmunire by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury a hundred thousand pounds; and in the province of York, eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: the which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which thing they never confessed before; whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

But first, forasmuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way a few words of the reader, to speak of this clergy-money, of one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence, to be levied to the king, as is above touched. For the levying of which sum an order was taken among the prelates, that every bishop in his diocese should call before him all the priests, parsons, and vicars, among whom Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, a man then counted to be of some wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity, (which caused him to be out of the favour of the common people,) called before him all the priests within the city of London, whether they were curates or stipendiaries, the first day of September, being Friday, in the chapter-house

of St. Paul ; at which day the priests appeared, and the bishop's policy was to have only six or eight priests together, and by persuasions to have caused them to grant some portion towards the payment of the aforesaid hundred thousand pounds. But the number of the priests was so great, (for they were six hundred at least, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter,) that the bishop was disappointed of his purpose ; for when the bishop's officers called in certain priests by name into the chapter-house, with that a great number entered, for they put aside the bishop's officers that kept the door.

After this the officers got the door shut again. Then the priests without said, " We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within : we know not what the bishop will do with them." The temporal men, being present, comforted and encouraged the priests to enter, so that by force they opened the door, and one struck the bishop's officer over the face, and entered the chapter-house, and many temporal men with them ; and long it was ere any silence could be made. At last, when they were appeased, the bishop stood up and said,—

" Brethren ! I marvel not a little why you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you ; therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me patiently. My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of condition, and no angels ; and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdeemeaned ourselves towards the king, our sovereign lord, and his laws, so that all we of the clergy were in the præmunire ; by reason whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and chattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned : yet his Grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say, why he should not extend his laws upon us. Then the fathers of the clergy humbly besought his Grace of mercy : to whom he answered, that he was ever inclined to mercy. Then, for all our great offences we had little penance ; for where he might, by the rigour of his law, have taken all our livelihood, goods, and 'chattels, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although this sum be more than we may easily bear, yet by the rigour of his laws we should have borne the whole burden. Wherefore, my brethren ! I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelihood and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted."

Then it was shortly said to the bishop,

" My Lord ! twenty nobles a year is but bare living for a priest ; for now victuals and every thing are so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Besides that, my Lord, we never offended

in the præmunire ; for we never meddled with the cardinal's faculties : let the bishops and abbots who have offended pay."

Then the bishop's officers gave to the priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men who were present comforted the priests, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumour divers of the bishop's servants were buffeted and stricken, so that the bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise ; and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his blessing, and prayed them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived ; for the bishop went to Sir Thomas More, then being lord chancellor, (who greatly favoured the bishop and the clergy,) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to Sir Thomas Pargitor, mayor of the city, to attach certain priests and temporal men : and fifteen priests and five temporal men were arrested, of the which some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleet and other prisons, where they remained long after.

This being done A. D. 1532, it followeth over the same year, that divers preachings were made over the realm, one contrary to another, concerning the king's marriage ; and in especial one Thomas A. clerk, which was the queen's chaplain, to please withal, both preached, and also wrote a book in defence of the said marriage ; whereby diverse people were persuaded. Wherefore the king caused to be compiled and reduced into a book the determination of the universities, with the judgment of great clerks ; which book being printed abroad, did again satisfy all indifferent and reasonable persons, which were not too much wedded to their wills.

Mention was made a little before, of a parliament begun the fifteenth day of January, A. D. 1533, at the which parliament the commons had put in their supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding *ex officio*. This complaint, although at first it seemed not to be tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament the time so wrought withal, that the king, having more clear understanding of the enormities of the clergy, and, in especial, of the corrupt authority of the see of Rome, provided certain acts against the same.

" First, as concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances, and constitutions made and established by the pretended authority of the bishops of Rome, for the advancement of their worldly glory, the

make any thing either against their usurped laws, or against the said laws, decrees, or constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's will, should therefore stand in no danger to be impeachable of heresy. And likewise such constitutions, ordinances, and canons made by synodal, which were made in this realm by the assent of bishops, being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the examination and judgment of thirty persons chosen by the king out of the higher nobles of his house, to be determined either to stand or to be abrogated at their discretions: so that all the clergy of this realm, submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise hereafter to presume to assemble in their synods without the king's writ, or to enact or make such constitutions without his royal assent.

In the same parliament was enacted and ordained, that in causes and matters happening in any court, no person should appeal, provoke, or move the king's dominions to the court of chancery under pain of provisors, provision, or præsumption.

In the same parliament was defined and ordained, that all exportation of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the see of Rome, for any bulls, breves, or expeditions of any such thing, should utterly cease.

For the investing of archbishops, bishops, or any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the parliament was taken, that the king should send under the great seal, with a letter missive, to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of any cathedral churches where the see was vacant, by the virtue of which licence or letters, they, within twelve days, should choose the person nominated by the king, and no other; and that election to stand effectual to all intents: and after that election being done, then the party elect to take his oath and fealty to the king, if it were that he was elect; then the king, by his letters patent, to signify the said election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or buying any bulls, breves, or other things from the see of Rome.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable

exactions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome, in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions legative; also for dispensations, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called *perinde valere*, rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence, wont to be paid to the see of Rome, should utterly surcease, and never more to be levied; so that the king, with his honourable council, should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, &c., within this realm.

Where is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peter-pence aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by King Ina, about A. D. 720; which Ina, king of the West Saxons, caused through all his dominion, in every house having a chimney, a penny to be collected and paid to the bishop of Rome in the name of St. Peter; and thereof were they called Peter-pence. The same likewise did Offa, king of Mercians, after him, about A. D. 794. And these Peter-pence ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the pope's collectors here in England, from the time of Ina aforesaid, to this present parliament, A. D. 1533.

Finally, by the authority of the parliament it was consulted and considered concerning the legality of the lawful succession unto the crown, in ratifying and enabling the heirs of the king's body, and Queen Anne. In the which parliament, moreover, the degrees of marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by God's laws, as in this table may appear.

A table of degrees prohibited, by God's law, to marry.

The son not to marry the mother, nor step-mother.

The brother not to marry the sister.

The father not to marry his son's daughter, nor his daughter's daughter.

The son not to marry his father's daughter, gotten by his step-mother.

The son not to marry his aunt, being either his father's or his mother's sister.

The son not to marry his uncle's wife.

The father not to marry his son's wife.

The brother not to marry his brother's wife.
 No man to marry his wife's daughter.
 No man to marry his wife's son's daughter.
 No man to marry his wife's daughter's daughter.
 No man to marry his wife's sister.
 All these degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this aforesaid parliament, and it also being in the same parliament concluded, that no man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispense with God's laws; it was therefore, by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage aforesaid solemnized between the king and the Lady Katharine, being before wife to Prince Arthur the king's brother, and carnally known by him, (as is above proved,) should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value or effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the Lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further, also, for the establishing of this king's lawful succession, it was fully by the said parliament adjudged, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king, and Queen Anne his wife.

During the time of this parliament, before the marriage of Queen Anne, there was one Temse in the commons house, who moved the commons to sue to the king to take the queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in bastardizing the Lady Mary, the king's only child, and divers other inconveniences. This being reported to the king's ears, he sent immediately to Sir Thomas Audley, speaker then of the parliament, expressing unto him, amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul; and he wished the matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the doctors of universities (said he) have determined the marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish or wanton appetite. "For I am," said he, "forty-one years old, at which age the lust of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And, saving in Spain and Portugal,

it hath not been seen, that one man hath married two sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I never heard that any Christian so did, but myself. Wherefore you see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report." And so the speaker, departing, declared to the commons the king's saying.

It was touched, a little before, how that the pope had lost great part of his authority and jurisdiction in this realm of England; now it followeth to inquire, how, and by what occasion, his whole power and authority began utterly to be abolished, by the means and occasion of the most virtuous and noble lady Anne Bullen, who was not as yet married to the king, howbeit in great favour: by whose good means and most virtuous counsel the king's mind was daily inclined better and better. Inasmuch that, not long after, the king, belike perceiving the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the speaker again, and twelve of the commons house, having with him eight lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects! we had thought the clergy of our realm had been our subjects; but now we have well perceived that they be half our subjects, yea, and scarce our subjects. All the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, clean contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours." And so the king, delivering to them the words of both the oaths, required them to invent some way that he might not thus be deluded of his subjects. The speaker thus departed, and the oaths to be read in the commons house, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

The oath of the clergy to the pope.

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this day forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the holy Church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall be of counsel or consent, that they shall not lose life or member, or shall be taken or suffer violence, or any wrong by any means. That which is to me credited by them, their messengers of the papacy of Rome, the rulers of the holy faith, the regalities of St. Peter, I shall help and defend against all men. The legate of the pope, coming and going, I shall honourably receive. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, augmented, and promoted; I shall not be in any treaty, or any act, in which any thing

imagined against him or the Church of Rome, their rights, estates, honours, or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power; I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The lights of the apostles I shall visit personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions about the pope's council. So God me help, and his holy evangelists."

This oath of the clergymen, which they were wont to take to the bishop of Rome, (now Pope Quondam) was abolished and made void by statute, and the oath ministered and confirmed for the same, when they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head, under Christ, in this Church of England, as by tenor thereof may appear hereunder.

The oath of the clergy to the king.

John B., of A., utterly renounce, and clearly, of all such clauses, words, sentences, and things which I have or shall have hereafter of the Holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that have wise have been, are, or hereafter may be, or prejudicial to your Highness, your heirs, yours, dignity, privilege, or estate royal: and do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and in truth I shall bear, to you my sovereign lord to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and death, and earthly worship above all creatures, and die with you and yours against all people. I diligently I shall be attendant to all your business, after my wit and power: and I shall keep and hold, acknowledging and holding my bishopric of you only, beseeching the institution of the temporalities of the same; (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and subject unto your said Highness, heirs, yours, during my life: and the services and dues due to your Highness, for the restitution of the temporalities of the same bishopric, I shall do, and obediently perform. So God and all saints."

Thus thus being recited and opened to the king the occasion that the pope lost all his

interest and jurisdiction here in England within a short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the pope, Sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not liking well of this oath, by God's good work was enforced to resign up his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After whom succeeded Sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly-disposed mind; and for his favourable inclination to Christ's religion, worthy of much commendation.

These things being done in the parliament, the king, within short time after, proceeded to the marriage of the aforesaid Lady Anne Bullen, mother to our most noble queen now, who, without all controversy, was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who, besides the ordinary of a hundred crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year before she was crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderfully much privy alms to widows and other poor householders, continually, till she was apprehended; and she ever gave three or four pounds at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and sent her sub-almoner to the towns about where she lay, that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poor householders in their parish; and some towns received seven, eight, or ten pounds to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the towns were. She also maintained many learned men at Cambridge. Likewise did the earl of Wiltshire, her father, and the Lord Rochford, her brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the king; of whom some are yet alive, and can testify the same; would to God that they were now as great professors of the gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be; who were Dr. Heath and Dr. Thirlby; with whom was joined the Lord Paget, who, at that present, was an earnest protestant, and gave unto one Raynold West, Luther's books, and other books of the Germans, as Francis Lambert. De Sectis; and at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly in Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, and was with his Master Gardiner, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the protestants that were then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowls.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible

persons which were about this queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful distribution to the poor, how her Grace carried ever about her a certain little purse, out of the which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble personages which were the chief and principal of her waiting maids about her, specially the duchess of Richmond by name.

Also concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomen about her, one that was her silkwoman, a gentlewoman not now alive, but of great credit, and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order among the ladies and gentlewomen of the court, than was in this good queen's days, who kept her maids and such as were about her so occupied in sewing and working of shirts and smocks for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now-a-days to reign in princes' courts.

Thus the king, been divorced from the lady dowager, his brother's wife, married this gracious lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the aforesaid princess, and also from the pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommodity or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said princess, procuring from Rome the pope's curse, caused both the king and the realm to be interdicted, whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

In the mean time, Queen Anne, shortly after her marriage, being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the first divorcement publicly proclaimed, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster; and not long after her coronation, the seventh day of September, she was brought to bed, and delivered of a fair lady; for whose good deliverance *Te Deum* was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the christening.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens, were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, and all the walls between that and the Friars, were hanged with arras, as was the Friars' church. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin,

fringed with gold. About it was a rail covered with say. Between the quire and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward. First the citizens, two and two: then the gentlemen, esquires, and chaplains: next after followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next the mayor followed the king's council: then the king's chapel: then barons, bishops, and cardinals. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered basons, gilt. After him the marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next him the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the Lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the christen, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bare the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk, with his marshal-rod, went on the right hand of the said duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went officers of arms. The countess of Kent bore the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child went the earl of Warwick on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the said train. In the midst of the child, was borne a canopy by the Lord Bessford, the Lord Hussey, the Lord William Howard, and the Lord Thomas Howard the elder. In order they came unto the church door, where the bishop of London met it, with divers abbots, bishops, and began the observances of the service. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers, and the child was named Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font, and christened. Then done, Garter, the chief king-at-arms, cried, "God, of his infinite goodness, send prosper and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, ELIZABETH." Then the trumpets blew, and the child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marquis of Dorset gave three gilt bowls, pouncet-boxes, and cover. The marchioness of Exeter, three gilt bowls, gilt, and graven, with a cover. After a solemn banquet, ended with hypocrisis, and such like, in great plenty, they returned in order again unto the court with the princess, and so departed.

the marriage of this noble lady, as there was joy unto all good and godly men, and no sign of prosperous success to God's true religion in like manner, on the contrary part, the court wanted not their malicious and secret attacks by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being discovered and found out, may sufficiently appear what wicked devices and purposes were. For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, with evil intent, had put into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of his saints, that he was highly displeased with Henry for the divorcement of the Lady Katherine; and surmised, among other things, that he revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, that they called The holy maid of Kent, that the king proceeded in the said divorce, he would not be king of this realm one month after, to the reputation of God, not one day nor hour. Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practically showed to the people marvellous alteration of her face and other parts of her body, as if she was rapt, or in a trance; and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrisy, (as though she had been inspired of God,) she spake many words in rebuking the king and reproving the gospel, which she called the word of God, and among them uttered divers things to the reproach of the king and queen, and to the dishonouring of idolatry, pilgrimage, and the diminishing of God's glory: which her naughtiness was exposed out by the great labour and diligence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Cromwell, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned to death, with certain of her affinity and counsellors, the month of April, A. D. 1533. The names of the conspirators with her were these: Edward Lee, monk, of Canterbury; Richard Master, monk, of Aldington; John Dering, monk, of Canterbury; Hugh Rich, friar, warden of the Grey Friars, of Canterbury; Richard Risby; Henry Bocking, bachelor of divinity, and parson of Aldermary; John Gold, bishop of Rochester; John Adeson, priest, of London; Thomas Laurence, the bishop's registrar, of Canterbury; Edward Thwaits; Thomas Bocking, of which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, John Gold, Richard Master, Edward Bocking, Hugh Rich, Richard Risby, were attainted of treason by act of parliament, and put to death.

After the residue, as Fisher bishop of Rochester, John Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaits, John Adeson, Thomas Abel, being convicted and attainted of misprision, were condemned to prison, and forfeited their goods and possessions to the king.

Edward Hall, a writer of our English stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesaid, adjoineth next in his book the narration of one Pavier, or Pavy, a notorious enemy, no doubt, to God's truth. This Pavier, being the town-clerk of the city of London, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the gospel should be preached in English: insomuch that the said Hall himself heard him once say unto him, and to others by swearing a great oath, that if he thought the king's Highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own throat. But he broke promise, saith Hall; for he did not cut his throat with a knife, but with a halter did hang himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge. My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Pavy, that he was a bitter enemy, very busy at the burning of Richard Bainham above mentioned; who, hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against purgatory and transubstantiation, "Set fire," said he, "to this heretic, and burn him." And as the train of gunpowder came toward the martyr, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying to Pavier, "God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou dost to me. The Lord forgive Sir Thomas More, and pray for me, all good people;" and so continued he praying, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.

After Bainham's martyrdom, the next year following, this Pavier, the town-clerk of the city, went and bought ropes. Which done, he went up to a high garret in his house to pray, as he was wont to do, to a rood which he had there, before which he bitterly wept: and as his own maid, coming up, found him so doing, he bade her take the rusty sword, and go make it clean, and trouble him no more; and immediately he tied up the rope, and hung himself. The maid's heart still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then, having no power to help him, she ran crying to the church to her mistress to fetch her home. His servants and clerks he had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, serjeant to the lord mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry for him at Finsbury-court till he came: but he had despatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. This was A. D. 1533.

To this story of Pavier may also be added the like terrible example of Doctor Foxford, chancellor to the bishop of London, a cruel persecutor, and a common butcher of the good saints of God; who was the condemner of all those afore named, who were put to death, troubled, or abjured under Bishop

Stokesley, through all the diocese of London. This Foxford died about this present year and time ; of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons, of whom some be yet alive, that he died suddenly sitting in his chair, his belly being burst, and his entrails falling out before him.

About the same time died William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury ; in whose room succeeded Thomas Cranmer, which was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful marriage of the Lady Katharine, princess dowager ; being then so called by act of parliament.

Ye heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person, after a certain day, should appeal to Rome for any cause : notwithstanding which act, the queen, now called princess dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome before that act made ; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house, but much better in the convocation house ; and yet in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by books showed, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and divers other famous councils in the primitive church, yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved into the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor any bishop should intermeddle within another's province or country. Which things were so clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect : which doctrines and counsels were showed to the Lady Katharine, princess dowager ; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old song, trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's verity.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer above named, accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other great clerks in a great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Amptill, where the princess dowager lay ; and there, by a doctor, called Dr. Lee, she was ascited to appear before the said archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the said town of Dunstable. And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day, fifteen days together ; and at last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there

being present, she was divorced from the king, their marriage declared to be void and effect ; which sentence given, the archbishop and the others returned back again.

Here note, that although this divorce followed after the new marriage needed not at all to be the first marriage being no marriage at all to God, yet, to satisfy the voice of the people, than for any necessity, the king was carried through the persuasions of some, so to do else, as touching God and conscience, where need was there of any divorce, where before no marriage was to be accounted, but rather incestuous and detestable adultery, as the parliament doth term it ? But to our matter.

After the dissolution of this first marriage between the king and the lady princess, she nevertheless, bearing a stout mind, was yet relent, neither to the determination of the universities, nor to the censure of the clergy, the whole realm ; but, following the counsel of a few Spaniards, to molest the king in his realm by suit and means made to the pope, procured certain writings, first of monition and excommunication, then of excommunication and interdiction, to be sent down from Rome, wherein the king was interdicted both the king and the queen. But the pope's curser being not the king's belike, that ever showed his head, though more sure for him to discharge his popish duty without the king's reach ; and so, keeping aloof off, (like a pretty man,) set up his wall in the town of Dunkirk in Flanders : in which wall first, upon the north door of the church was a monition, that the king of England should cease the suit of divorce ; which John Butler, then commissary of Calais, by commandment took down in the night.

After that, before Whitsun-week, there was set up in the same place an excommunication, aggravation, re-aggravation, and interdiction ; for also the said Butler, by commandment, was sent to Dunkirk, to take it down. And because the council of Calais would be certified of his doing therein, they sent a servant of the Lord Lisle, deputy of Calais, whose name was Cranvel ; and on Wednesday in Whitsun-week, at seven o'clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the lord deputy aforesaid : which was about the year 1533.

This being known and certified unto the king, he was motioned by his council, that such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be removed from her. And therefore the duke of Suffolk was sent to Bugden, beside Huntingdon, where the

Katharine lay; who, perceiving her stomach
 froward still, in answering him with high
 and suddenly so in a fury to part from him
 in privy chamber, and shut the door, brake
 order of her court, and discharged a great
 her household servants; and yet left her a
 that number to serve her like a princess.
 that remained still, were sworn to serve her
 as only, and not as queen; of whom some
 were once sworn to serve her as queen,
 otherwise would not serve; and so were dis-
 The others who were sworn to serve her
 she utterly refused for her servants, and
 remained with the fewer, living after this
 space of two years.

How much hast thou, good reader, touching
 the divorcement; by occasion whereof it
 God so to work, through his secret and un-
 der wisdom, that the pope, who so long had
 been in England, lost his whole jurisdiction
 supremacy.

Abolishing of the pope out of England.



THESE things thus
 finished and des-
 patched concerning
 the marriage of
 Queen Anne, and
 divorce of Lady
 Katharine, dowa-
 ger, next followeth
 the year 1534; in
 the which was as-
 sembled the high

of parliament again, after many prorogations,
 the third day of February; wherein was made
 of succession, for the more surety of the
 to the which every person being of lawful
 should be sworn. During this parliament time,
 Sunday preached at Paul's Cross a bishop,
 declared the pope not to be head of the

for this, commissions were sent over all Eng-
 to take the oath of all men and women to the
 of succession; at which few repined, except
 John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas
 late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wil-
 person of St. Thomas the Apostle's in London.
 before these three persons, after long exhort-
 able them made by the bishop of Canterbury at
 with, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the
 tower, where they remained, and were oftentimes
 forced to be sworn. But the bishop and Sir
 Thomas More excused them by their writings, in
 which they said that they had written before that

the said Lady Katharine was queen, and therefore
 could not well go from that which they had written.
 Likewise the doctor excused, that he in preaching
 had called her queen, and therefore now could not
 well unsay it again. Howbeit, at length, he was
 well contented to dissemble the matter, and so
 escaped: but the other two stood against all the
 realm in their opinion.

From the month of March this parliament fur-
 thermore was prorogued to the third day of No-
 vember abovesaid; at what time, amongst divers
 other statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed
 will of God it was enacted, that the pope, and all
 his college of cardinals, with his pardons and in-
 dulgences, which so long had clogged this realm of
 England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good
 men, and which never could be removed away be-
 fore, were now abolished, eradicated, and exploded
 out of this land, and sent home again to their own
 country of Rome, from whence they came. God
 be everlastingly praised therefore. Amen!

*The book of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester,
 "De vera Obedientia."*

You have heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of
 Lee, of Tonstal, and of Stokesley, how of their
 voluntary mind they made their profession unto the
 king, every one severally taking and accepting a
 corporal oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and
 reject the usurped superiority of the bishop of Rome.
 Now, for a further testimony and declaration of
 their judgments and opinions which then they were
 of, following the force both of truth and of time
 then present, ye shall hear, over and besides their
 oaths, what the aforesaid bishops in their own books,
 prologues, and sermons, do write, and publish abroad
 in print, touching the said cause of the pope's su-
 premacy.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen
 Gardiner's book, "De vera Obedientia," we will
 briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein, with
 great Scripture proofs and good deliberation, he not
 only confuteth the pope's usurped authority, but also
 proveth the marriage between the king and Queen
 Katharine, his brother's wife, not to be good nor
 lawful, in these words:

"Of the which moral precepts in the old law, to
 speak of some, (for to rehearse all it needs not,) the
 Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous
 marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure
 wedlock, wherein the original of man's increase con-
 sisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that
 although they were first given to the Jews, yet be-
 cause they appertain to the law of nature, and ex-
 pound the same more plainly to us, therefore they

belong as well to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless both the voice of nature and God's commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and diverse from the one and from the other. And amongst these, since there is commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent Majesty do, otherwise than he did, by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his church; that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation? and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage? Wherein although the sentence of God's word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed, yet his Majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both what he might do, and ought to do, uprightly; seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto it; showing therein such obedience as God's word requireth of every good and godly man; so it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly: of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak."

Moreover, the said Gardiner, in the before-named book "*De vera Obedientia*," what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on the king's side, against the usurped state of the bishop of Rome's authority, by the words of his book it may appear: whereof a brief collection here followeth.

Reasons of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the pope's supremacy.

In the process of his aforesaid book, he, alleging the old distinction of the papists, wherein they give to the prince the regiment of things temporal, and to the church that of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the church to extend no further than to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all pre-eminence to the sword of the prince; alleging for this the second Psalm: And now, you kings, be wise, and be learned, ye that judge the earth, &c.

Also the example of Solomon, who, being a king according to his father's appointment, ordained the offices of the priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and

minister before the priests, after the order of every day, and porters in their divisions, gate by gate.

And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith, "For so commanded the man of God; neither did the priests nor Levites omit any thing of all that he had commanded," &c.

Beside this, he allegeth also the example of King Hezekiah. He allegeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, which made laws touching the faith, bishops, clerks, heretics, and such others.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses: Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest.

Alexander the king, in the Maccabees, writeth thus to Jonathan: Now we have made thee this day the high priest of thy people, &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.

Then, coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c., upon which words the pope pretendeth to build all his authority: to this he answereth, that if Christ, by those words, limited to Peter any such special state or pre-eminency above all princes, then were it not true, as is written, Jesus began to teach and to do; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then be contrary to his own facts and example, who, in his life, never either usurped to himself any such pre-eminence above princes, (showing himself rather subject unto princes,) nor yet did ever permit the apostles any such example of ambition to be; but rather rebuked them for seeking any pre-eminency amongst them.

And where he reasoneth of the king's title, being called king of England and of Ireland, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and chief head in earth of the Church of England immediately under Christ, &c., thus he addeth his mind to assure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this why any man should be offended, that the king, being called head of the Church of England, ruler of the realm of England; and addeth his mind thereunto, saying, "If the prince and king of a land be the head of his kingdom, that is, the chief Englishmen that be his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this realm, because they are Christians; that is to say, because of the title of godliness? as though that God, being the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion?"

At length thus he concludeth with an example, saying, "To say," saith he, "that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, is an absurd and a foolish saying is this!"

And further, adding further for example the objection of the servant and wife: "If the

"be subject to his master, or wife to her husband, being infidels, doth their conversion after the name of Christians, make them less than they were before? As religion there-fore not alter the authority of the master over the wife, or of the husband over the wife; no more," saith he, "doth it between the prince and subject. making no exception or distinction of persons, save only of that which belongeth to all men to obey their princes; and those? Those princes which bear the sword. Though we are bound by the Scripture to bishops and spiritual pastors of the church, obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and authority that ought to be given to the prince, nor the obedience of the servant to his master, nor the wife to her husband, exempteth them from obedience due to their superior powers."

Wherewithal he inferreth a principle of the "Divers jurisdictions," saith he, "proceeding from person, do not mar nor hinder themselves, nor do confirm and fortify one another."

Whereas the bishop of Rome, under the name of Peter, doth appropriate to himself the place in the church, for that he is the successor of Peter; thereunto he answereth in one word in that one word he answereth enough, the full: "I would," saith he, "he were; a very deed he might well exceed and pass kings and princes, if not in pre-eminency of dignity in admiration and excellency of virtue: in kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his apostles and ministers to go before all kings and princes in the whole world."

In this, in prosecuting the argument of Peter's confession, he argueth thus, and saith, that as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that confession, neither was that prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, the spirit of Peter; which is to mean in respect of spiritual confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

If the scholar ought not to be above the master, how then could either Peter take that upon himself which Christ his Master so constantly did reveal, or how can the bishop of Rome now claim the same by succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his predecessor before him? for so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, Paul, and John, that they did arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that James, surnamed Justus, should be the bishop of the apostles. And as for the name and signification of the word primacy, if it be taken for the nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth that Peter had the pre-

ferment of the first name and place in the order of the apostles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an empery upon his brethren: for so were they not his brethren, but his subjects.

That Peter was first or chief in the number of those who confessed Christ, it is not to be denied; for first he confessed, first he taught the Jews, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them. But yet that maketh not, that he should therefore arrogate a general primacy and rule over all other states and authorities of the world; no more than Apelles, because he is noted the first and chief of all painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all painters: or because the university of Paris is nominated for the first and chief of other universities, shall therefore the French king, and all other princes in their public administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that university?

Thus, after many other reasons and persuasions contained in said book *De Obedientia*, (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments,) finally, in the end of his probation, he concludeth the whole sum of his mind in this effect; first, denying that the bishop of Rome had ever any such extern jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over kings and princes: for the peroration whereof he hath alleged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, which ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

As concerning the term of "primacy," albeit it be used sometimes by the fathers, yet the matter, being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurp.

Also as for the prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which prerogatives our Saviour would crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the pope's purpose.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of Peter, the pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be successor of Peter, he must succeed him in faith, doctrine, and conditions; and in so doing, he neither will seek, nor yet shall need to seek, for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be; and that much more than he, being a good man, would require.

And thus Stephen Winchester, taking his leave, and bidding the pope farewell, endeth with a friend-

ly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. "The light of the gospel," saith he, "so spreadeth his beams in all men's eyes, that the works of the gospel be known, the mysteries of Christ's doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, or with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince, in his own dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds." And therefore, seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the church should bear the office of teaching, another should bear the office of ruling, (which office is only limited to princes,) he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.

To this book of Stephen Winchester, *De Obedientia*, we will adjoin, for good fellowship, the Preface also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, prefixed before the same; to the intent that the reader, seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterwards of the said parties to the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain-glory and pomp of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where God's grace lacketh to sustain. The Preface of Bonner, before the said book of Winchester, *De Obedientia*, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

"Forasmuch as some there be, no doubt, (as the judgments of men be always variable,) which think the controversy which is between the king's royal Majesty and the bishop of Rome consisteth in this point, for that his Majesty hath taken the most excellent and most virtuous Lady Anne to wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favourers of the gospel of Christ, who hate not, but love the truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cause of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel; here shall be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester, (a man excellently learned in all kinds of learning,) entitled, *De Vera Obedientia*; that is, Concerning True Obedience. But as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite, but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal.

And as for the oration itself, (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant,) to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth itself enough, and seeing good wine needeth no tavern-bush to utter it? But yet in this oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle reader! thou shalt, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly, handled, of what importance, and how invincible, the power and excellency of God's truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such sort, but it sheweth itself again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, thou shalt see men's traditions, which for the most part be most repugnant against the truth of God's law. And then by the way, he speaketh of the king's said Highness's marriage, which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent and most noble lady, Queen Anne. After that, touching the king's Majesty's title, relating to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false pretended supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England, justly abrogated: and how all other bishops, fellow-like to him in their function, yea, and in points above him within their own provinces, beforetime bound to the king by their oath.

"But be thou most surely persuaded of this, reader! that the bishop of Rome, if there were any cause else but only this marriage, would content himself, especially having some good matter other given him to chew upon. But when he seeth so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily embracing the gospel of Christ, and perceiveth the young great prey, (yea, so large a prey, that it could be almost as all the king's revenues,) taken out of his hands, and that he can no longer maintain his tyranny in the king's Majesty's realm (heretofore too cruel and bitter,) nor make amends for what he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, which is evident in what he hath done in time past, under the title of the universal church, and the authority of Peter and his successors (when notwithstanding he was a very raven-dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the shepherd of servants,) to the great damage of the Christian commonwealth—here, here began all this mischief; hereof rose these discords, these malices, and so great and terrible bustlings, which were not thus, could any man believe.

of Olympus (who falsely hath arrogated unto
an absolute power without controulment)
have wrought so diligently, by all means
to stir up all other kings and princes so
against this so good and godly, and so
angel-like prince, as he hath done? Neither
have thee, gentle reader! that Winchester
before now apply to this opinion: for he
in this oration, sheweth the cause why he
And if he had said never a word, yet
wrest well what a witty part it is for a man
and his judgment, and not to be too rash in
sentence. It is an old-said saw; "Mary
profited us less in her quick belief that
risen, than Thomas that was longer in
A man may rightly call him Fabius, that
advised taking of leisure restored the
Albeit I speak not this as though Win-
not bolted out this matter secretly with
beforehand (for he without doubt tried it
ago); but that, running fair and softly, he
with his painful study, pluck the matter
the dark, (although of itself it was clear
but by reason of sundry opinions it was
in darkness,) and then did he debate it
and fro; and so, at last, after long and
liberation had in the matter, because there
rather counsellor than leisure and time, he
absolutely, with his learned and consummate
confirm it.

thou shouldst, gentle reader, esteem his cen-
al authority to be of more weighty credence,
as the matter was not rashly, and at all
times, but with judgment (as thou seest) and
reason examined and discussed. And this is
example, to be against the tyranny of the
of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but
men oftentimes, yea, and right great learned
men now, have done the same even in writing;
by they both painted him out in his right co-
lour made his sleights, falsehood, frauds, and
his wiles, openly known to the world. There-
fore thou at any time heretofore have doubted
of true obedience, or of the king's Majesty's
age or title, or else of the bishop of Rome's
pretended supremacy, as, if thou hadst a good
eye nose, and a sound judgment, I think thou
wouldest; yet, having read this oration, (which, if
thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the
of Rome, and his Satanical, fraudulent false-
hood shall doubtless wonderfully content thee,) for-
get this error, and acknowledge the truth now
offered thee at length, considering with thy-
self that it is better late so to do, than never to re-

"Fare thou heartily well, most gentle reader;
and not only love this most valiant king of England
and of France, who undoubtedly was by the provi-
dence of God born to defend the gospel, but also
honour him and serve him most obediently. As
for this Winchester, who was long ago, without
doubt, reputed among the greatest learned men,
give him thy good word, with highest commend-
ation."

The end of Bishop Bonner's prologue.

What man reading and advising this book of
Winchester, *De Vera Obedientia*, with Bonner's
Preface before the same, would ever have thought
any alteration could so work in man's heart, to make
these men thus to turn the cat in the pan, as they
say, and to start so suddenly from the truth so mani-
festly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently de-
fended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed?
If they dissembled all this that they wrote, sub-
scribed, and sware unto, what perjury most execra-
ble was it before God and man! If they meant
good faith, and spake then as they thought, what
pestilent blindness is this so suddenly fallen upon
them, to make that false now, which was true be-
fore; or that to be now true, which before was
false! Thus to say and unsay, and then to say
again, to do and undo, and, as a man would say, to
play fast or loose with truth; truly a man may say
is not the doing of a man which is in any case to be
trusted, whatsoever he doth or saith. But here a
man may see what man is of himself, when God's
good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment also
and arguments of Tonsal, bishop of Durham, let us
see how he agreeth with them, or rather much ex-
ceedeth them, in his sermon made before King
Henry upon Palm Sunday, remaining yet in print;
in the which sermon, disputing against the wrong-
ful supremacy of the bishop of Rome, he proveth by
manifest grounds most effectuously, both out of
the Scripture, ancient doctors, and of councils; not
only that the bishop of Rome hath no such authority
by the word of God committed to him, as he doth
challenge; but also, in requiring and challenging
the same, he reproveth and condemneth him with
great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer;
disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over
him; contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in
raising up war against us for the same, he therefore
rebuketh and defileth him, as a most detestable
sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian
men.

Notes on Tonsal's sermon against the pope's supremacy.

First, by the Scripture, he reasoneth thus, and proveth, that all good men ought to obey the authorities and governors of the world, as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do bear or use for their countries in which they be; for so St. Peter doth plainly teach us, saying, Be ye subject to every human creature for God's cause, whether it be king, as chief head, or dukes or governors, &c. So that St. Peter, in his Epistle, commandeth all worldly princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and according unto the same, St. Paul saith, Let every living man be subject to the high powers; for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himself damnation.

And in the same place of Tonsal it followeth: And lest men should forget their duty of obedience to their princes, it is thrice repeated, that they be the ministers of God, whose place in their governance they represent: so that unto them all men must obey, apostles, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all of the clergy, &c. "And therefore," saith he, "the bishop of Rome oweth to his sovereign and superior like subjection by the word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops do to their princes, under whom they be."

Also, another express commandment we have of Christ, who, upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusseth the matter, saying on this wise, The kings of the people and nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious lords; but so it shall not be amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall be as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall be chief, shall be as a servant and a minister, &c.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declareth that his kingdom is not of this world, and "therefore," saith Tonsal, "those that go about to make of Christ's spiritual kingdom a worldly kingdom, do fall into the error of some heretics, that look that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here in the earth carnally in Jerusalem; as the Jews do believe that Messias is yet to come, and when he shall come, he shall reign worldly in Jerusalem."

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before his incarnation, (as Tonsal saith,) nor after his incarnation, did ever alter the authority of worldly kings and princes, but

by his own word commanded them still to be of their subjects, as they had been in the ancient times, before, &c. And for example of the same, he brings first the example of Christ himself, who, being of the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar, or no, he bade them give to Cæsar those things that be his, and to God those things that be his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their souls were due to God.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew, it is said that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples, when it was demanded of him why? Because he would not change the law of obedience to worldly princes due by their subjects.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of Matthew, vi., where, after Christ had fed five thousand more, with a few loaves, and fewer fishes, the Jews would have taken him, and made him king; he fled from them, and would not come with them: "For the kingdom," saith he, "that is to set in earth, was not a worldly and temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom; to reign spiritually, by grace and faith, in the hearts of all Christian and faithful people, of what degree or of what nation soever they be, and of all people and nations which at his coming were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the lusts of the Spirit. Christ, with his Father of heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, &c.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility, further is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and governors of this world, but also dejected himself, and in that manner became servant to his own apostles. How far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honour. For so it appeared, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also the same time, a little before his passion, the apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superior, he, setting before them the example of his own subjection, answered this question: Who is superior; he that sitteth at the table, or he that serveth at the table? He that is superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you as he that ministereth and serveth, &c.

The like examples Tonsal also inferreth of Christ's humility. For where we read in the Gospel how the centurion, a nobleman of great age, prostrate himself upon the ground at the feet of Christ; then Peter, not suffering that, esteemed himself unworthy to rise up, and bade him rise, saying, I am also a man, as thou art.

So likewise did the angel, to whom when he would have fallen down, to have adored him

him those visions, the angel said unto him, do not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art, &c.

In the aforesaid Peter, what an example of humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding he, with other apostles, had his commission over all the world, yet nevertheless he, being called and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven by which vision he was admonished not to preach to the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no primacy over all people and places given unto any such commission so large above the rest.

Moreover, the said Peter, being rebuked of his fellow brother, took no scorn thereof, but contented himself to submit to due correction. Here, saith Tonsal, steppeth in the bishop of Rome, and saith that Peter had authority given him over all the residue of the apostles, and allegeth words of Christ spoken to him, Thou art Peter, upon this rock I will build my church, and will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven. "This said Christ," saith the author, and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and ought to rule the church, as Peter was to be porter of heaven gates, as Peter was." And Christ said also to Peter, after his resurrection, Feed my sheep; which he spake to him so that thereby he had authority over all that were of Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore whoso will not obey me, saith he, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom or seigniorship: for all power is given unto me that Christ hath, and I am his vicar-general, for he was here in earth over all, and none but I, Christ is in heaven."

His ambitious and pompous objection (saith the author) of the pope and his adherents, hath of late much troubled the world, and made dissension, and open war in all parts of Christendom, and hath been occasioned by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture; for if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the apostles themselves taught, and all the ancient best learned interpreters do understand them, the matter were soon at a point. Otherwise, since they pervert the Scriptures, to preach another gospel in that point to us, than what the apostles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: That though an angel came from heaven, and would tell us such new exposition of those places as are now made, to turn the words which were spoken for spiritual authority of preaching the word of God, and ministering of the sacra-

ments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him: as St. Paul willeth us in Galatians i.

To open therefore the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with Matthew xvi., here is to be observed, that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter, answering for them all, (as he was always ready to answer,) said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. To whom Jesus answered again, Blessed be thou, Simon the son of Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven: and I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. That is to say, Upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God, I will build my church; for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written in Rom. x.: The word of faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thy heart. For if thou confess with thy mouth our Lord Jesus Christ, and with thy heart do believe that God raised him from death to life, thou shalt be saved, &c. And this confession being first uttered by the mouth of Peter, upon the same confession of his, and not upon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his church, as Chrysostom expoundeth that place in the twenty-sixth sermon, of the feast of Pentecost, saying, Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith, Christ hath builded his church. And what is the faith? This: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. What is to say, Upon this rock? That is, Upon this confession of Peter, &c. And with this saying of Chrysostom all ancient expositors, (saith Tonsal,) treating of that place, do agree; for if we should expound that place, that the church is builded upon the person of Peter, we should put another foundation of the church than Christ; which is directly against St. Paul, saying, No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Christ Jesus, &c.

And because Peter was the first of all the apostles that confessed this, That Christ is the Son of God, by the which faith all men must be saved; thereof cometh the primacy; that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the number of all the apostles.

And as Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so was he most ardent in his faith, most bold and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest: and also most vehement in his Master's cause, as appeared by drawing out his sword: and afterwards the Lord's resurrection is declared in the Acts, where the Jews, withstanding the apostles

preaching the faith of Christ, Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugnors thereof, speaking for them all unto the people, &c.; and therefore hath these honourable names given him by the ancient interpreters, that sometimes he is called the mouth of the apostles; the chief of the apostles; sometimes the prince of the apostles, sometimes the president of the whole church, and sometimes hath the name of primacy or priority attributed unto him. And yet that the said Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, should not have a rule, or a judicial power, above all the other apostles, it is plain by St. Paul and many others.

First, St. Paul plainly declareth the same, saying, that as the apostleship of the circumcision, that is, of the Jews, was given by Christ to Peter; so was the apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paul knew no primacy of Peter concerning people and places, but among the Jews. And thereof St. Ambrose, expounding that place, saith thus, The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to Peter, albeit James and John were joined with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to Paul, albeit Barnabas was joined with him: so that Peter had no rule over all.

Also in Acts x., when Peter was sent for to Cornelius, a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a special vision given him from heaven by the Lord.

Item, That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by St. Paul, where he saith, Now ye are not strangers, nor foreigners, but ye be citizens with the saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded, saith he, upon the foundations of the apostles and the prophets, Christ being the corner-stone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an holy temple in our Lord, &c. Here he saith that they be builded not upon the foundation of Peter only, but upon the foundation of the apostles: so that all they be in the foundation set upon Christ the very rock, whereupon standeth the whole church.

In the Apocalypse also, the new city, and the heavenly Jerusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Ghost, not with one foundation only of Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the apostles.

St. Cyprian giveth record likewise to the same, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ; and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof first came by one, which was Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Saying further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed

wholly unto him. Now, if the bishop of Rome meddle over all, where he will, then every man hath not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome also meddle in his part jointly with him; now he hath it not wholly: which is Cyprian.

St. Augustine likewise, expounding the words of John, in the fiftieth Treatise, speaketh these keys of Peter, which he saith were given only to Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

Cyril, expounding the last chapter of John, there speaking of the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, Feed my sheep, &c., thus understandeth the same: That because Peter had thrice denied whereby he thought himself he had lost his office, Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him whether he loved him; and so restored him to his office, which else he durst not have put upon him; saying unto him, Feed my sheep, &c. which exposition the ancient holy expositors in that place do likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christ's sheep, the bishop of Rome hath no advantage to maintain his universal primacy over all Christian dominions.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome saith that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, hath a pre-eminency above the others, St. Paul speaketh to the contrary, where he, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, saith to them, Take heed to yourselves, and to all your flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath put you to govern, &c.

And Peter himself likewise saith, Ye that are priests, feed the flock of God among you, &c.

So that by these scriptures conferred together may appear, that neither Matthew xvi., nor Luke xxi., do prove that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the others; they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding his primacy, in that he, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God, (with which confession all the other apostles did consent, and also preached the same,) standeth still; which confession first by Peter made for others that will be saved must follow also, and he taught to confess the same. And thus the bishop of Rome's power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully alleged for his purpose, utterly quaieth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, the next thing that Tonstal cometh to councils, and examples of the primitive church, as followeth:

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth council of Carthage, alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters, in all places, by his supreme authority, bringing no Scripture for him (for at that time no Scripture was brought to make for it); but alleged for him, and not untruly, that the first council of Nice made for this purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the council of Nice, which was sent unto them. And another copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

That the copy was brought to them, and no article found in it, but in the fifth chapter of the contrary, that all causes ecclesiastical neither be determined with the diocess, or else, were aggrieved, then to appeal to the council general, and there the matter to take full end, so that no such causes men should go out of their country; the whole council of Carthage wrote to Rome, at that time being bishop of Rome, that the council of Nice had no such article in it, but untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary they desired him to abstain hereafter to make any such demand; denouncing unto him, that he should not suffer any cause, great or small, to go out by appeal out of their country; and he made a law, that no man should appeal out of the country of Africa, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Wherewith the bishop of Rome was held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for the contrary. And at this council St. Augustine was present, and subscribed his hand. As he hercof before.

It was determined also, in the sixth article of the council of Nice, that in the Orient the bishop should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; about Rome the bishop of Rome; and in other countries the metropolitans should be pre-eminence: so that the bishop of Rome should meddle in those countries. And in the time following, the bishop of Jerusalem, who before had been destroyed, and almost was restored to his old prerogative, to be chief in Palestine and in the country of Jewry. We see how the patriarch of Rome, during the time of the primitive church, had no such pre-eminence above other patriarchs, much less kings and emperors, as may appear by the bishop of Rome, long after that, in whose time the sixth council general; which Agatho,

after his election, sent to the emperor, then being at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be consecrated, after the old custom at the time used.

In like sort, another bishop of Rome, called Vitalianus, did the same, as it is written in the decrees; distinct. 63. Cap. Agatho. The like did St. Ambrose and St. Gregory before them, as it is written in the chapter *Cum longe*, in the same Distinction. During all this time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

Thus, after that Bishop Tonstal, playing the earnest Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, also by examples sufficient of the primitive church, hath proved and declared, how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every creature in this world to obey; now let us likewise see how the said Bishop Tonstal describeth unto us the bishop of Rome's disobedience intolerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice most execrable.

And first, speaking of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, then of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the bishops of Rome to them all; who first, for disobedience, refuse to obey God's commandment, and, contrary to his word, will be above their governors, in refusing to obey them.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious disobedience in these bishops of Rome, not sufferable, their pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth; and to kiss their feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched men; and yet they look that their princes should do it unto them, and also that all other Christian men, owing them no subjection, should do the same.

And who be these, I pray you, that men may know them? Surely (saith he) the bishops of Rome be those whom I do mean, who, following the pride of Lucifer their father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their seat above the stars of God, and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By stars of God be meant the angels of heaven; for as stars do show unto us in part the light of heaven, so do angels, sent unto men, show the heavenly light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the clouds signified in the Old Testament the prophets, and in the New do signify the apostles and preachers of the word of God; for as the clouds do conceive and gather in the sky moisture, which they after pour down upon

the ground, to make it thereby more fruitful, so the prophets in the Old Testament, and the apostles and preachers in the New, do pour into our ears the moisture of their heavenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith, by grace, our souls, being sear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient expositors, and amongst them St. Augustine, interpret to be meant in Scripture stars and clouds, in the exposition of Psalm cxlvii.

But St. John the evangelist writeth in the nineteenth chapter of the Apocalypse, and in the twenty-second also, that when he would have fallen down at the angel's foot, that did show him those visions there written, to have adored him with godly worship, the angel said unto him, See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me. Here it appeareth that the bishops of Rome, suffering all men prostrate before them to kiss their feet, (yea, the same princes, to whom they owe subjection,) do climb up above the stars and angels too, offering their feet to be kissed, with shoes and all. For so I saw myself, being present four and thirty years ago, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear, whilst a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where methinks I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in Acts x., submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him; but I saw not Peter there to take him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a man as thou art, as St. Peter did say to Cornelius: so that the bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the heavenly clouds; that is to say, above the apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men, by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God.

Thus Bishop Tonsal, having described the passing pride of the pope, surmounting like Lucifer above bishops, apostles, angels, and stars of heaven, proceeding then further to the latter end of his sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent, in that he, being justly put from his kingdom here, to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up war against us, and bloweth the horn of mischief in giving our land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever, at his setting on, will come and invade us. But let us hear his own words, preaching to the king and all Englishmen, touching both the pope's malice, and the treason of Cardinal Pole.

"Now," saith he, "because he can no longer in

this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore, moved and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all Christian nations that will give ears to his devilish enchantments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will invade it."

And here, expounding these aforesaid words, "To give in prey," he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willet every true Englishman well to mark the same.

"First, to make this realm," saith he, "a prey to all adventurers, all spoilers, all sycophants, all lorn hopes, all cormorants, all raveners of the wealth that will invade this realm, is to say, Thou possessor of any lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves; and thou mayst be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor any of thy progeny, to live to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged; for they were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused before thy face; thy daughter likewise deflowered before thee; thy children slain before thine eyes; thy house spoiled; thy cattle driven away, and sold before thy visage; thy plate, thy money, by thee taken from thee; all thy goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children, shall be ravened, broken, and distributed in thy prey, that every ravenor may have his share. Thou shalt be sure to be slain, for thou hast either to be ware, or ware, or both, which they search for. Whether thou be bishop or priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt not escape, because thou wouldest not take the oath of Rome's part, and rebel against God and his prince, as he doth. If thou shalt flee and hide for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt not hear of so much misery and abomination, till thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before thee. Sure it is thou shalt not finally escape: for, the whole realm in prey, is to kill the whole realm, and to take the place for themselves, as they do if they can,

"And the bishop of Rome now of late, showing forth his pestilent malice the more, hath made of his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, coming of a noble blood, and thereby the more traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being a traitor to his country; whose pestilent purpose, the prince

he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the bishop of Rome (who, being a bishop, should procure peace) is a stirrer of war, and because this most arrant and unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the country that he was born in; which any heathen man would abhor to do."

And so continuing in his discourse against Cardinal Pole and the bishop of Rome, for stirring the people to war and mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, thus :

"For these many years past, little war hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the bishop of Rome either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. Paul saith, that God is not the God of dishonour, but of peace, who commandeth, by his word, peace always to be kept, we are sure that all those who go about to break peace between realms, and to lead them to war, are the children of the devil, what names soever they may pretend to cloak their malice withal; which cloaking under hypocrisy is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the devil's part."

And in the latter end of his sermon, concluding with Ezekiel xxxix., where the prophet speaketh of Gog and Magog going about to destroy the people of God, and prophesieth against them, that the people of God shall vanquish and overthrow the mountains of Israel, that none of them shall escape, but their carcases shall there be devoured of kites and crows, and birds of the air; so he saith he of these our enemies, wishing, if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to invasion into this realm, then their great captain (the bishop of Rome he meaneth) may join with them, to drink with them of the same which he maliciously goeth about to prepare that the people of God might after live quietly.

He have heard hitherto the oaths, censures, and excommunications of certain particular bishops, of York, of Winchester, of London, of Durham, and also of Cardinal Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, touching the pope's unlawful usurpation. Now, for the fortification of the matter, and satisfying the people, under, it shall not be much out of purpose, to show the consent and approbation of these afore-mentioned also the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, as in a total sum confirmed and ratified in their own public assembly and set forth by them about the same time, when The Bishops' Book; in the which

book, although many things were very slender and imperfect, yet, as touching this cause of the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole opinion and provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear :

"We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seigniories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. Peter, or unto any of the apostles or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do teach and command, that all Christian people, as well priests and bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the princes and potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

"And as for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; since which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by colluding with great kings and princes, sometimes training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world; and that, under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel. Wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the holy canons

made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils. And finally, they do transgress their own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began, and that by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his own diocese or province; and divers such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils, to repress and take away out of the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same. And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea, and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the gospel, and the decrees of the church) that any bishop of Rome, or elsewhere, should presume,

usurp, or take upon him, the title and name of the universal bishop, or of the head of all priests, or of the highest priest, or any such-like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, either in Scripture, or in the writings of any authentical doctor or author of the church, being within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction, between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction. And in that there is now, and since the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference among the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church for the conservation of good order and the unity of the catholic church; and that either by the consent and authority, or else at least by the permission and sufferance, of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling."

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witness and testimony of these bishops and other learned men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in The Bishops' Book before named.

Testimonies of bishops and doctors of England against the pope.

Thomas Cantuariensis.	Gulielmus Menevensis.	Gulielmus Cliffe.
Edovardus Eboracensis.	Robertus Assavensis.	Galfridus Dounes.
Johannes Londinensis.	Robertus Landavensis.	Robertus Oking.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.		Radulphus Bradford.
Stephanus Wintoniensis.	Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon.	Richardus Smith.
Robertus Carliolensis.	Sudbur.	Simon Matthew.
Johannes Exoniensis.	Gulielmus Knight, Archidiacon.	Johannes Prin.
Johannes Lincolniensis.	Richmond.	Gulielmus Buckmaster.
Johannes Barthoniensis.	Johan. Bel, Archidiacon. Glocester.	Gulielmus May.
Rolandus Coventr. et Lichfield.	Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon.	Nicolaus Wotton.
Thomas Eliensis.	Leicester.	Richardus Cox.
Nicolaus Sarum.	Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon.	Johannes Edmunds.
Johannes Bangor.	Dorset.	Thomas Robertson.
Edovardus Herefordiensis.	Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon. Staff.	Johannes Baker.
Hugo Wigorniensis.	Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiacon.	Thomas Barret.
Johannes Roffensis.	Nottingham.	Johannes Hase.
Richardus Cicestrensis.	Richardus Curren, Archidiacon.	Johannes Tyson.
Gulielmus Norwicensis.	Oxon.	

These were doctors of divinity, and of both laws.

Judge now thyself, loving reader, by these things heretofore confessed, alleged, allowed, proved, and confirmed; by pen set forth, by words defended, and by oath subscribed by these bishops and doctors, if either Martin Luther himself, or any Lutheran else, could or did ever say more against the proud

usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than they have done. If they dissembled otherwise meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, ing so pithily? If they meant as they said, could ever turn head to tail so suddenly, shortly as these men did? But because these

we write for edification of others, rather than for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go.

Concerning the argument of which epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, Cardinal Pole, brother to the Lord Montague, was attainted of high treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made cardinal of St. Mary Cosmeden; of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of Queen Mary. In the mean time, he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certain epistle exhortatory by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tonsal, bishop of Durham, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king.

When all other the king's subjects, and the learned of the realm, had taken and accepted the oath of the king's supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Exeter, and Sir Thomas More, refused (as is afore said) to be sworn; who therefore, falling into the power of the law, were committed to the Tower, and executed for the same, A. D. 1535. This is Fisher aforesaid had written before against *Campanius*, whose book is yet extant, and afterwards against Luther.

Also, amongst other his acts, he had been a great persecutor of John Frith, the godly and true martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and Sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before: and, shortly after, the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent, and found guilty of parliament, as is above recorded. For his piety and other virtues of life this bishop was much reputed and reported of by many, and also lamented by some. But whatsoever his learning, pity it was that he, being endued with that gift, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his error; but most pity of all, that he so abused his gift he had, to such cruelty as he did. But commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, that whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword, and they that stain their hands with blood, seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christ's poor members; in the number whereof was this bishop and Sir Thomas More, by the death of John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitten, and with divers other good saints of God, were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, for the sake of Bishop Fisher for his faithful service,

had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon, was as high as London bridge ere ever the pope's hat could come to him. Thus Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, who a little before had put John Frith to death for heresy against the pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for treason against the king, the one the twenty-second of June, the other the sixth of July, A. D. 1535.

Of Sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also counted a man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was besides, a bitter persecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the gospel, as by his books left behind him may appear; wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury; falsely belying their articles and doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in defence of the gospel, so again, on the other side, such a blind devotion he bare to the pope-holy see of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the scaffold of the Tower-hill, with the axe and all, upon his own neck.

Edward Hall in his Chronicle, writing of the death and manners of this Sir Thomas More, seems to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man: for, as by nature he was endued with a great wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministered some mock in the communication; insomuch as, at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanding his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise, even going to his death, at the Tower gate, a poor woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the time that he was in office, (which, after he was apprehended, she could not come by,) and that he would entreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered, "Good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself." Also, when he went up the stair of the scaffold, he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, "When I come down again, let me shift for myself

as well as I can." Also the hangman kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is; to whom he answered, "I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honesty of the striking off my head, my neck is so short." Also, even when he should lay down his head on the block, he, having a great grey beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it;" thus with a mock he ended his life.

There is no doubt but that the pope's Holiness hath hallowed and dignified those two persons long since for catholic martyrs: neither is it to be doubted, but after a hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and porthosed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the Church of Rome, that is, in taking the bishop of Rome's part against their own ordinary and natural prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long discourse, and a peculiar tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope, my friend. This briefly for a memorandum may suffice; that if the causes of true martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbered, and if the end of martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these men standing as it doth, and being tried by God's word, perhaps in the pope's kingdom they may go for martyrs, in whose cause they died; but certes in Christ's kingdom their cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

The like also is to be said of the three monks of the Charter-house, Exmew, Middlemore, and Neudigate, who the same year, in the month of June, were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certain traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity; for which they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: whom also, because Cope, my good friend, doth repute and accept in the number of holy catholic martyrs, here would be asked of him a question: What martyrs be they, who, standing before the judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these Carthusians did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore, if my friend Cope had been so well advised in setting out his martyrs as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others.

In the same cause and quarrel of treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the

month of May, were executed with the like punishment, John Houghton, prior of the charter-house of London; Robert Laurence, prior of the house of Belvail; Austin Webster, prior of the charter-house of Exham.

Besides and with these priors suffered like the same time, two other priests, one called nald, brother of Sion, the other named John vicar of Thistleworth. Divers other Charter-monks also of London were then put in the number of nine or ten, and in the same died; for whom we will, the Lord willing, another place, hereafter to treat of them at large.

In the mean time, forasmuch as the Cope, in his doughty dialogues, speaking of nine worthies, doth commend them so highly, especially the three priors above recited, hereby I would desire Master Cope simply and ly to answer me to a thing or two that I wrote to him; and first of this John Houghton, angelical prior of the Charter-house, his old comrade and acquaintance, of whom he thus writes: *qui cum Johannem illum Houghtonum non tam hominem quam angelum in forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes, divinas dotes, et heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis prodisse explicare, &c.* By these his own words it needs be confessed, that the author of these dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion, and of his excellent body, with such admiration of his personage, that, "as he saith, as oft as I call to mind John Houghton to mind, it seemeth to me even as though I saw an angel in the shape and form of a man: whose eminent virtues, more whose divine gifts and heroical greatness of no man," saith he, "may sufficiently express." how old was this Master Cope then, would I know when he saw and discerned all this? for, as I understand, Master Cope, being yet at this present scarce come to the age of forty years, he could then be above nine years old (the other sufficeth A. D. 1535); in the which age, in my mind, Master Cope had small discretion to judge either of such angelical proportion of this man's person, or of his divine qualities and heroical celsitude of his mind; and yet he remembereth him in his dialogues: which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to suspect that the dialogues, printed in Antwerp, A. D. 1566, were brought over by Master Cope there to be printed but were penned and framed by another Person Copus, whatsoever, or in what fleet soever, he

marks do greatly fail me. But as the
of no great weight, so I let it pass, return-
other matters of greater importance.

After the overthrow of the pope, conse-
quently began by little and little to follow the ruin
of religious houses in England, in a
order and method by God's divine providence.
Neither could the fall of monasteries have fol-
lowed, unless that suppression of the pope had
preceeded; neither could any true reformation of
the church have been attempted, unless the sub-
version of those superstitious houses had been join-

Upon, the same year, in the month of
the king, having then Thomas Cromwell
in council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeyes,
and nunneries in all England, and to set at
work such religious persons as desired to be
of all others that were under the age of four-
ty years; providing withal, that such
monks, and friars as were dismissed, should
have them by the abbot or prior, instead of
wearing a secular priest's gown, and forty shil-
lings money, and likewise the nuns to have such
as secular women did then commonly use,
permitted to go where they would; at which
time, from the said abbeyes and monasteries
were taken their chief jewels and relics.

As the king had thus established his supre-
macy, and all things were well quieted within the
kingdom, like a wise prince, and having wise coun-
sellors, forecasting with himself what foreign
troubles might fall unto him by other countries
which were all as yet in subjection to the
papacy of Rome, save only a few German princes,
suspecting the malice of the pope, to provide
himself sometimes for perils that might ensue, thought
it best to keep in, by all means possible, with other
princes.

At first, to entertain the favour of the French
king who had been sick a little before, and now
fully recovered to health, in signification of
joy and friendship, the king commanded a
great and famous procession to be ordained through
the city of London, with the waits, and children of
grammar schools, with the masters and ushers
in array: then followed the orders of the
great canons, and the priors with their pomp
of crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before
them. After these followed the next pageant of
the monks and priests of London, all in copes likewise.
Then the monks of Westminster and other abbeyes,
with their glorious gardeviance of crosses, candle-
sticks, and vergers before them, in like sort. Last of
all the choir of St. Paul's, with their residen-

tiaries; the bishop of London and the abbots fol-
lowing after in their pontificalibus. After these
courses of the clergy went the companies of the city,
with the lord mayor and aldermen in their best ap-
parel, after their degrees. And lest it might be
thought this procession of the church of London to
make but a small or beggarly show, the furniture of
the gay copes there worn, was counted to the num-
ber of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to
fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more
high service to Almighty God, besides the singing
choirs, and chanting of the priests, there lacked no
minstrels withal, to pipe at the processions. Briefly,
here lacked nothing else but only the ordnance
to shoot off also. But because that is used in the
processions at Rome, therefore, for difference' sake,
the same is reserved only for the pope's own pro-
cessions, and for none other, in the month of Oc-
tober.

This grand procession was appointed for a tri-
umph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the
French king's health, as is afore said.

Over and besides this, the king, to nourish and
retain amity with kings and princes, (lest the pope,
being exiled now out of England, should incite them
to war against him,) directed sundry ambassadors
and messengers with letters and instructions. To
the emperor was sent Sir Francis Wyat, to the
French king Sir Thomas Bryan, and Dr. Edward
Foxe, who was also sent to the princes of Germany;
to the Scottish king was sent Sir Ralph Sadler,
gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

In Scotland at the same time were cast abroad
divers railing ballets and slanderous rhymes against
the king of England, for casting off the lady dowa-
ger, and for abolishing the pope; for which cause
the aforesaid Sir Ralph Sadler, being sent into Scot-
land with lessons and instructions how to address
himself accordingly, after he had obtained access
unto the king, and audience to be heard, first de-
clareth the affectuous and hearty commendations
from the king's Majesty, his Grace's uncle, and
withal delivered his letters of credence: which
done, after a few words of courtly entertainment, as
occasion served him to speak, the said Sir Ralph
Sadler, obtaining audience, thus began in the king
his master's behalf to declare, as followeth:

"Whereas there is nothing, after the glory of Al-
mighty God, in this world so much to be tendered
by kings, princes, or any honest persons, or so high-
ly to be regarded and defended, as their honour,
estimation, good fame, and name, which whosoever
neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural; and unless
a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false re-
ports, slanders, and defamations made of him by

malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself; the king your uncle, considering the same, and hearing of sundry ballets, criminations, and infamous libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his Grace, by your Grace's subjects, not only upon trust to find with your Grace such natural affection, friendship, and amity, as the nearness of blood between uncle and nephew, necessitude of reverence, proximity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your Grace and wisdom will consider how these slanders and defamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly rebound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate; as the defamation of kings toucheth kings, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your Grace, his nephew, (others he might have sent more worthy; but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent,) to desire, pray, and require your Grace, according as the nearness of blood, connexion of estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require: beseeching your Grace gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder, the malice of these the said slanderers, and to call in again all the said defamatory ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authors and setters-forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open proclamations to be made through your realm, that none of the inhabitants there shall, in any manner of wise, so misuse himself hereafter, upon such great pain and punishment as to your Grace and your council shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that others, by their correction, and by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

"The example of such slanders is very pernicious to all kings; for, by such slanders of other princes, the slanderers take boldness so to deal afterwards with their own king, as they have done with others; and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to sedition; of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

"Wherefore your Grace, at the contemplation of your dear uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good brother and ally, the French king, who hath already at Rouen, and sundry places else, caused certain slanderous preachers to be sore punished; and further directed commissions through his realm for repressing the same. As also other princes shall be ready (his Majesty trusteth) to do the like in their dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which so doing, your Grace

may be assured, in this your gentle dealing part, to win your uncle's most sincere heart, to the increase of your amity and which as to you shall be most honourable, it be no less profitable unto him.

"And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration, concerning the slanderous and defamatory libels, lest I should seem with prolixity of more than needs to abuse your Grace's patience, I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your Grace, as touching the nuncio, or messenger; of whose late arrival to your Majesty, your uncle, having partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the special cause coming from Rome, and yet fearing, by the bruit and talk of your subjects, what his Majesty should be (that is, to practise some annoy to his pretended censures against the king's Majesty, your uncle); he therefore, premonishing you before, as fearing the worst, most justly made complaint thereof unto your Grace, his nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the aforesaid complaints and reports are slanderous to his Majesty, and that neither the emperor, nor the French king, nor any other princes, have consented thereto, nor stood thereof, the king's Majesty, therefore, your uncle, willing to stop those bruits and talks, and most heartily prayeth your Grace, at his request, to vouchsafe to consider and weigh.

"First, The supremacy of princes, by the Scripture granted unto him and other princes under Christ, upon their churches.

"Secondly, To weigh what the gospel and word calleth a church.

"Also what superstitions, idolatries, and abuses have crept into all realms, to the displeasure of Almighty God, by reason thereof.

"Fourthly, What is to be understood by the censure or excommunication of the church, and no such can be in the power of the bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his Majesty, or other prince; having so just ground to avoid the root, and to abolish that execrable authority which the bishop of Rome hath usurped, and usurp, upon all princes, to their great detriment and damage.

"As touching the consideration of which points, although the king's Majesty, your Majesty, doubteth not your Grace to be furnished and provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discern and judge upon the same; yet, if it shall so please your Grace further to know your uncle's mind touching the said points, I assure your Highness, in the behalf of your aforesaid uncle, his Majesty, that he will not stick to send unto you such learned,

and discreet men, as shall amply inform you thereof, and of such other things as your Grace, having seen a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a prince to know.

"His request therefore to your Highness is, that you consider of what moment and importance it shall unto your Grace, (having the Scots your subjects and instructed in the premises,) for you to assent or agree to any such censure, and so, by such example, to give such an upper-hand over yourself and other princes, to that usurper of Rome, as is like hereafter to happen in other places of freedom, wheresoever the true declaration of truth and word of God shall have free course, charge them, unless they will adore, worship, and be the feet of that corrupt holiness, which denoting else but pride, and the universal thrall attend under Rome's yokes.

"Because the censures of that nuncio be not made, but lie secret and uncertain under mutual, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till occasion shall minister to me more certain to say and to judge. In the mean time, for as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the king's Majesty, that the abbot of Arundel should be chosen of late and elected to be a cardinal in this your realm of Scotland, his Majesty, for the good love and hearty good will he bears unto your Grace, as the uncle is bound unto his nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not the hypocrisy and deceitful guile and malice of the Romans and their practices, as he himself by his long experience; could not but, hearing of, advertise your Grace, that his advice is, that you should not suffer any of your subjects to take on that red hat of pride, whereby he shall utterly, the same being received, (unless he be of contrary nature to any man that ever was yet made a cardinal,) not only be in manner discharged of his duty, and become the bishop of Rome's true enemy; but also shall presume of his cardinalship over your fellow, and to have the rule as well as when should the bishop of Rome creep into your very bosom, know all your secrets, and at last you will be yoked and serve their pleasures. In short, your Grace is like to smart for it. For perchance, in the beginning, shall seem to be a very honourable and pleasant; but afterwards, to beware of the tail, which is very bitter.

"The king's Majesty's father, and grandfather to your Grace, was a cardinal whereof he was weary, and he had others after his decease, knowing the mischief of them. In like manner also his Majesty, by the experience of one, hath utterly

determined to avoid all the sort: so well his Grace hath known and experienced their mischief, yoke, and thralldom, that thereby is laid upon princes. By reason whereof, as his Highness is the more able by his own experience to inform your Grace, so of good will and mere propensity of heart, caused partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of dominions adjoining so near together, he is no less ready to forewarn your Grace before, wishing that God will so work in your princely heart and noble stomach, that his Majesty's monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his nephew, so it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your Grace, wisely weighing with yourself, what supreme right princes have, and ought to have, over their churches and lands where they govern, and what little cause the bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust censures against them; your Grace may therein not only stand to the just defence of your dear uncle, but also may endeavour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsel, which, he doubteth not, but shall redound, not only to your Grace's honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your realm and subjects; but, especially, to the glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true religion.

"And thus have I expounded unto your Grace the sum of my errand and message from the king's Majesty, your uncle, who, as he would be glad to be advertised, by answer, of your Grace's purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf, so, for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be prepared and ready, with all diligence, to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly."

The king, considering the present state of his marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the courts of other princes, and also having intelligence of the strait amity intended by the marriages between the emperor and the French king, and also of the pope's inclination to pleasure the emperor; and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French king's council, not greatly favouring his purposes, sent therefore into France, for his ambassador, Edward Foxe, doctor of divinity, his chaplain and counsellor, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himself in those the king's affairs.

Furthermore, for the establishing of the king's succession to the imperial crown of this realm, for the suppression of the pope, and uniting the title of supremacy unto the king's crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appear by the act of parliament set forth A. D. 1534, in these words following:

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[Faint, mostly illegible text in the right column, appearing as horizontal lines.]

The latter [illegible] as he was [illegible]
 of [illegible] matters, so he [illegible]
 and plainly his [illegible]
 and when they [illegible]
 in opinions and
 in the book, and
 the open and manifest [illegible]

Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reved their false opinions. Then said the lady, a stout and a wise woman, (as Tyndale related,) "Well," said she, "there was such a one which may dispense a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think that we should believe you before them?"

Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time, ~~also~~ after that, (because he saw it would not do,) he talked but little in those matters. At ~~time~~ he was about the translation of a book, the *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which, being ~~read~~, he delivered to his master and lady; after they had read and well perused the same, ~~sturdy~~ prelates were no more so often called ~~house~~, neither had they the cheer and counsels when they came, as before they had: which they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Welch, refrained themselves, and at last utterly ~~for~~, and came no more there.

As he grew on, the priests of the country, clustered together, began to grudge and storm against him, railing against him in alehouses and other places, of whom Tyndale himself, in his prologue to the *First Book of Moses*, thus testifieth in his words, and reporteth that he suffereth much in every by a sort of unlearned priests, being ignorant, (saith he,) God knoweth: I have seen no more Latin, than that only they read in their portuses and missals, and many of them can scarcely read,) except *De Secretis Mulierum*, in which yet, they be never so sorrily learned, they pore over it, and make notes therein, and all to the midwives, as they say; and also another *Redwood*, a book of constitutions to gather *maries*, offerings, customs, and other pillars, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the *my church*, to discharge their consciences

withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church." Thus these blind and rude priests, flocking together to the alehouse, (for that was their preaching place,) raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatnings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is, (as he himself declared,) that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser,) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present. And thus Master Tyndale, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:" and said moreover, "I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

It was not long after, but Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, "I de-

fy the pope, and all his laws ;" and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than he did. After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things sorely to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in divinity ; and said moreover to him, that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country ; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Master Tyndale, answering again, thus said, that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach.

To be short, Master Tyndale, being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place ; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him : " Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality ; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth ; for the which I should be right sorry." So that in fine, Master Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and eftsoons came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the town of Bristol, and also in the said town, in the common place called St. Austin's Green.

At length, he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extolled him for his learning, Tyndale thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Guildford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said bishop of London for him ; which he also did ; and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him. Which he did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight ; the answer of whom was this : That his house was

full ; he had more than he could well find ; he advised him to seek in London abroad, where he said, he could lack no service, &c. And so he lived in London the space almost of a year, living and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up authority and kingdom ; beholding also the doings of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly misliked him ; insomuch that he understood only that there was no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, and that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose in the realm, and having some aid and power by God's providence, ministered unto him by John Mummuth, above recited, (as you saw before,) and certain other good men, he took leave of the realm, and departed into Germany, where the good man, being inflamed with a pure care and zeal of his country, refused no travail or diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the true taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him with. Whereupon, he considering in his mind, and also conferring with John Frith, Tyndale thought with himself no way more to conduce than if the Scripture were turned into the people's speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For finally, wisely casting in his mind, perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the people in any truth, except the Scriptures were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text ; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reason, or with sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture ; or else juggled with the text, expounding it in such a sense, that were impossible to gather of the text, if the process, order, and meaning thereof were seen.

Again, right well he perceived and considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of much mischief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes ; for so long as those abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the Pharisaical clergy could not be espied ; and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right meaning with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations.

with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and, with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about A. D. 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly promises prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again by all good Christians, as the same he did upon the New Testament. He wrote also divers other works under sundry titles, the best of which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," in which, with singular dexterity, he instructeth all in the office and duty of Christian obedience; and divers other treatises, as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates;" with exposition upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other also, answering to Sir Thomas More and his adversaries of the truth, no less delectable, than most fruitful to be read; which partly being unknown unto many, partly also being abolished and worn out by time, the printer and good reader, for conserving and restoring singular treasures, hath collected and set forth the same in one general volume, all and together, as also the works of John Frith, and others, as are to be seen, most special tables for thy reading.

These books of William Tyndale being compiled, and sent over into England, it cannot be that a door of light they opened to the whole English nation, which before were shut up in darkness.

But departing out of the realm he took his way into the further parts of Germany, as into Brabant, where he had conference with Luther and learned men in those quarters; where, when he had continued a certain season, he fled from thence into the Netherlands, and abiding in the town of Antwerp, until his apprehension; whereof more shall be said willingly hereafter.

Amongst his other books which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar; which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddess Diana, that is, against their mass, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven. Wherefore Master Tyndale, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of God's holy truth after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but, by God's merciful grace, a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore. Amen!

These godly books of Tyndale, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly, so the ungodly (envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest, by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned) began to stir with no small ado; like as at the birth of Christ, Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. But especially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travails of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways, may appear. For at what time Tyndale had translated the Fifth Book of Moses, called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship, both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburg, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A. D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having des-

patched his business at Hamburgh, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again.

Thus, as Satan is, and ever hath been, an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of God's word, as by this and many other experiments may be seen, so his ministers and members, following the like quality of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the pope's chaplains and God's enemies, and by their cruel handling of the said Master Tyndale at the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appear.

When God's will was, that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned, to amend, if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if there had been any such default deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have redressed what was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then of the clergy, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made more matter, and said that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself, in his own prologue before the First Book of Moses, declareth; and addeth further, showing what great pains were taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, he supposeth, they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: showing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the said translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over its head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the forward devices of the English clergy, (who should have been the guides of light unto the people,) to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndale saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lusts, their

ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and their own honour above king and emperor, above God himself.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, (ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in this, although having no cause, against the Old Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their counsels, how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to the point; by reason whereof, a proclamation in this manner was devised and set forth under public seal, but no just reason showed, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works of both of his, and of other writers, were instantly to be abandoned, as ye heard before: which was done A. D. 1527. And yet not contented hereby, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life; which they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

In the registers of London it appeareth, how that the bishops and Sir Thomas More had the poor man under *coram*, that is, to be examined by them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp, who studiously would search and examine all things relating to Tyndale, where and with whom he was, what he did, whereabouts stood the house, what was his attire, in what apparel he went, what resort he had, &c.: all which things when they had discovered, (as may appear by the examination of John Smith and others,) then began they to lay their feints, as you shall hear by the relation of his own host.

William Tyndale, being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept a house of English merchants; about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of the port, a comely fellow, like as he had been a great while having a servant with him: but wherefore he was sent thither, or for what purpose he was sent thither, none could tell.

Master Tyndale divers times was desired to dine and supper amongst merchants; by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such familiarity with him, that through his procurement he lived in the same house of the said Pointz; to whom he showed moreover his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this tra-

Pointz, having no great confidence in the asked Master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered that he was an honest man, handsomely and very conformable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bore such favour to him, said notwithstanding that he was brought acquainted with some friend of his. The said Philips, being three or four days, upon a time desired to walk with him forth of the town to show the commodities thereof, and in walking together about the town, had communication of divers and some of the king's affairs; by the which he was yet suspected nothing, but after, by the disclosure of the matter, he perceived more what he did. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bore no great favour either to the setting of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king in England. But after, when the time was come, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he might perceive by him, whether he might break in in the matter, for lucre of money, to help to his purpose; for he perceived before that he was desired, and would that Pointz should think no more of it by whom it was unknown. For he had said to Pointz before, to help him to divers things; and such things as he named he required might be had. "for," said he, "I have money enough;" and in this talk came nothing but that men should be had to do some things to do; for nothing else came out of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means of them Master Tyndale should have had warning. Philips went from Antwerp to the court of the king, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the emperor and the Lady Katharine, which was aunt to the emperor; and the discord grew so much, that he doubted lest there should have been war between the emperor and the king; so that Philips, being a traitor both against God and the king, was the better retained, as also other traitors more desired him; who, after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their hands, showed himself likewise to be the king's own person, and there set forth his purpose against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring Master Tyndale thence with him to Antwerp, that procuror-general, which is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was

not done with small charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips's man came unto him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said, his master would come to him; and so departed: but whether his master, Philips, were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, either of the master or of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the officers which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings, the which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexperienced.

Then said Philips, "Master Tyndale! you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said Master Tyndale, "I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him but, Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, which, being there, might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers that took Master Tyndale afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they took him, and brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procuror-general, where he dined. Then came the

procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent, in favour of Tyndale, to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant-adventurers, to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them, in favour of Master Tyndale, to the lord of Barrois and others; which lord of Barrois (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. Pointz, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; the which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, There were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield); and so Pointz said to him, "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his Lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride." Then said Pointz, "If it shall please your Lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place;" which was at Maestricht. "If you so do," said the lord, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, the which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant-adventurers, and another also to the Lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrois's letters also, and received eftsoons answer into England of the same by letters which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Master Tyndale out of prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and

diligently followed with the said letters, which there delivered to the council, and was come by them to tarry until he had other letters which he was not despatched thence in a while after. At length, the letters being delivered, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there took answer of the same.

When the said Pointz had tarried three days, it was told him by one that belonged to Chancery, that Master Tyndale should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips, being there, followed against Master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other way but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a spy in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a courer of Tyndale, and was one of the same company; and that all this was only his own labour and cunning to have Master Tyndale at liberty, and no more.

Thus, upon his information and accusation, he was attached by the procuror-general, the chief attorney, and delivered to the keeping of the jeants-at-arms; and the same evening was delivered to him one of the chancery, with the procuror-general who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have many other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had another examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as a hundred articles, of the king's affairs, as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders, and of his religion; and which examinations, the procuror-general required twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and did the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto. He permitted him to have an advocate and proctor, is, a doctor and proctor in the law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver to them his answer, and from eight days to eight days to proceed till the process were ended. Also he should send no messenger to Antwerp where his house was, being twenty-four English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch; and the procuror-general, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly, (contrary to all right and equity,) before they were sent or delivered; neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except

tut tongue; so that his keepers, who were
 en, might understand what the contents of
 ss or talk should be: saving that at one
 provincial of the White Friars came to din-
 re Pointz was prisoner, and brought with
 ung novice, being an Englishman, whom
 incial, after dinner, of his own accord, did
 lk with the said Pointz; and so with him
 licensed to talk. The purpose and great
 xerein was easy to be perceived. Between
 ad the novice was much pretty talk, as of
 mas More, and of the bishop of Rochester,
 air putting to death; whose death he seem-
 dy to lament, especially dying in such a
 worthy (as he said) to be accounted for
 ; with other noble doctrine, and deep learn-
 divinity, meet to feed swine withal: such
 n then in those days reigned amongst them.
 ighth day, the commissioners that were ap-
 came to the house where Pointz was kept,
 had his answer in writing; he, making no
 ste in proceeding, answereth them with a
 manner, saying, he was there a prisoner,
 ht not go abroad, so that, although he had
 ed and named who were to be a council with
 y came not to him, nor could he go to them;
 ld any come to give counsel in this matter,
 ch as were licensed and named by them.
 hey gave him a day, to make answer against
 the eighth day. And Pointz drew out his own
 answering to the whole declaration generally;
 at the next coming, he delivered them: but
 swer they would not take, saying, he must
 to every article particularly; and so they
 der, that he should make it ready against the
 coming. Thus he trifled them off, from All-
 tide until Christmas even, with dilatory mat-
 tom one eighth day to another eighth day.
 pon Christmas even, in the morning, they
 to him to have had an answer, which was not
 nor had any counsel come to him in all that
 bowbeit, they would delay the time no longer,
 id they, "Bring in your answer this day, or
 e shall be put from it;" so he perceived, that
 ere not brought in that night, he should have
 condemned without answer. So then, with
 ado, he got the advocate to help him in or-
 g of his answer; but it was long ere he came,
 at it was past eight o'clock of Christmas even
 e his answers were delivered to the procuror-
 ral. And then afterwards, as the time served,
 e days appointed, it went forth with replication
 ac, with other answers each to other, in writing
 e they could, in answering to the emperor's or-
 uces. And at such times as the commissioners

came to Pointz, that traitor Philips accompanied
 them to the door, in following the process against
 him, as he also did against Master Tyndale, as they
 who had Pointz in keeping showed him.

The process being ended, as the order is there,
 either party delivered up to the commissioners a
 bag, with his process in writing, and took an in-
 ventory of every parcel of writing that was within
 the bag. So it rested in their hands; but, upon
 sentence, Pointz required, in the time of process,
 that he might put in surety, and so to be at liberty.
 This they granted him at the first time, but, after-
 wards, they denied to take surety for his body. Then
 he sent a post from the town of Brussels to Antwerp
 to the English merchants, thinking they would not
 let him have stuck for lack of their help, in putting
 in sureties for him, considering the cause, with the
 circumstance, especially since they brought him into
 this trouble themselves; although it does not appear
 that they made him any promise for his charges and
 pains taken, as Pointz reported of them they really
 did.

But, to pass over this, and to make the matter
 short: if the aforesaid merchants, such as were of
 the town of Antwerp, had, at the time, been surety
 for him, then the matter had been altered from a
 criminal to a civil case: but when Pointz had de-
 livered to them his answer, they demanded of him,
 for his charges, money, or sureties. The charges
 were much, to reckon for the two officers' meat, and
 drink, and wages, beside his own charges; so that
 it was about five shillings every day. For all the
 while he was prisoner, he was not in a common pri-
 son, but in the keeping of two officers in one of their
 houses. So they demanded sureties to be brought
 within eight days for the charges, but then they de-
 nied him to take surety for his body, to make answer
 at liberty. Pointz, considering that they altered in
 their purposes, as well in other things as in that;
 and perceiving, by other things, (as also it was told
 in secret,) that it would have cost him his life if he
 had tarried, yet Pointz granted them to put in sure-
 ties, requiring of them to have a messenger to send;
 not because he reckoned to have any, but to make
 a delay, otherwise they would have sent him to a
 stronger prison. But Pointz delayed them, think-
 ing, if he could, to make escape; yet he did make
 a good face, as though he reckoned to have been in
 no danger; which if he had not done, it was very
 unlikely he should have escaped with his life out of
 their hands. And at the eighth day the commis-
 sioners came again to Pointz, and there received
 both their bags with the process, one from the pro-
 curor-general, and one from Pointz, delivering either
 of them an inventory of such pieces of writing as

were delivered in the bags, and demanded sureties of Pointz, according to the order they took when they were last with him. Pointz alleged that he had divers times required those who had him in keeping to get him a messenger, as he also had done, but made no great haste to have any; for he reckoned it should be a sufficient delay, whereby he might have another day. And with much alleging the impossibility of his being able to get a messenger to send forth, at the last, they put him apart, and agreed to give him a day eight days after, and called him in again, and commanded the officer to get him a messenger, as they did. And so Pointz sent him with letters to the English merchants, who at that time were at Barrois. Howbeit, he reckoned to get away before the return again of the messenger, for he perceived his tarrying there should have been his death. And therefore, to put in a venture to get away, that so he might save himself, (for, if he had been taken, it would have been but death, for he had been prisoner there in their hands at that time about twelve or thirteen weeks,) he tarried not the coming again of the messenger, but, in a night, by some means he conveyed himself off, and so, by God's help, at the opening of the town gate in the morning, he got away. And when it was perceived that he was gone, there was horse sent out after him, but, because he well knew the country, he escaped and came into England. But what more trouble followeth to Pointz after the same, it serveth not for this place to rehearse. Master Tyndale, still remaining in prison, was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, he would make answer for himself, and did: but, it is to be thought, his answer will not be put forth. Notwithstanding, he had so preached to them there who had him in charge, and such as were there conversant with him in the castle, that they reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they knew not whom they might take to be one.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg, (as is before signified,) and, upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford, A. D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

Such was the power of his doctrine, and the sin-

cerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment, (which endured a year and a half, as is said, he converted his keeper, the keeper's son, and others of his household. ~~Also~~ that were with Tyndale conversant ~~about~~ reported of him that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator-general, the emperor's being there, left this testimony of him, that "a learned, a good, and a godly man."

The same morning in which he was ~~had~~ fire, he delivered a letter to the keeper of the castle, which the keeper himself brought to the ~~keeper~~ the aforesaid Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after, which letter, with his examinations and disputations, I would might have come to our eyes, all which I understand did remain, and yet to be done, in the hands of the keeper's daughter. It is of him reported, that as he was ~~in~~ prisoner, there was much writing, and great reputation to and fro, between him and the university of Louvain, (which was not past ten miles from the place where he was prisoner) such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the difficulties and testimonies of the Scripture, which most pithily grounded his doctrine.

That traitor, worse than Judas to man's judgment, (only not comparing this to the case of Christ, that the Scripture hath already judged Judas, otherwise in the act—doing not so goodly ~~as~~ after he had betrayed his Master and ~~Philip~~ sorry, acknowledged and confessed his fault, declared his Master to be the very Truth, and repaying the money that he had received for the act, brought it again and cast it before him. This traitor Philips, contrariwise, not lamenting, rejoicing in what he had done, not declaring his honest goodness and truth of his friend, but ~~doing~~ ing, in all that he could devise, to declare his Master to be false and seditious, and not despising the money that he had received, not bringing it again, but ~~doing~~ curing and receiving more, wherewith to follow his suit against that innocent blood to the death; ~~in~~ case of things endured about one whole year and half, in which he lost no time, but all that time followed Pointz with most diligent attendance to and fro, and from Louvain to Brussels, and to London, with process to have sentence against him. And having there no other thing to do, he applied himself to nothing else; which was not done without small expenses and charges, from whomsoever they came. And, as I have heard say there in that country, Master Tyndale found them in the university of Louvain with enough to do.

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when he went to betray Christ, with which he went his way, the other apostles thought he had gone to have bought things necessary, (although he went to appoint with the Jews for the taking of his Master, Christ,) so, in like manner, this traitor Philips, the same morning that he brought his treachery to purpose, with bringing Master Tyndale into the hands of God's enemies, took money of him under a colour of borrowing, and put it into his bag, and then incontinent went his ways therewith, and came with his company of soldiers, who laid hands upon him as before, and led him away. And about one whole year and a half after, he was put to death at Filford, with fire; and, albeit this Philips rejoiced awhile, after that he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with lice.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called, in these our days, an apostle of England, it were long to recite. Among many others, this, because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpass, which hath unto me credibly been testified by certain grave merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive; the story whereof is this: There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of merchants as they were at supper, a certain juggler, which through his diabolical enchantments of art magical, would fetch all kind of viands and wine from any place they would, and set them upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such-like things. The same of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master Tyndale heard of it, he desired certain of the merchants, that he might also be present at supper, to see him play his parts. To be brief, the supper was appointed, and the merchants, with Tyndale, were there present. Then the juggler, being required to play his feats, and to show his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At last, with his labour, sweating, and toiling, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at supper, which disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired.

As concerning the works and books of Tyndale, which extend to a great number, thou wast told before, loving reader! how the printer hereof mindeth, by the Lord's leave, to collect them all in one

volume together, and put them out in print. Yore it shall not greatly at this time be made any several rehearsal of them. And in his translation of the New Testament, his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending to be so full of heresies; to answer therefore the slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt understand what faithful dealing and conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words, written in an epistle to John Frith, as followeth: "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our life, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this in any place that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, riches, might be given me," &c.

And as ye have heard Tyndale's own words protesting for himself, now let us hear like his faithful testimony of John Frith, for Tyndale's dear companion and brother, thus declaring his answer to Master More, as followeth:

The testimony of John Frith, in his book of the sacrament, concerning William Tyndale.

"And Tyndale I trust liveth, well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son, and his faithful ministers in this world, who are sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of gold, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he wrote, 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. More will I take God to witness to my conscience, that I do not lie to God to myself in this world, no more than I do without which I cannot keep his laws,' &c. And thou Christian reader, whether these words be not the words of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such that I am sure no man can prove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, who beholdeth the heart."

Thus much out of Frith. And thus, being now to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tyndale, it shall be requisite now that thou reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the king and nobles of the realm, that they are yet extant in his works to be seen,

in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof to this effect as followeth.

His supplication to the king, nobles, and subjects of England.

Beseech the king's most noble Grace, well to consider all the ways by which the cardinal, and our bishops, have led him since he was first king; and whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain glory of the cardinal is come, and how God hath punished him and our prelates in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet with their causes, and have spent for our prelates' causes in all Christendom, even unto the utter beggary of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but hatred and hate among all nations, and a mock and derision of them whom we have most holpen. For our scholars (as the saying is) of late days made a disguise, at Paris, in which the emperor was associated with the pope and the French king, who married them; the king of England sitting on a bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he was not but to pay the minstrels their wages: as we should say, we paid for all men's dancing. He married the emperor openly, and gave the French emperor double and treble secretly, and to the pope money. Yea, and though Ferdinand had money sent to blind the world withal, yet the saying is, that all Dutch-land, that we sent money to the king of Poland, &c.

Furthermore, I beseech his Grace also to have regard to his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his Testament to be persecuted under his name; for that the sword of the wrath of God may be set up again, which, for that cause, no doubt, is chiefly drawn.

Thirdly, my petition is to his Grace, to have compassion on his poor subjects, that the realm utter perish not with the wicked counsel of our prelates. For if his Grace, who is but a man, should die, the lords and commons not knowing who was most right to enjoy the crown, the realm could not stand in great danger.

My fourth suit and exhortation is to all the lords and temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the king's Grace, and humbly desire his Majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed; and if he or she fail, who next, and who third. Let it be proclaimed openly; and let all the lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the knights, squires, and gentlemen, and the commons above fifteen years old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they try it by the sword, I promise

them, I see no other likelihood, but it will cost the realm of England, &c.

"Further, of all the subjects of England this I crave—that they repent; for the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, saith Paul, in 1 Thess. ii. We be all sinners a hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us, therefore, each forgive others, remembering, the greater sinners the more welcome, if we repent; according to the similitude of the riotous son. For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood is their treasure, to pay for their sins. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits are the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins.

"Finally, if the persecution of the king's Grace, and other temporal persons, conspiring with the spirituality, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shall show them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle, (which is the sin against the Holy Ghost,) then ye shall see, even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, homeward, to shed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible."

These things thus discoursed, pertaining to the story and doings of Tyndale, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private letters and epistles, whereof, among divers others which have not come to our hands, two special he wrote to John Frith, one properly, under his own name, another under the name of Jacob; but, in very deed, it was written and delivered to John Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequel hereafter. The copy and tenor of the epistles here followeth.

A letter sent from William Tyndale unto Master Frith, being in the Tower.

"The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John! I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it to a stay, they return to their

old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all!

"Dearly beloved! however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord. Fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God; for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he had lain down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body; according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.

"Dearly beloved! be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may, at his coming, be made like to his, immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, which choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none but that will abjure, rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say, 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not. But, might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore, of pure pride and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths what their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you, and make you strong; and that so strong that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above

all that your heart can imagine: yea, and you are not yet dead, though the hypocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. *Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*; to look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

"Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words, with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you; neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your hearts; no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you; let not their vice beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved. If pain be above your strength, remember, Whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you. As ye pray to your Father in that name, and he shall ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

WILLIAM TYNDALE

"Two have suffered in Antwerp, *In die crucis*, unto the great glory of the gospel; for Rissele in Flanders, and at Lucca hath there one of the least suffered; and all the same day. Rouen in France they persecute, and at Paris five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are alone; be cheerful, and remember that among hard-hearted in England, there is a number ready by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you are ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, howsoever it be, forget it not, that we may know it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. Then be yet again with you with all his plenty and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

"If, when you have read this, you may see Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how our heart is with you.

"George Joy at Candlemas, being at Antwerp, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great font, sent one copy to the king, and another to the queen, with a letter to N., to deliver them to purchase licence, that he might so go to print all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the first of the new Bible; and out of that is the great Bible for English books at all printers and booksellers in Antwerp, and for an English priest, that he may print.

is chanced the ninth day of May.
 your wife is well content with the will of
 and would not, for her sake, have the glory of
 dered.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

er notable and worthy letter of Master
 am Tyndale, sent to the said John Frith,
 er the name of Jacob.

the grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience,
 um, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom,
 your heart, Amen.

my beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's de-
 our Saviour Jesus, is, that you arm yourself
 lence, and be cold, sober, wise, and circum-
 and that you keep you alow by the ground,
 ing high questions, that pass the common ca-
 But expound the law truly, and open the
 Moses to condemn all flesh; and prove all
 mers, and all deeds under the law, before
 have taken away the condemnation thereof,
 in and damnable; and then, as a faithful
 er, set abroad the mercy of our Lord Jesus,
 the wounded consciences drink of the water
 And then shall your preaching be with
 and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites;
 the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all
 faces shall bear record unto you, and feel that
 And all the doctrine that casteth a mist on
 to, to shadow and hide them, (I mean the
 of God, and mercy of Christ,) that resist you
 your power. Sacraments without significa-
 If they put significations to them, re-
 them, if you see it may help, though it be not
 ay.

the presence of Christ's body in the sacra-
 meddle as little as you can, that there appear
 sion among us. Barnes will be hot against
 The Saxons be sore on the affirmative: whe-
 nstant or obstinate, I commit it to God.
 Melancthon is said to be with the French
 There be in Antwerp that say, they saw
 come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses,
 that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen
 are the word of God, he will plant the affirma-
 in them. George Joy would have put forth a
 of the matter, but I have stopped him as
 what he will do if he get money, I wot not.
 ere he would make many reasons little serving
 purpose. My mind is that nothing be put
 till we hear how you shall have sped. I would
 in the right use preached, and the presence to be
 indifferent thing, till the matter might be reason-
 in peace, at leisure, of both parties. If you be
 quired, show the phrases of the Scripture, and

let them talk what they will: for as to believe that
 God is every where, hurteth no man that worahippeth
 him no where but within in the heart, in spirit, and
 verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ
 is every where, (though it cannot be proved,) hurt-
 eth no man that worahippeth him no where save in
 the faith of his gospel. You perceive my mind:
 howbeit if God show you otherwise, it is free for
 you to do as he moveth you.

"I guessed long ago, that God would send a
 dazing into the head of the spirituality, to catch
 themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is
 come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a coun-
 sel to be taken, little for their profits in time to
 come. But you must understand, that it is not of
 a pure heart, and for love of the truth, but to avenge
 themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck
 the marrow of her bones. Wherefore cleave fast
 to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end
 of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that
 you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far
 as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof,
 refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the
 Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learn-
 ing set up in the universities. But if aught be re-
 quired contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ,
 then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and
 be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply
 shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

"Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart! there
 liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust,
 and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul com-
 forteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part
 so much for your learning, and what other gifts else
 you have, as because you will creep alow by the
 ground, and walk in those things that the conscience
 may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain;
 in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things,
 and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or
 things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so
 or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: in-
 somuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things
 that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say, (till
 others agree with you,) 'Methinks the text requireth
 this sense or understanding.' Yea, and if you be
 sure that your part be good, and another hold the
 contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter,
 you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing
 to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly
 in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you
 be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to
 record against the day we shall appear before our
 Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that
 I never altered one syllable of God's word against
 my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in

the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God, to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws.

"Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil-favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow-witted: your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me; remembering that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

"Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spirituality hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you; but now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it; for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

"My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and who was once my scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not.

"The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph: and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

"I hope our redemption is nigh.

WILLIAM TYNDALE."

This letter was written A. D. 1533, in the month of January: which letter, although it do pretend

the name of Jacob, yet understand, good reader, it was written in very deed to John Frith above told thee. For the more proof and evidence hereof, read Frith's book of the sacraments there thou shalt find a certain place of this repeated word for word, beginning thus; "God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of all things, that I never altered one syllable of word against my conscience," &c.; which John Frith himself witnesseth that he received of Tyndale, as in his testimony appeareth.

The death of the Lady Katharine, dowager, and that of Queen Anne.

HE same year in which Tyndale was executed, which was 1536, in the beginning of the first died Katharine, dowager, in the month of June.

After which same year also, in the month of May next following, followeth the death also of Queen Anne, who had now been married to the king the space of six years. In certain records thus we find, the king, being in his jousts at Greenwich, saw with a few persons departed to Westminster the next day after, Queen Anne, his wife, was taken to the Tower, with the Lord Rochford her brother and certain other, and, the nineteenth day of May, was beheaded. The words of this worthy and christian lady at her death were these:

"Good Christian people! I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak no more against it. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused, and condemned to die; but I pray God to send him long to reign over you, a gentler or a more merciful prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will make my cause, I require them to judge the best. Thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord, have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul."

And so she kneeled down, saying, "To Christ I commend my soul:" "Jesu, receive my soul."

the same divers times, till at length the
was given, and her head was stricken off.

this was the end of that godly lady and

Godly I call her, for sundry respects, what-
the cause was, or quarrel objected against

First, her last words spoken at her death de-
less her sincere faith and trust in Christ,

her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness
cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Be-

not to such as wisely can judge upon cases oc-
this also may seem to give a great clearing

er, that the king, the third day after, was
in his whites unto another. Certain this

et for the rare and singular gifts of her mind,
instructed, and given toward God, with such

et desire unto the truth and setting forth of
religion, joined with like gentleness, mo-

nd pity toward all men, there have not many
before her borne the crown of England.

ly this one commendation she left behind
during her life, the religion of Christ most

flourished, and had a right prosperous

things might be written more of the mani-
fues, and the quiet moderation of her mild

how lowly she would bear, not only to be
shed, but also of her own accord would re-

her chaplains plainly and freely to tell what-
they saw in her amiss. Also, how bounti-

was to the poor, passing not only the common
le of other queens, but also the revenues al-

of her estate; insomuch that the alms which
are in three quarters of a year, in distribution,

med to the number of fourteen or fifteen
and pounds; besides the great piece of money

her grace intended to impart into four sun-
arters of the realm, as for a stock there to be

ayed to the behoof of poor artificers and occu-
Again, what a zealous defender she was of

the gospel all the world doth know, and her
and will declare to the world's end. Amongst

other her acts this is one, that she placed
Hugh Latimer in the bishopric of Worces-

and also preferred Dr. Shaxton to his bishopric,
then accounted a good man. Furthermore,

in true faith she bare unto the Lord, this one
ple may stand for many: for that when King

ry was with her at Woodstock, and there, being
id of an old blind prophecy, for the which neither

other kings before him durst hunt in the said
of Woodstock, nor enter into the town of Ox-

at last, through the Christian and faithful
uel of that queen, he was so armed against all

ality, that both he hunted in the aforesaid park,
also entered into the town of Oxford, and had

no harm. But because, touching the memorable
virtue of this worthy queen, partly we have said
something before, partly because more also is pro-
mised to be declared of her virtuous life (the Lord
so permitting) by other who then were about her, I
will cease in this matter further to proceed.

This I cannot but marvel at, why the parliament
holden this year, that is, the twenty-eighth year of
the king, (which parliament three years before had
established and confirmed this marriage as most
lawful,) should now so suddenly, and contrary to
their own doings, repeal and disable the said mar-
riage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before
contracted. But more I marvel, why the said par-
liament, after the illegitimation of the marriage
enacted, not contented with that, should further
proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of
her body as to misuse herself with her own natural
brother, the Lord Rochford, and other; being so
contrary to all nature, that no natural man will be-
lieve it.

But in this act of parliament did lie, no doubt,
some great mystery, which here I will not stand to
discuss, but only that it may be suspected some se-
cret practising of the papists here not to be lacking,
considering what a mighty stop she was to their
purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side,
what a strong bulwark she was for the maintenance
of Christ's gospel, and sincere religion, which they
then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it
may be easily considered, that this Christian and
devout Deborah could lack no enemies amongst
such a number of Philistines, both within the realm,
and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that Stephen
Winchester, being then abroad in embassy, was not
altogether asleep; the suspicion whereof may be
the more conjectural, for that Edmund Bonner,
archdeacon of Leicester, and then ambassador in
France, succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did
manifestly detect him of plain papistry, as in the
sequel of their stories, when we come to the time,
more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

And as touching the king's mind and assent, al-
though at that time, through crafty setters-on, he
seemed to be sore bent both against that queen, and
to the disheriting of his own daughter; yet unto
that former will of the king so set against her
then, I will oppose again the last will of the
king, wherein, expressly and by name, he did
accept, and by plain ratification did allow, the
succession of his marriage to stand good and
lawful.

Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and
opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against

that virtuous queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of God's favour, in maintaining, preserving, and advancing the offspring of her body, the Lady ELIZABETH, now queen, whom the Lord hath so marvelously conserved from so manifold dangers, so royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such virtuous patience, and with such a quiet reign hitherto, that neither the reign of her brother Edward, nor of her sister Mary, to hers is to be compared; whether we consider the number of years of their reigns, or the peaceableness of their state. In whose royal and flourishing regiment we have to behold, not so much the natural disposition of her mother's qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and offspring of that godly queen.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of Cardinal Pole, and of Paulus Jovius, that popish cardinal, who, measuring belike other women by his courtesans of Rome, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble queen: to answer again in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and judgment of so many noble protestants and princes of Germany, who, being in league before with King Henry, and minding no less but to have made him the head of their confederation, afterwards, hearing of the death of this queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily papists, who, seeing the pope to be repulsed out of England, by the means chiefly of this queen, and fearing always the succession of this marriage in time to come, thought by sinister practice to prevent that peril before, whispering in the king's ears what possibly they could, to make that matrimony unlawful; and all for the disheriting of that succession.

Again, Stephen Gardiner, (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy against Lady Elizabeth,) being then abroad with the French king, and the great master of France, ceased not, in his letters, still to put the king in fear, that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unless he undid again such acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession: which thing when they had now brought to pass after their own desire, (that both now the queen was beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disherited,) they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of

Queen Anne, the king, within three days after, married Lady Jane Seymour, of whom came King Edward, as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too.

In the mean time, as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul the Third, bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to help forward for his own advantage; who, seeing his usurped kingdom and seat to be darkened in the countries of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him; and therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to be there, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretences, as to suppress heresies, and to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set in divers great cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world; unto the which first the protestants of Germany do answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to the council, being indicted at Mantua, in the pope's own country. Whose declaration, with their own grave and effectual, being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speed in our story, I will pretermitt the same, and only the oration or answer of our king here; where he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or to send, at the pope's call, to this council indicted at Mantua, whose oration or protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to express as followeth:

"Seeing that the bishop of Rome calleth us men from all parts, conducting them by good words, making as many of them cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend his untruths; we could not but with much grief cast with ourselves, what so great a preparation of wits should mean. As chance was, we were even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romanish subtleties and policy, that we well and easily judged the pope of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, men sworn to think all his lusts to be laws: and not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, had called a council, to which he knew well either few of the Christian princes could come. At the same time that he indicted it, and also the pope, he appointed it to be, might assure him of the truth, whither wander not these popish bulls? And why they not astray? What king is not cited and moved by a proud minister and servant of

bolster up errors, frauds, deceits, and un-
 der to set forth this feigned general council?
 will not think that Paul, the bishop of
 sooneth about to make men believe that
 a general council, than that he de-
 indeed? No! who can less desire it,
 that do despair of their cause, except they
 and give sentence themselves against
 usaries? We, which very sore against our
 time leave off the procurement of the
 common weal, need neither to come our-
 yet to send our procurators thither; no,
 make our excuse for either of both. For
 excuse us, that we come not at his call, who
 authority to call us?

For a season let us (as a sort of blindings
 that he may call us, and that he hath au-
 to do, yet, we pray you, may not all men
 availeth it to come to this council, where
 have no place, except ye be known both
 to oppress truth, and also ready to con-
 stablish errors? Do not all men perceive,
 as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and re-
 these men go about to discuss matters in
 way, that take them in hand in so trouble-
 time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit
 mon weal of Christendom may look for there,
 Mantua is chosen the place to keep this
 at? Is there any prince not being of Italy,
 there of Italy any prince, or other dissenting
 the pope, that dareth come to this assembly,
 this place? If there come none that dare
 for trodden truth, none that will venture his
 marvel if (the bishop of Rome being judge,
 repining, no man gainsaying) the defenders
 papacy obtain that popish authority, now
 and almost fallen, be set up again?

this the way to help things afflicted? to re-
 troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth?
 men this way know, whether the Roman bi-
 (which, in very deed, are, if ye look upon
 their doctrine or life, far under other bishops)
 to be made their fellows, that is, to be pastors
 their own diocese, and so to use no further power;
 whether they may make laws, not only unto
 bishops, but also to kings and emperors? Oh
 meet to be beaten down with force, and
 to be convinced with arguments! Can either
 that now lordeth, or any of his, earnestly go
 (if they alone, or at least without any ad-
 vantage, be thus in a corner assembled together) to
 the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck
 the abuses that now are crept into the church,
 there to be bolstered up by such councils as now
 are to be at Mantua?

"It is very like that these, which prowl for no-
 thing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such
 things as their forefathers made, only for the in-
 crease of money. Whereas their forefathers, when
 their honour, power, and primacy were called into
 question, would either in despite of God's law main-
 tain their dignity, or, to say better, their intolerable
 pride, is it like that these will not tread in their steps,
 and make naughty new canons, whereby they may
 defend old evil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to
 care either what they have done, or what they in-
 tend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath
 taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to
 be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops
 have nothing to do with English people. The one
 doth not traffic with the other; at least, though they
 will have to do with us, yet we will none of their
 merchandise, none of their stuff. We will receive
 them of our council no more. We have sought our
 hurt, and bought our loss, a great while too long.
 Surely their decrees, either touching things set up
 or put down, shall have none other place with us
 than all bishops' decrees have; that is, if we like
 them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse
 them. But lest, peradventure, men shall think us
 to follow our senses too much, and that we, moved
 by small or no just causes, forsake the authority,
 censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought
 it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

"Wherefore we protest, before God and all men,
 that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the
 right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles
 of his faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us,
 that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our
 realm, than to see any point of Christ's religion in
 jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went
 from the unity of this faith, neither that we will de-
 part an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose
 our lives, than any article of our belief shall decay in
 England. We, which in all this cause seek nothing
 but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the
 world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer.
 We never refused to come to a general council; no,
 we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the
 setting up of trodden truth, and troubled religion,
 in their place again, and to do all that shall lie in
 us, to finish such controversies as have a great while
 too long vexed Christendom. Only we will all
 Christian men to be admonished, that we can suffer
 no longer that they be esteemed willing to take
 away errors, which indeed, by all the ways their
 wits will serve them, go about this alone, that no
 man, under pain of death, may speak against any
 error or abuse.

"We would have a council; we desire it, yea,

then do as princes now do. He will think it not to come then, because princes now do. We pray God that we ever brawl not with another for religion: and whereas dissension amongst us, we yet for our parts do say, that as much as men may, defend the better part, so in the right way. We pray God that the pope may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that we may have both time and place to settle reason for except princes first agree, and so (warlike) seek peace, he loseth his labour that calls a general council. If the bishop of Rome calls his council while they thus be together, shall there be made many pretty decrees? If which would come if they had leisure, be abundant we, which though we safely might come, shall lose any part of our right; throw you, in all conscience, that the bishop of Rome will not handle right and primacy well?

Alas! how can any of ours not refuse to come to Rome, through so many perils, a city so far set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and countrymen? Is he not unworthy of life, who, when he tarry at home, will pass through so many perils of life? Can he who cometh to Cremona, not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken? He be the bishop of Rome's friend, that is, (as common sort of deceived people do interpret,) a traitor? And if there come to Mantua such a traitor as would furnish a general council, may not he seem too little to receive so many guests? These two together: all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape thence, the very place where the council is kept shall be suspected than all the way. Do ye know all civil laws to compel no man to come to that place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his life the way? We have no safe-conduct to pass through by the dominions of other princes. And if we had a safe-conduct, yet should not we be armed with rashness, that where just terror might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed ourselves to such perils? Surely he, who, in time being as it is, things standing as they do, goes from England to Mantua, may be careless, and lack wit: sure of his arrival, or return from thence, he cannot be; for who doth not know how the bishops of Rome have played false parts with them that in such matters have trusted to their safe-conducts? How oft have they caused, by their treachery, such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both live safe, and go safe? These be no news, that they are false, that popes keep no promise either to God or man; that popes, contrary to their

oaths, do defile their cruel hands with honest men's blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

"We will, these now laid apart, turn our oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, King Henry the Eighth, and all Englishmen. Is it unknown to any man, what mind Paul the bishop of Rome beareth to us King Henry the Eighth, to us his nobility, to us his Grace's bishops, and to us all his Grace's subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped power and proud primacy? for expelling of his usurped jurisdiction, and for delivering of our realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even inflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men, by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our country. These three years he hath been occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the commons of England, now corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let pass what letters he hath written to Christian princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good vicar of Christ, by his doing, sheweth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh he playeth Christ's part well, when he may say, as Christ did, I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about; and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withal, but such as cruel man-quellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours. We marvel little though they vex other princes oft, seeing they recompense our favour showed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

"We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon Roman bishops be lost. God be with such ingrate carles, unworthy to be numbered amongst men: certes such, that a man may well doubt whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evil, but they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their seditious intents sooner to show their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps amongst the lambs of our flock. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then, as they would have us now do. No, no! as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to

withouten any crime. Neither. No let him now spend
his treasure where they can hurt more but such as
are deceived and are deceived.

They have by sundry ways made us pity.
Now shall we be bound to them. It went right
like water. It was the judgment of Julius, of Cae-
sars the beventh, of Paul the Thirt. nothing is to be
regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should
sustain no hurt because we justly rejected their pri-
vacy. That other princes would begin to do likewise,
and to shake off their shoulders the heavy burdens that
they so long have borne against Scriptures, all right
and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped,
that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can
have no passage unto England, which was wont to
walk, to triumph, to tone, to trouble all men. They
can scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, licence to
spoil our citizens, given them by our forefathers, and
brought in by errorful custom, to be taken from
them. They think it unlawful that we require
things lawful of them that will be under no laws.
They think we do them wrong, because we will not
suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see
their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden.
They see that we will buy no longer chalk for cheese.
They see they have lost a fair fleece, vengeably sorry
that they can despatch no more pardons, dispensa-
tions, totquots, with the rest of their baggage and
trumpery. England is no more a babe. There is
no man here, but now he knoweth that they do
foolishly, who give gold for lead, more weight of
that than they receive of this. They pass not,
though Peter and Paul's faces be graven in the lead,
to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they
should abuse holy saints' visages, to the beguiling
of the world.

"Surely, except God take away our right wits,
not only his authority shall be driven out for ever,
but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in Eng-
land. We will from henceforth ask counsel of him
and his, when we lust to be deceived, when we covet
to be in error; when we desire to offend God, truth,
and honesty. If a man may guess the whole work
by the foundation, where deceits begin the work,
can any other than deceits be builded upon this
foundation? What can you look for in this Man-
tuan council, other than the oppression of truth and
true religion? If there be any thing well done,
think, as every man doth, bishops of Rome to be ac-
customed to do a few things well, that many evils
may the better be taken at their hands. They,
when they lust, can yield some part of their right.
They are content that some of their decrees, some
of their errors and abuses, be reprehended: but
they are never more to be feared, than when they

show themselves most gentle; for if they grant
few, they ask many: if they leave a little, they will
be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may live
now to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their
hands, yea, when they bless him; which seldom do
good, but for an intent to do evil. Certainly, com-
mon will is their shape of deceits, to these five
francis, we will have no part of our right is owing
at his call, who ought to be called, and not to call.
We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither
for this matter." &c.

And so the king, proceeding in the said his pro-
testation, declareth moreover, how the pope, who
had summoned his council first to be kept at Man-
tua, the twenty-third day of May, A. D. 1537, and
after directed out another bull, to prorogue the
council to the month of November; pretending
his excuse, that the duke of Mantua would not
suffer him to keep any council there, unless he was
trained a number of warriors for defence of faith.
And therefore, in his latter bull, he prorogued
assembly, commanding patriarchs, archbishops,
bishops, and others of the spirituality, by virtue of
his licence, and under pain of cursing, to be pre-
sent, but sheweth no place at all where he would be,
whither they should come. And in very de-
great matter though no place were named;
good a council so where to be called, as where
could not be; and as well no place served him
intended no council, as all places. And to say
much better no place to be named, than to
such as he purposed not to come to; for so
he break no promise, which maketh none.

A little before the death of Queen Anne
was a parliament at Westminster, wherein
given to the king, by consent of the abbots, of
houses of religion as were under three
marks; which was a shrewd prognostication
ruin of greater houses, which indeed followed
after, as was and might easily be perceived
of many, who then said, that the low build
brambles were cut down before, but great oaks
follow after.

Although the proceeding of these things
well like the minds of the pope's friends in
yet, notwithstanding, they began again to take
breath of comfort, when they saw the
Queen Anne despatched. Nevertheless they
frustrated of their purpose (as is afore shewed)
that double wise. For first, after they had
wills of Queen Anne, the Lord raised up
queen, not greatly for their purpose, with
King Edward; and also for that the Lord
the same time, began to grow in authority
like a mighty pillar set up in the church of

ugh, alone, to confound and overthrow all
quant devices of the adversaries, so long as
him in life here to continue ; whose story
followeth more at large.

After this aforesaid marriage of the king
Queen Jane Seymour above mentioned, in
of June, during the continuation of the
ent, by the consent of the clergy holding
common convocation in the church of St. Paul,
was set forth containing certain articles of
necessary to be taught to the people ; where-
treated specially but of three sacraments,
penance, and the Lord's supper ; where
other things were published concerning
tion of certain points of religion, as that
holidays were forbidden, and many abbeyes
to be suppressed. For this cause the rude
of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter sub-
of their old religion, wherein they had been
ruined, did rise up in a great commotion,
number well near of twenty thousand, having
captain a monk, called Doctor Makerel,
himself then Captain Cobler ; but these re-
ing repressed by the king's power, and de-
gordon, soon brake up their assembly. For
aring of the royal army of the king coming
them, with his own person there present,
ing what would follow of this, first the
and gentlemen, which before favoured
began to withdraw themselves, so that they
stitute of captains ; and at last they, in
made certain petitions to the king, protest-
at they never intended hurt towards his royal
These petitions the king received, and
his answer again to them as followeth :

King's answer to the rebels in Lincolnshire.

we begin to make answer to the fourth
articles, because upon them dependeth
of the rest. Concerning choosing of council-
never have read, heard, or known, that princes,
bishops, and prelates, should be appointed by
and ignorant common people, nor that they were
meet, or of ability, to discern and choose
and sufficient councillors for a prince. How
aptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one
land that one the most base of the whole realm,
of the least experience, to find fault with your
for the electing of his councillors and pre-
and to take upon you, contrary to God's law
man's laws, to rule your princes, whom you are
and, by all law, to obey and serve with both your
lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to
stand.

As for the suppression of religious houses and

monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects
should well know, that this is granted us by all the
nobles spiritual and temporal of this realm, and by
all the commons in the same, by act of parliament ;
and not set forth by any councillor or councillors
upon their mere will and fantasy, as you full falsely
would persuade our realm to believe.

" And where ye allege that the service of God is
much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary ; for
there be no houses suppressed where God was well
served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomin-
ation of living was used ; and that doth well ap-
pear by their own confessions, subscribed with their
own hands, in the time of their visitations, and yet
we suffered a great many of them (more than we
needed by the act) to stand ; wherein if they amend
not their living, we fear we have more to answer
for, than the suppression of all the rest. And as for
the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder
ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a
great relief of poor people, when a great many, or
the most part, have not past four or five religious
persons in them, and divers but one, which spent
the substance of the goods of their houses in nour-
ishing of vice, and abominable living. Now what
unkindness and unnaturality may we impute to you,
and all our subjects that be of that mind, which had
rather that such an unthrift sort of vicious persons
should enjoy the possessions, profits, and emoluments,
which grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of
their unthriftly life, than we, your natural prince,
sovereign lord, and king, which do and have spent
more of our own in your defences, than six times
they be worth ?

" As touching the Act of Uses, we marvel what
madness is in your brain, or upon what ground ye
would take authority upon you, to cause us to break
those laws and statutes, which, by all the noble
knights and gentlemen of this realm, (whom the
same chiefly toucheth,) have been granted and as-
sented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth
you, the base commons of our realm.

" Also, the grounds of all those uses were false,
and never admitted by law, but usurped upon the
prince, contrary to all equity and justice, as it hath
been openly both disputed and declared by all the
well learned men in the realm of England, in West-
minster Hall : whereby ye may well perceive how
mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in
that, and in the rest ; and how unmeet it is for us,
and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less
meet and decent for you, in such a rebellious sort,
to demand the same of your prince.

" As touching the Fifteenth which you demand
of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint-

hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us with your insurrections, and such rebellious demeanour, to remit the same? or think you that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and show a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your sovereign lord and king to release the same, the time of payment whereof is not yet come? Yea, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth penny of the charges which we have, and daily do sustain, for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure that by your occasions of these ingratitude, unnaturalness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (which have always been as much dedicated to your wealth, as ever was king) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your king and sovereign lord, the rest of our realm, we doubt not, hath; and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if, according to your former letters, you submit not yourselves.

"As touching the first-fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by act of parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our subjects: and we have known also that ye our commons have much complained also in times past, that the most part of our goods, lands, and possessions of the realm, were in the spiritual men's hands; and yet, bearing us in hand that ye be as loving subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your prince and sovereign lord should have any part thereof, (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our commons,) but do rebel and unlawfully rise against your prince, contrary to the duty of allegiance and God's commandment. Sirs! remember your follies and traitorous demeanours, and shame not your native country of England, nor offend any more so grievously your undoubted king and natural prince, which always hath showed himself most loving unto you; and remember your duty of allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your king, both by God's commandment and the law of nature.

"Wherefore we charge you eftsoons, upon the aforesaid bonds and pains, that you withdraw yourselves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our laws and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our lieutenant's hands or ours,

and you yourselves to submit you to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy of: for doubt you not else, that we and our nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if ye give not to us place of sovereignty, and show yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects, and no more to intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to us your king, and such noblemen and councillors as we like to elect and choose to have the ordering of the same.

"And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use yourselves towards us like true and faithful subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter; and require obediently to consent amongst you to deliver in the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, than, by your obstinacy and wilfulness, put yourselves, your wives, children, lands, goods, and chattels, besides the indignation of God, in utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruin by force and violence of the sword."

After the Lincolnshire men had received the king's answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, mistrusting the other, who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all dispersed, and every man at home in his own house in peace; but the captains of these rebels escaped not all, but were afterwards apprehended, and had their punishment deserved.

After this, immediately, within six days of the same, followed a new insurrection in Yorkshire, for the same causes, through the instigation and tales of seditious persons, especially monks and priests; making them believe, that their chalices, crosses, jewels, and other ornaments should be taken out of their churches; and that they should be married, or eat any good meat in their house, but should give tribute there-for to the king; but their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other counsellors.

The number of these rebels was near five thousand, having for their badges the five wounds with the sign of the sacrament, and "Jesus" written in the midst.

This their devilish rebellion they termed the name of a Holy Pilgrimage; but they were all wrong and a naughty saint. They had a cross in their field their streamers and banners, whereon was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice, with a painted cake in the other side, with other such ensigns of like

sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for
and the right of holy church.

As the king was certified of this new se-
dition, he sent with all speed against
the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the
earl of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury, and
with a great army, forthwith to encounter
the rebels.

The noble captains and councillors, thus well
equipped with habiliment of war, approaching to-
wards the rebels, and understanding both their num-
bers and how they were full bent to battle, first with-
drew about to essay and practise how to ap-
proach without bloodshedding; but the northern
nobles, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked
and wretched enterprise, would in no case re-
nounce their attempts: which when the nobles
perceived, and saw no other way to pacify their
minds, utterly set on mischief, they deter-
mined upon a battle. The place was appointed, the
day signed, and the hour set; but see the won-
derful work of God's gracious providence! The
day before the day of battle came, (as testifieth
Hall,) fell a small rain, nothing to speak
of; yet, as it were by a great miracle of God,
wherein which was but a very small ford, and that
in a manner, the day before, might have gone
dried over, suddenly rose of such a height, deep-
ness and breadth, that the like no man that there
before could tell they ever saw before; so that
even when the hour of battle should come,
impossible for the one army to come at the

for this, that the appointment made between
the armies (being thus disappointed, as it is
thought, only by God, who extended his great
mercy and had compassion on the great number of
persons that in that deadly slaughter had
before been murdered) could take no place;
by the great wisdom and policy of the said
king, a communication was had, and a pardon
from the king's Majesty obtained for all the captains
and chief doers of this insurrection; and they were
ordered that, for such things as they found them
guilty of, they should gently be heard, and
reasonable petitions granted; and that their
cases should be presented to the king, that by his
authority, and the wisdom of his coun-
cillors, all things should be brought to good order and
reconciliation: and with this order every man quietly
returned, and those who before were bent as hot as
iron to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now
peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.
In the time of this ruffle in Yorkshire, and the
same lying the same time at Windsor, there was a

butcher dwelling within five miles of the said town
of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all
they that took part with the Yorkshire men, whom
he called God's people, did fight in God's quarrel;
for which both he and the priest were apprehended
and executed.

Divers other priests also, with others about the
same time, committing, in like sort, treason against
the king, suffered the like execution. Such a busi-
ness had the king then to rid the realm from the
servitude of the Romish yokes.

But God's hand did still work withal, in uphold-
ing his gospel and trodden truth against all seditious
stirs, commotions, rebellions, and whatsoever was
to the contrary; as both by the stories before pass-
ed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may noto-
riously appear.

The next year after this, which was A. D. 1537,
after the great execution had been done upon cer-
tain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with
certain noble persons also and gentlemen, amongst
whom were the Lord Darcy, the Lord Hussy, Sir
Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Francis
Bygot, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Sir John Bulmer and
his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with
the abbots of Jervaux and of Rivaulx, &c.

In the month of October, the same year follow-
ing, was born Prince Edward; shortly after whose
birth, Queen Jane, his mother, the second day after,
died in childbed, and left the king again a widower,
who so continued the space of two years together.

Here, by the way, is to be understood, that during
all this season, since the time that the king of Eng-
land had rejected the pope out of the realm, both
the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots,
with other foreign potentates, (which were yet in
subjection under the pope,) bare him no great good
favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pre-
tended. Neither was here lacking privy setters-on,
nor secret working among themselves how to com-
pass ungracious mischiefs, if God, by contrary oc-
casions, had not stopped their intended devices.
For first the pope had sent Cardinal Pole to the
French king, to stir him to war against the realm
of England.

Secondly, whereas the French king, by treaty of
perpetual peace, was bound yearly to pay to the
king of England, at the first days of May and No-
vember, about ninety-five thousand crowns of the
sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand
crowns at the said two terms, for recompence of
salt-due, as the treaties thereof did purport, that
pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the emperor and the French king,
both, retained Grancetor, a traitorous rebel against

the king, and condemned by act of parliament, with certain other traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the king at his earnest suit and request.

The French king also, digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance with Clement, the bishop of Rome, in marrying the dauphin to his niece, called Katharine de Medicia.

The said French king moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his daughter to the king of Scots: all which events were prejudicial; and put the king, no doubt, in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant prince) to see the pope, the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, so bent against him.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French king was so set on by the pope, and so linked in marriage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the realm of England, yet notwithstanding he, hearing now of the birth of Prince Edward, the king's son by Queen Jane, and understanding also, by the death of the said Queen Jane, that the king was a widower, and perceiving, moreover, talk to be that the king would join in marriage with the Germana, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the Queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors resident then in France for the king, were Stephen Gardiner, with Dr. Thirleby, &c.; which Stephen Gardiner, what he wrought secretly for the pope's devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all! But this is certain, that when Dr. Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, was sent into France by the king, (through the means of the Lord Cromwell,) to succeed Stephen Gardiner in embassy, which was about A. D. 1538, he found such dealing in the said bishop of Winchester as was not greatly to be trusted: besides the unkind parts of the said bishop against the aforesaid Bonner, coming then from the king and Lord Cromwell, as were not to be liked.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe, the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions, between these two; and especially what despiteful contumelies Dr. Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader! that this Dr. Bonner all this while remained yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favourer of Luther's doctrine, and was advanced

only by the Lord Cromwell here to rehearse: first, he was ceaster, parson of Blaydon, and Cheryburton; then he Hereford, and, at last, pre London: the chief of which nities were conferred unto him and favour of the Lord Cromwell chief and only patron and Bonner himself, in all his protest and declare; the copy I could here produce and ending my story with superfluous the world and all posterity now up of Dr. Bonner was only ever he was afterwards until this one letter of his, which I to the Lord Cromwell out of a perpetual testimony, the truth:

"My very singular especial most bounden, I most humbly your honourable good Lord times past it hath liked the deserts or merits, even exceeding goodness, to bestow benevolence, and good affection man, and of so small quality sundry ways the good effect preferment, I was very much your honourable good Lord ways my duty, (as indeed it true heart again unto your membering such kindness, such service and pleasure as small power to do.

"But where, of your infinite goodness, it hath further liked advance me unto the office prince as my sovereign lord and French king; and next obtain mine advancement to motion as the bishopric of acknowledge the exceeding ship's benefit, with mine own pense it.

"Surely, my good Lord, I be able to requite this your kindness and bountiful good I should use that civil remediation, which great debtors are to procure at the hands of the yet nevertheless your goodness of, should rather be increased the same thereby diminished.

extreme refuge and help of poor debtors, (who in civil) might somewhat help herein, that it is not possible that I should come to *pinguem fortunam*, (whereupon that is grounded,) whereby I may recompense this debt worthily.

that in conclusion there resteth this; that your Lordship's self do loose me, as you have me, I shall (and that full gladly) remain your most bounded beadsman. And, sir, I humbly beseech your good Lordship, in the name of God, seeing this thing is begun and advanced by your goodness and means, you will, that the act may be wholly your own, stretch your goodness, not suffering the rest to be performed otherwise than by your own hands; wherein, I shall acknowledge myself to be exceedingly beholden unto your good Lordship, so shall I be more esteemed and set by, during my life, as I attained it by your only goodness: and if your good Lordship be not better to me than I can (unless it be of your own goodness) to you, I know not how I shall be able to discharge the great charges annexed to this promotion, though my promotions afore were right, and good, yea, and such as one of far better than I was, or am of, ought therewith to be contented; yet, considering that divers, that is to wit, Leicester, Blaydon, Derbyshire, and Cheryburton, the first-fruits, and charges borne, I have not received clearly yet, I am now never a whit the more able to discharge great charges of this.

I shall therefore herein, and in all things else touching hereunto, seeing your Lordship is so great, and will needs bind me for ever to be your (as indeed I will,) refer altogether unto your grace, beseeching you to take the order and discharge of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late bishop standeth bounden for the first-fruits, or other duties which by statute may be demanded of his successor; but I fear it greatly, I beseech your Lordship that I may be holpen in. My charges now here enforce me the more to speak and trouble your good Lordship, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. In fidelity to your good, I have, of five hundred pounds, remaining forty, bestowed upon horses, grooms, raiment, and other necessities, stand-bound to Master Thirleby nevertheless, and to Master Dr. Heynes, for one hundred marks, due upon, to them both. And besides this, such by chance now at the beginning, divers of my household have fallen sick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

"Over and besides these displeasures coming unto me by not having their service, and others to keep them, and also wanting mine other servants in England, which, though I have sent for them, yet neither they, neither my horses or stuff, are come, I must and do take patience, trusting it will mend.

"Upon the closing up of this letter, and depeach of this bearer, God willing, I will pack up my gear, and to-morrow betimes follow the French king, who yesterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haste toward Paris. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve your good lordship in health.

"At Blois, the second of September, in the evening.

"Scribbled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your Lordship's beadsman, and at commandment,

EDMUND BONNER."

Divers other letters besides this, of Dr. Bonner, remain in writing, unto the like effect and purport, which here also I might add for a further demonstration hereof; but this one, instead of many, may suffice. Now to our purpose again, which is to declare how this Dr. Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings; and contrariwise, how Stephen Gardiner did halt then both with God and with the king: also what unkindness and contumelies the said Bonner received at Gardiner's hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved against the other, remain, consequently, by their writings and records, to be opened. For the more evident demonstration whereof, they that have the letters of the said Dr. Bonner, written from France to the king and the Lord Cromwell, may right well perceive. And first, to note what a gospeller he was: in his letter from Rouen, he, speaking of his trusty companion, and bearer of his letters, (who was belike Dr. Heynes,) he giveth this report both of him and of himself; saying, "If this bearer had been so much desirous to please the emperor, and follow his religion, as he was studious to serve truly your Grace, and to advance the truth, he had not wanted," &c. And again: "And besides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran, wherein, for company, I was joined, such was their goodness," &c. Again, in another letter written to the Lord Cromwell, these words he hath, speaking of his companion Dr. Heynes: "Especially for that the said Dr. Heynes, by his upright dealing herein, and professing the truth, neither got

thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honest folks to be a Lutheran. The less he pleaseth in Spain, the better argument it is, that his intent was to serve none but the king's Highness and the truth," &c.

And furthermore, in another minute, writing to the Lord Cromwell of Stephen Winchester, and of his churlishness toward him, thus he saith: "And there found I, in Master Dr. Thirleby, much kindness, and in the bishop of Winchester as little," &c. And in the same letter it followeth: "And if I had received any entertainment of the bishop of Winchester, I would likewise have sent you word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him," &c.

Also in another letter, the said Bonner, writing to the Lord Cromwell concerning one Barnaby and himself, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of Winchester, used these words following: "And, my good Lord, I beseech you to continue your good favour to this honest poor man Barnaby, who is body and soul assuredly your own, and as well beloved of the bishop of Winchester as I am: and of my troth I suppose and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the bishop hath against him, is because your Lordship, of your charitable goodness, doth love and favour him.

Another letter of Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Winchester, and also declaring how he was promoted by the said Lord Cromwell, to the bishopric of Hereford.

"My very singular especial good Lord, according to my most bounden duty, I recommend me right humbly unto your good Lordship, advertising the same, that the twenty-ninth of the last month, about four of the clock at afternoon, there arrived here Barnaby with your Lordship's letters, dated at Eutrecht the twenty-fourth of the same: and thinking that, at his said arrival, the bishop of Winchester, Master Thirleby, and I, had been all lodged together, whereas in very deed we had several lodgings, he went straight to the bishop of Winchester's lodging, (Master Thirleby and I being then walking in the fields,) and the bishop incontinently inquired of him, not how the king's Grace did, as was his duty, but, (as Barnaby told me,) inquired of him where he left the king's Grace at his coming away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing: and finally, what news were in England. To the which questions, when Barnaby had made answer, saying that he left the king's Grace at Berlin, and that Master Brian and

Master Wallop were in the court at his departing; and withal, that he had no letters from them, nor any other to him; and finally, for the news that the king's Highness had given me the bishopric of Hereford; the bishop (as Barnaby reporteth, and I doubt not but he saith truly) cast down his head, making a plaice-mouth with his lip, and afterwards lifting up his eyes and hands, (as cursing the day and hour it chanced,) seemed so evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnaby drink, or tarry supper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Master Medow, and showed him of the same tidings, taking it (as he appeared) very heavily; semblably as he doth every thing that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnaby perceived that I was not there, and that also this comfortable countenance and good cheer were made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with Master Thirleby, as is before; and was by him communing with him of the bishop of Winchester, giving him advertisement that he should not leave by the said bishop, whom, I said, made him, not any hearty love, I thought, he bare unto him, either in despite of me, to whom he thought should be greatly displeasing; either else of colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope and to serve his own crafty purposes by him.

"And soon after the departure of Master Thirleby from me, who then went to the bishop to supper, returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with Barnaby, whose salutation was after that manner, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially I had no expectation or hope of such thing as he related unto me. And surely, my good Lord, I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your Lordship's letters, which he afterwards delivered unto me: doth withal (to my great comfort) the prosperous issue of the king's Highness, and of your good Lordship. Which known, I besought Almighty God to preserve the long continuance thereof, and also, as was my duty, did give most humble thanks to the king's Highness, and to your said good Lordship. Hereupon, keeping your Lordship's letters in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Master Thirleby, which was in my way to communicate these my news and great good news with him; and not finding him there, I went to your Lordship's letters, sending the same by the way to Master Thirleby; and perceiving, by the superscription, that he had other letters for me, which he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to my own lodging with him, and there receiving the letters accordingly, did read them over, both that, yet

second letter sent to me, and also the other
Master Wyat, &c.

your Lordship's most bounden beadsman,
And always at commandment,

EDMUND BONNER."

the king, by the advice of the Lord Crom-
well and others of his council, had appointed Dr.
Bonner to return from the emperor, and
resident in France, in the place of Winches-
ter. Dr. Thirleby, he sent his letters to the
bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby,
to his pleasure unto them in that behalf, with
the same letters contained in express
followeth:

whereas the said Master Bonner wanteth
of stuff and plate meet for that office, our
pleasure is that you, Master Thirleby, shall deliver
him by indenture, all the plate you have of
your custody, and that you, my Lord of Win-
chester, shall furnish him with all such other stuff,
as shall be necessary for him; wherein as you shall
be at pleasure, so we shall be content at your
pleasure to satisfy you for the same," &c.

Bishop of Winchester receiving these letters
liking, and being loth to come into England,
(never the matter was,) also hearing that Dr.
Bonner should succeed him, his disdainful nature
much him exceedingly. But because there
was no other remedy but that the king's command-
ment must be done, first he sendeth the king's let-
ters to his also, to the emperor's court, unto Mas-
ter Wyat, and to Dr. Heynes, willing them in all
to repair to Lyons within two days. Beside
these letters of Winchester, Dr. Thirleby adjoined
also, with like quickness, to the said Dr.
Bonner, and to Bonner, the contents whereof here
followeth:

With my hearty commendations, and the desire
of my company, and now so much rather that I
thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliver-
ance from trouble to ease, from a strange country to
my own, from the waiting upon him that forceth
me for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the
be of him whose prosperity and love I account
my life; these shall be to pray you to make no
speed hither, than you would make to a good
man when that you be hungry. Master Bonner
know many things, but when you come I shall
know you more, so that you haste you. Come, I
pray you; I would fain be at home. I saw not
Master these four months. When you, Master
Bonner, shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to go
with you; he is a good money-maker: in faith I

can write no more, but bid you come heartily,
'hastily,' I would have written, and the sooner the
better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the
last of July.

By him that hath loved you well,

And now will love you better,

If you haste you hither,

THOMAS THIRLEBY."

At the receipt of these letters, Dr. Bonner and
Dr. Heynes did put themselves in a readiness to
repair incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to
have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to
the purport of their letters. But Winchester and
Thirleby, not abiding their coming, made haste away
from Lyons to La Barella, where Bonner, riding in
post after Winchester, overtook him. With whom
what entertainment and talk he had, and what ac-
cusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling
words passed between them, and what great mis-
liking Bonner had of him for special causes here in
this brabbling matter or brawling dialogue, under
following, may appear; which, for thy recreation,
and the further understanding of Winchester's
qualities, I wish thee, loving reader! to peruse and
consider.

But first, here is to be noted, that the king and
the Lord Cromwell, at what time they had appoint-
ed Dr. Edmund Bonner to be resident ambassador
in France, required in their letters, that he should
advertise them by writing, what he did mislike in
the doings and behaviour of certain persons whom
they did note then unto him. Whereupon the said
Dr. Bonner sendeth this declaration of Stephen
Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as followeth:

"First, I mislike in the bishop of Winchester,
that when any man is sent in the king's affairs, and
by his Highness's commandment, the bishop, unless
he be the only and chief inventor of the matter and
setter-forth of the person, he will not only use many
cavillations, but also use great strangeness in coun-
tenance and cheer to the person that is sent: over
and besides, as small comfort and counsel as may be
in the matter; rather dissuading and discouraging
the person earnestly to set forward his message, than
imboldening and comforting him, as is his duty,
with help and counsel to adventure and do his best
therein. The experience whereof I have had my-
self with him, as well at Rouen, the first time I was
sent to Rome, commanded by the king's Highness
to come by him, and at Marseilles, the time of the
intimation of the king's protestation, provocation,
and appeal; as also lately, going to Nice, touching
the general council, and the authority of the bishop
of Rome; and finally, now last of all, at my return

from Spain, where neither my diligence in coming to him, and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the king's letters written unto him in my favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart and cankered malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do; as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth:

"When riding in post I came to La Barella, a post on this side Lyons, the seventh day of August, he being in bed there, I tarried till he, rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second chamber; and at his coming thither, he said, 'What, Master Bonner! good morrow! Ah sir, ye be welcome;' and herewithal he put out his hand, and I, kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said, 'Come on, let us go and walk awhile into the fields;' and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would wait upon him. His going to the fields, (as appeared afterwards,) was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me, calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss; or utterly deny them, if that made for his purpose. And by chance, rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master Thirleby, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The bishop that perceiving, and, withal, that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his servants to call Master Thirleby; but yet, afore his coming, the bishop could not be idle, but said this to me: 'Master Bonner! your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you: In good faith you can have nothing of me.' 'Nothing, my Lord!' quoth I, merrily speaking, 'marry, God forbid! that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodness that bath a great deal.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'ye shall have nothing of me: marry, ye shall have of Master Thirleby, his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things, that he may spare; and which he hath kept for you.' 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I, 'if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for myself otherwise, and provide it where I may get it.'

"And here the bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not show myself greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the king's Highness. 'Tell me one thing,'

quoth he, 'that you want.' 'One thing,' quoth I, 'marry, amongst many things that I want, I want napery.' 'That shall ye not need,' quoth he, 'here in this country:' and here he began to tell a long tale, that none used that, but Master Wallop and he, in the beginning: which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, descending by his negatives: 'My mulets,' said he, 'ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide others for them again: my mulet-cloths ye cannot have, because mine arms are on them, not meet for you to bear: my raiment, (I being bishop,) that is not meet for you.' And so proceeding forth in that rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

"And here came Master Thirleby, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honest sort: to whom the bishop rehearseth again his negatives, and made a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him; and this rehearsed he still on end I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a pilot's voice: that all his company, standing more than three hundred four pair of butt lengths off, heard him.

"When I saw that he would make no end, ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, 'Lord! I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of Master doctor here, let me give thanks that deserveth it, and trouble you there no more: but leaving communication therein, I desire and pray you, that we may commune of the king's matters; and that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of counsel in that behalf.'

"The bishop was so hot and warm in his matters, that he would not hear, but needs return again, and show why that I could have nothing of him. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here on end one tale, which methinketh, seeing I understand it, ye need not so oft repeat it, ever seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion: I shall have nothing of you.' 'Ye lie,' quoth he, 'I said not so.' 'I report me,' quoth I, 'to Master Thirleby here present, whom I shall desire to record of your sad and discreet honest dealing with me.' 'I say you lie,' quoth he. 'My Lord,' quoth I, 'I thank you.' 'I do not say,' quoth he, 'that ye shall have nothing of me; but I can have nothing of me. And though I cannot here comprehendeth the other, yet there is diversity between these two manners of speaking: I can spare nothing unto you, and thou shalt have nothing; and though I can spare yet you shall have nothing;—for in the end honesty in the speaker, which would, if he

more; and in the other there lacketh that
 by Lord!' quoth I, 'to examine whether I
 have nothing, because ye can spare nothing:
 I have nothing, though ye have plenty, be-
 cause I shall have nothing, it shall not much
 hinder my journey. Wherefore, seeing ye bide
 here, that I shall have nothing, I will thank
 you, and provide otherwise for myself.'
 'Dirt in your teeth!' quoth he, 'and provide as ye
 Bishop-like spoken, by my faith,' quoth I,
 'shall it becometh you to speak thus to me.'
 'Marry! doth it become me,' quoth he: and
 repeating the words again, said with a sharp accent,
 'Dirt in your teeth!' 'Well,'
 quoth I, 'this needeth not, saving that
 I have a full stomach, and your wit abroad,
 I hereby to ease your stomach against
 me.' 'Yes, marry,' quoth he, 'it needeth for me,
 it needeth not for you; for I intend,' quoth
 he, 'would ye should know it, to justify myself to
 God in all things.' 'If ye do so,' quoth I, 'ye
 do the better.' 'Nay,' quoth he, 'I do it,
 I do it.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'ye are the
 one to be commended, if ye so can do.' 'Yes,'
 quoth he, 'I can do it.'
 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'seeing the king's
 hath written so tenderly for me unto you,
 and by his Highness's letters that his Grace
 me, me thinketh, ye having so great plenty
 things, and I so great need thereof, coming
 as I do, ye go about as evil to justify yourself
 thing, as any one that I have seen. And I
 my Lord,' quoth I, 'I would have reckoned,
 coming as I do come, I should have been both
 welcome, and better treated of you, than now
 even and it had been for no other respect, than
 as I am an Englishman.'
 'I shall tell you,' quoth he, 'for the king's sake,
 I look to have: but for your own sake, ye
 thing.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then having nothing,
 I give no thanks at all; and having any thing,
 I give thanks to the king, and none to you.'
 'All you,' quoth he, 'ye get nothing:' 'and I
 again,' quoth I, 'that I will thank you for
 thing.' And here the flesh of his cheek began to
 tremble, and he looked upon me as he
 had run me through; and I came and stood
 by him, and said, 'Trow you, my Lord!' quoth
 he, 'I fear your great looks? Nay, faith! do
 not. Ye had need to get another stomach to whet
 more than mine, and a better whetstone than any ye
 have; for, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your
 purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this
 coming and indiscreet behaviour of yours, ye would

not use it upon me. And I shall tell you,' quoth
 I, 'if I were not bridled, and had not other respects
 both to the king's Highness, my sovereign lord, and
 also unto others that may command me, I would have
 told you, ere this time, my mind after another sort.'
 'Tell me?' quoth he, 'dirt in your teeth!' 'Well,
 my Lord!' quoth I, 'ye would, I perceive by you,
 and by your words, provoke me to speak as indis-
 creetly and bedlamly, as ye do: but surely ye shall
 not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you,
 I shall show you how I am handled of you.' 'Marry,
 spare not,' quoth he. 'Well, my Lord!' quoth I,
 'you have here full well played the part of a bishop,
 and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious
 anger and choler, ye can make all the company here
 about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they
 are. And for my part, if ye yourself be not ashamed,
 or, coming to yourself, (for now your anger is
 such that you hear not yourself,) be not displeased,
 I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing with-
 out wisdom; and the oftener you use this manner,
 the more shall it be to your dishonesty.'

"Lo!" quoth he, "how fondly he speaketh, as
 who saith, I were all in the blame. Will you not
 hear," quoth he, "this wise man?" "My Lord!"
 quoth I, "I would you could hear with indifferent
 ears, and see with indifferent eyes, yourself. Ye
 have made a bragging here for nothing, and would
 that I should give you thanks for that thing which
 Master Thirleby hath done for me." "I look for no
 thanks of you," quoth he; and said withal, looking
 spitefully, that he knew me well enough; and that
 he was not deceived in me. "Well!" quoth I, "and
 methinks I know you well enough too; wherefore,
 as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I
 will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, sir,"
 quoth I, "because ye say ye know me well enough,
 and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you
 know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If
 you do, say it, and I shall make answer."

"I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so
 that I suppose, either of his own naughty nature he
 hath made me an image after his own fantasy, or else
 believed the report of such in conditions as he is
 himself, who, in malice, I suppose, and disdain, may
 be compared to the devil in hell, not giving place
 to him in pride at all. In communication he re-
 peated oft the provision of the thousand crowns. I
 told him they went in my diets, and that it would
 be a good while afore they were come out. And
 further I said, that seeing they had been *simpliciter*
 given to me, I would never thank him for them,
 but the king's Highness; and I said, that if they
 were twenty thousand, he should break so many
 sleeps, afore he should have any part thereof, en-

treating me as he did. 'Well,' quoth he, 'you have them.' 'That is truth,' quoth I, 'and nothing thankful to you.' 'Why then,' quoth he, 'seeing you have here divers things of Master Thirleby's, and all other things are *parabilia pecunia*, which you have, ye may make thereby good provision for yourself.' 'That is truth,' quoth I; 'and that can I and will do, though ye tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet,' quoth I, 'one thing may I tell you: ye are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mace, having a horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'choose you, ye may provide and you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provision for yourself.' 'I thought,' quoth he, 'departing from Lyons, to have made easy journeys, and to have followed the court till you had come, and now come you, squirting in post, and trouble all.' 'I came forth in post,' quoth I, 'by the commandment of the king my master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his Grace's letters; and seeing that I had no horses for the journey, methought better to ride in post than go afoot.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'I will not depart hence this twelvemonth, except ye be otherwise provided.' 'Provided?' quoth I, 'I must tarry till I may be provided for horses, if ye speak of that provision: and seeing that this riding in post grieveth you, it causeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I shall succeed you. I have here already two gowns and a velvet jacket, so that you shall not be letted an hour by me.'

"'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you,' quoth he, 'though you care not for the king's honour, but wretchedly do live with ten shillings a-day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the king's honour.' 'And I tell you again,' quoth I, 'I will and do consider the king's honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be, that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you,' quoth I, 'though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick, if any thing be to be

spent for the king's honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedness and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a false lie, and ye show your wisdom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.' 'I cannot tell,' quoth he, 'but this was openly rehearsed by Master Brian's servants at my table.' 'Yea, was it?' quoth I. 'Yea, marry was it,' quoth he. 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for, of my fidelity, that week that Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty pounds in the charges of the house!' 'This, they say,' quoth he. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'and therein they lie.'

"And here I showed him, that being well satisfied at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Master Wyat would not rest till he had gotten us to Villa Franca, where even upon the first words of Master Heynes, he was right well content to take of us twenty shillings the day; which was not during ten days: where at his coming to us to Nice, himself and all servants, and then tarrying with us two days at the departing of Master Wyat from Villa Franca into England, we found ourselves, our servants, all Master Wyat's servants, to the number sixteen, all his acquaintance, which, dinner and supper, continually came to us; sometimes twelve, sometimes ten, and, when they were least, eight; and for this we had not one penny of Master Wyat. And yet at our coming from Barcelona where we tarried about eight days, we gave Master Wyat twenty-eight livres, and to his servants five livres, besides forty shillings that private gave to some, being of gentle fashion, out of my own purse: so that I told him, it was neither Master Wyat, nor Mason, that found us and our servants, but *we* paid for the finding of them: and it chanced to us to have all the charge, and men to have all the thanks.

"The bishop when he heard this was amazed and stood still, finally saying, 'By my troth,' quoth he, 'I tell you as it was told me, and Master Mason here can tell whether it was so or no. Ye will tell you more,' quoth he, 'they said that Master Heynes would have been more liberal than I deal, if you had not been.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'I shall therein make Master Mason himself judge thereof, who can best tell the communication hath been between him and me therein.'

"Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the bishop's wild head, I held my peace; and by and by was he in hand again with them, as hot as ever he was. 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I desired ere while your Lordship to make an end of this communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would, (where ye have spoken indiscreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the king's letters,) with multitude of words, and great countenance, I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the king's: for if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the king's sake; that & nothing at all.'

"Here both of us were talking together; but I did on still, and ever enforced him to this: 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'this is the thing that I shall only desire of you; that whereas the king's Grace hath said, in the French court, divers affairs, (as I take ye would therein instruct me in the state thereof) and give me your best counsel and advice: and I protest unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you; and if ye will not, I shall patiently bear you in your other things, but I will give no answer at all.'

For all this the bishop ended not; but in conclusion, when he saw that he could by no means induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I left him unto his lodging and chamber.

It being dinner time, and all things provided, standing afore him, and he turning his back from me to a window—I, at his turning towards me, put off my bonnet, and said, 'God be with my Lord!' He gave no answer to me at all, but countenance, but suffered me to go. Where returning to my lodging, which was in Master Thirleby's chamber, I caused my dinner to be set; and when it was almost ready, the bishop's steward, called Myrrel, came for me, (whether sent from the bishop or not, I cannot tell,) and when my dinner was provided for, and withal, my Lord, his master, had given me such a breakfast, I needed no dinner nor supper; and so the steward, drinking with me, returned again, and so dinner at Master Thirleby's lodging, and after I went to the bishop's lodging, who, at last, very gently put off his bonnet, and so lay together quietly awhile; and shortly the bishop began after this manner: 'Master Thirleby, to-day we communed of provision for you, and ye shall lay no blame upon me, I will provide what I will do for you: I will provide

and make ready for you mules, mulets, horses, servants, money; yea, and all things that shall be necessary.'

"'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is a large offer, and a great kindness come upon you; I marvel,' quoth I, 'that I could hear nothing of this to-day in the morning.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'this will I do; for know you, that I will consider the king's honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the king will pay me again.' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I have sent my servant already to Lyons, to make provision for me, and I have sent others abroad here into the town and country, to do the same: ye shall never need to trouble yourself herewith.' 'I will,' quoth he, 'you shall not say, another day, that ye could not be provided for.' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'let me have instructions in the king's matters, and as for other things, I shall not ask of you, because this day ye made me so plain answer.'

"After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Ferrara that night, where he intended to be lodged. And so the bishop, bidding me farewell, took soon after his horse, riding to Ferrara to bed; and by the way I overtook him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Ferrara, lodging at the post-house, and even as the bishop came into the town, stood at the post-house door; to whom the bishop said, 'We shall see you soon, Master Bonner!' 'Yea, my Lord!' quoth I, thinking that thereby he had desired me to supper, and at supper-time I went to his lodging, having others to eat my supper at home; and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giving any thing to me, saving, at the coming of the fruit, he gave me a pear, I trow, because I should remember mine own country. After supper, he walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being ambassador for the Count Mirandula; and after a good space we returned, and bade the bishop good night.

"I did not after that night dine or sup with the bishop, till he came to Bourges in Berry, where, upon the depeach of Francis, and closing up of our letters sent to the king's Highness, the supper was so provided, and set upon the board; and the bishop in washing, standing so between me and the door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should wash with him and sup. And I suppose, all the way from Barella to Blois, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time, saving at Moulines, (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the king's affairs here in France,) and at Varron, (when he, answering to my requests

in writing, delivered me his book of his own hand for mine instructions. the only witness is now not forgotten. there was much communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thurstrey, who I think knoweth a good deal of his doing, and will if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I myself was out of countenance with the bishop, not being agreeable to his manners and desires.

"And surely, as Master Thurstrey told me at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the bishop, the bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his face in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the bishop make men believe, that he would gladly come home: which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for letters out of England, from Master Wallop and Master Brian, whom he taketh for his great friends. And Master Wyat himself reckoned, that the bishop should have come into Spain, or else my lord of Durham; so that the bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons: and coming to Varennes, and there, hearing by the ambassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayonne, to meet the emperor, by and by he said, 'Lo! where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here, (as then I was that night,) we would to the court and present him, and take our leave.' But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, he was nothing hasty. No; coming to Moulines afore him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

"I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any, joined in commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride to himself, with some dishonour to the king, as who saith, there was among all the king's ambassadors but one able to maintain a table, and that were he; or else he doth the same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone; which, I suppose verily, hath been his intent.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that where he, for his own pomp and glory, hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silks, with their chains about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with

expensive fare, and yet says, he doth say, as that he is so commended, and that is his answer to him of his great care of the king's commission, which is here.

"I mislike in the private hatred against our stomach and affecting the king's affairs, his sturdy and stable heavy countenance, whereby and business may be seen that he taketh

"I mislike in the continually, here is a incomparably more of regal's Venetians, as saith, than of any Fr with his pride, caused think that he favoured imperial.

"I mislike in the familiarity and acquaintance, between a naughty a fellow, and I know, where he dare his letters to Master commendations to Master any to Master Heynes Wyat, as we perceived Mason maketh such for he thinketh there is not Villa Franca, that the he had fallen out with that weeping and sobbing and praying his Germain, and reconcile spoken of it: and who not tell me; that you all. And Preston, who Winchester, showed me at Blois, after supper, showing the king's letter himself hath given him. Preston told me the departed hence, and who of him therein, he, cons I stood, kept him more further."

In this declaration of prefixed, sent to the La we have to note: First,

diner, bishop of Winchester; here we have a plain demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Dr. Bonner aforesaid, showing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before, by the king's commandment, so to do.

Secondly, In the said Stephen Winchester, this we are also to note and understand, that as he here denieth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his book *De Obedientia*) to papistry, joining part and side with such as were own papists; so he seemeth likewise to bear a secret grudge against the Lord Cromwell, and such whomsoever he favoured.

Thirdly, As concerning the before-named Dr. Bonner, the author of this declaration, it is to be seen and noted, that he, all this while, lived a good man, and a diligent friend to the king; and that he was favoured of the Lord Cromwell for the same.

Fourthly, That the said Dr. Bonner was not only loved of the Lord Cromwell, but also by him was *used first* to the office of legation, then to the bishopric of Hereford, and lastly to the bishopric of London; whom the said Dr. Bonner, in his letters, acknowledgeth, and confesseth to be his only patron, and his *Mecenas*.

Which being so, we have in this said Dr. Bonner much to marvel, what should be the cause that he, in all his setting-up, making, and preferring, was only by the gospel, and by them of the gospel, he, being then so hated of Stephen Gardiner and such as he was; being also at that time furtherer and defender of the gospel, (as appears both by his preface before Gardiner's book *De Obedientia*, and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell; also by helping forward the printed bible at Paris,) could ever be a man so ungrateful and kind afterwards, to join part with the said Gardiner against the gospel, (without the gospel he had never come to be bishop, either of Hereford, or yet of London,) and now to be the same bishopric of London, to persecute vehemently which before so openly he defended.

Wherein the same may well be said to be the case, that he himself was reported once to the French king in the cause of Grancetor, that he had done therein against God, against his honour, against justice, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his own oath made, against his own doctrine and his own conscience, which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues between him and the king of England, and against all together; and, to con-

clude, against the salvation of his own soul, which would God he would have mercy upon, although he had showed want of mercy unto others!

But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Dr. Bonner's legation; who, being now ambassador in the court of France, as ye have heard, had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; for the king's pension to be paid; for the matters of the duke of Suffolk; for certain prisoners in France. Item, For Grancetor the traitor, and certain other rebels, to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which affairs, the said Dr. Bonner did employ his diligence and travail to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's mind, and discharge of his duty in such sort as no default could be found in him; save only that the French king, one time, took displeasure with him, for that the said Bonner, being now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor, (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the king's pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly,) used these words to the French king, (as the French king himself did afterwards report them,) saying, that he had done, in deliverance of that aforesaid Grancetor, being an Englishman, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the king of England; yea, and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop Bonner, although he denieth to have spoken them in that form and quality, yet, howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, in so much that he, answering the lord ambassador again, bade him write these three things unto his master:

First, Among other things, that his ambassador was a great fool.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better justice there in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king beside this, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call

in writing, delivered me his book of his own hand for mine instructions, the copy whereof is now sent herewithal,) there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who, I think, knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your Lordship. I myself was out of credence with the bishop, not being applicable to his manners and desires.

"And surely, as Master Thirleby told me at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the bishop, the bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his flesh in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the bishop make men believe, that he would gladly come home: which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for letters out of England, from Master Wallop and Master Brian, whom he taketh for his great friends. And Master Wyat himself reckoned, that the bishop should have come into Spain, or else my lord of Durham; so that the bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons: and coming to Varennes, and there, hearing by the ambassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayonne, to meet the emperor, by and by he said, 'Lo! where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here, (as then I was that night,) we would to the court and present him, and take our leave.' But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, he was nothing hasty. No; coming to Moulines afore him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

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"I mislike in the said bishop, that where he, for his own pomp and glory, hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silks, with their chains about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with

excessive fare, and exceeding expenses many other ways, he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commanded to do by the king's Grace; and that is his answer commonly, when his friends tell him of his great charges; and so, under colour of the king's commandment and honour, he hideth his pride, which is here disdained.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that he, having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the king's affairs, than, relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the king's Highness's matters and business may be advanced and set forth) to him that he taketh for his adversary.

"I mislike in the said bishop, that he ever continually, here in this court of France, made incomparably more of the emperor's, king of Portugal's, Venetians', and duke of Ferrara's ambassadors, than of any Frenchmen in the court, which, with his pride, caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French king, but was imperial.

"I mislike in the bishop, that there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and much mutual confidence, between the said bishop and M., as naughty a fellow, and as very a papist, as any that I know, where he dare express it. The bishop, in his letters to Master Wyat, ever sendeth special commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to Master Heynes and me, being with Master Wyat, as we perceived by the said letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the bishop, that he thinketh there is none such; and he told me at Villa Franca, that the bishop, upon a time, when he had fallen out with Germain, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that he would speak with Germain, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it: and what the matter was, he would not tell me; that young fellow Germain knoweth all. And Preston, who is servant to the bishop of Winchester, showed me one night in my chamber at Blois, after supper, that Germain is ever busy in showing the king's letters to strangers, and that he himself hath given him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he, considering how the bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further."

In this declaration of Dr. Edmund Bonner, above prefixed, sent to the Lord Cromwell, divers things we have to note: First, as touching Stephen Gar-

diner, bishop of Winchester; here we have a plain demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Dr. Bonner aforesaid, showing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before, by the king's commandment, so to do.

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Thirdly, As concerning the before-named Dr. Edmund Bonner, the author of this declaration, here is to be seen and noted, that he, all this while, appeared a good man, and a diligent friend to the truth; and that he was favoured of the Lord Cromwell for the same.

Fourthly, That the said Dr. Bonner was not only favoured of the Lord Cromwell, but also by him was advanced first to the office of legation, then to the bishopric of Hereford, and lastly to the bishopric of London; whom the said Dr. Bonner, in his letters, agnizeth, and confesseth to be his only patron, and singular *Mecænas*.

Which being so, we have in this said Dr. Bonner greatly to marvel, what should be the cause that he, seeing all his setting-up, making, and preferring, came only by the gospel, and by them of the gospel's side, he, being then so hated of Stephen Gardiner, and such as he was; being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the gospel, (as appeareth both by his preface before Gardiner's book *De Obedientia*, and by his writings to the Lord Cromwell; also by helping forward the printed bibles at Paris,) could ever be a man so ungrateful and unkind afterwards, to join part with the said Stephen Gardiner against the gospel, (without the which gospel he had never come to be bishop, either of Hereford, or yet of London,) and now to abuse the same bishopric of London, to persecute that so vehemently which before so openly he defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that he himself was reported once to say to the French king in the cause of Grancetor; to wit, that he had done therein against God, against his honour, against justice, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his oath so often made, against his own doctrine and judgment which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues between him and his setters-up, and against all together; and, to con-

clude, against the salvation of his own soul, which would God he would have mercy upon, although he had showed want of mercy unto others!

But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Dr. Bonner's legation; who, being now ambassador in the court of France, as ye have heard, had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; for the king's pension to be paid; for the matters of the duke of Suffolk; for certain prisoners in France. Item, For Grancetor the traitor, and certain other rebels, to be sent into England, &c. Touching all which affairs, the said Dr. Bonner did employ his diligence and travail to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's mind, and discharge of his duty in such sort as no default could be found in him; save only that the French king, one time, took displeasure with him, for that the said Bonner, being now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor, (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the king's pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly,) used these words to the French king, (as the French king himself did afterwards report them,) saying, that he had done, in deliverance of that aforesaid Grancetor, being an Englishman, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the king of England; yea, and against all together, &c. These words of Bishop Bonner, although he denieth to have spoken them in that form and quality, yet, howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, in-somuch that he, answering the lord ambassador again, bade him write these three things unto his master:

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Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king beside this, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call

this ambassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French king took these words of Bishop Bonner so to stomach, (as the lord chancellor said,) was this : For that the kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only, upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had been well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldness, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his master's behalf. But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this bishop, and many others, that they, in earthly matters, and to please terrene kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldness and forwardness ; and in Christ's cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should only attend upon and tender, they are so remiss, cold, and cowardly.

To these letters of the French king, the king of England sent answer again by other letters, in which he revoked and called home again Bishop Bonner, giving unto him, about the same time, the bishopric of London ; and sent in supply of his place Sir John Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardiner : which was in February, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

The oath of Dr. Edmund Bonner, when he was made bishop of London, against the pope of Rome.

"Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's dominion ; but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power : and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's Majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England ; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend, the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority ; and all other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head in the earth of the Church of England. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be ; and in no wise do, or attempt, or to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, damage,

or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilated. So help you God, &c.

"In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, electus et confirmatus Londinensis episcopus, huic præsentì chartæ subscripsi."

Ecclesiastical matters, A. D. 1538.

It will be judged, that I have lingered, peradventure, too much in these outward affairs of princes and ambassadors : wherefore, leaving these by-matters pertaining to the civil state awhile, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my story in order again, of such occurrents as belong unto the church, first showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the behoof of his subjects. Wherein, first, is to be understood, that the king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full prince in his own realm, although he well perceived, by the wisdom and advice of the Lord Cromwell and other of his council, that the corrupt state of the church had need of reformation in many things ; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were, to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them only about the matter of the pope's title, he durst not by and by reform all at once, (which notwithstanding had been to be wished,) but leading them fairly and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the Lord Cromwell had lived) ; and therefore first he began with a little book of articles, (partly above touched,) bearing this title : "Articles devised by the king's Highness, to stablish Christian quietness and unity among the people," &c.

Articles devised by the king.

In the contents of which book, first he set forth the articles of our Christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king's preface going before, followeth the declaration of three sacraments ; to wit, of baptism, of penance, and of the sacrament of the altar ; in the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the Church of Rome.

"Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our justification, he declareth, that the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his passion and blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our justification; yet good works, with inward contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in remission of our sins; that is, our justification: and afterwards, we, being justified, must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments, &c.

"As touching images, he willeth all bishops and preachers to teach the people in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, as thus: that they be representers of virtue and good example, and also, by occasion, may be stirrers of men's minds, and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins; and so far he permitteth them to stand in churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of idolatry, he chargeth all bishops and preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no idolatry unto them, in censuring of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God.

"And likewise for honouring of saints, the bishops and preachers be commanded to inform the people, how saints, hence departed, ought to be revered and honoured, and how not: that is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent virtues planted in them, and for their good example left us, teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our prayers in that they may; but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God; and so forth: charging the said spiritual persons to teach their flock, that all grace, and remission of sins, and salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who only is a sufficient Mediator for our sins: that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ and no other.

"From that he cometh further to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church; as in having vestments used in God's service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulchre, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites,

and ceremonies; all which old rites and customs the aforesaid book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things: but so that the people withal must be instructed, how the said ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but that to be referred unto God only, by whom only our sins be forgiven us.

"And so, concluding with purgatory, he maketh an end of those articles, thus saying thereof, that because the book of Maccabees alloweth praying for souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a custom, so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced; as to make men believe, that by the bishop of Rome's pardons, or by masses said at *Scala Cali*, or other where, in any place, or before any image, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to heaven; and such other like abuses," &c.

And these were the contents of that book of articles, devised and passed, by the king's authority, a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; wherein, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed church, yet notwithstanding, the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, instead of a little beginning, till better come.

And so consequently, not long after these articles thus set forward, certain other injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the harvest time, the keeping of which redounded greatly to the hindrance of gathering in their corn, hay, fruit, and other such-like necessary commodities; the copy and tenor of which injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

"Forasmuch as the number of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more, by men's devotion, yea, rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was, and should be, not only prejudicial to the common weal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconvenience, as of decay of good mysteries and arts profitable and necessary for the commonwealth, and loss of man's

food, (many times being clean destroyed through the superstitious observance of the said holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of harvest,) but also pernicious to the souls of many men, which being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And since the sabbath day was used and ordained but for man's use, and therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other holy-day instituted by man; it is therefore by the king's Highness's authority, as supreme head in earth of the Church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

"First, That the feast of dedication of churches shall, in all places throughout this realm, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October, for ever, and upon none other day.

"Item, That the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as heretofore hath been used; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery; and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said feast of Church Holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a holy-day by this ordinance following.

"Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur either in the harvest-time, which is to be counted from the first day of July unto the twenty-ninth day of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-days; but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, or of the Blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as wherein the king's Highness's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment; all which shall be kept holy and solemnly of every man, as in time past hath been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be lawful unto all priests and clerks, as well secular as regular, in the aforesaid holy-days now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days, in their churches; so as they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in high

holy-days, nor do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

"Finally, That the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering days.

"And for further declaration of the premises, be it known that Easter term beginneth always the eighteenth day after Easter-day, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

"Trinity term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the Octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the eleventh or twelfth day of July.

"Michaelmas term beginneth the ninth or tenth day of October, and endeth the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of November.

"Hilary term beginneth the twenty-third or twenty-fourth day of January, and endeth the twelfth or thirteenth day of February.

"In Easter term, upon the Ascension-day; in Trinity term, upon the Nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas term, upon Allhallows-day; in Hilary term, upon Candlemas-day, the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday."

After these articles and injunctions thus given out by the king and his council, then followed moreover, as time served, other injunctions besides, concerning images, relics, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucre's sake; also for the Pater-noster, Creed, and God's commandments, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points more, necessary for religion.

By these articles and injunctions coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king deserved then the title of his supreme government, given to him over the Church of England; by which title and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion here in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates, had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his council, how by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock, drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs, and idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation: whereunto he provided not only these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but

also procured the bishops to help forward, in the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people; according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a bishop to preach at Paul's Cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.

Amongst which bishops, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, and a great persecutor of the poor flock of Christ, (as is before sufficiently recorded,) made a sermon before the king, upon Good Friday, this present year 1538, at Greenwich, seriously and effectuously preaching, on the king's behalf, against the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome; the contents of whose sermon wholly to express, were here too long and tedious.

You heard before, by the king's injunctions above expressed, and directed out, A. D. 1538, how all such images and pictures which were abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished; by virtue of which injunctions, divers idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, Thomas Becket, with many more; having engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false jugglings, as the blood of Hayles, and such like, wherewith the simple people a long time had been deceived: all which were espied out, and destroyed.

Among divers other of these foul idols, there went also, in the same reckoning, a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named Darvell Gatheren; which, in the month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield; with which idol also was burned at the same time, and hanged for treason, Friar Forrest, of whom some mention was partly touched before, in the story of Cardinal Wolsey.

Friar Forrest.

Forasmuch as the number of years doth lead us thereunto, we will somewhat touch and speak of Friar Forrest; although he be unworthy of a place, and not to be numbered in this catalogue.

This Forrest was an Observant Friar, and had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the king's subjects, that the king was not supreme head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward

man never consented thereunto." And being further accused of divers damnable articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the church. Upon this his submission having more liberty than before he had, to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was; and when his abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, and after hanged in Smithfield in chains, upon a gallows quick, by the middle and arm-holes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burned to death.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's most honourable council, and the nobles of the realm, to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if he had any spark of repentance in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scriptures, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance; but he was so froward, that he neither would hear, nor speak. A little before, the aforesaid image, called Darvell Gatheren, coming out of Wales, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the aforesaid friar, as is said, was set on fire; which the Welchmen much worshipped, and had a prophecy amongst them, that this image should set a whole forest on fire: which prophecy took effect; for he set this Friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, and would not let it go, but so impatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life.

In the months of October and November the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, followed also the ruin of the abbeys and religious houses, which, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell, (or rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God,) were suppressed, being given a little before by act of parliament into the king's hand; whereupon not only the houses were razed, but their possessions also disparkled among the nobility, in such sort as all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion, were then so rooted out of this realm from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by God's grace, no possibility hereafter left, for the generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his gospel, saying, Every plantation, being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, &c.

The history of the worthy martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson, with his troubles, examinations, and answers, as well before Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops, as also before King Henry the Eighth, by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in A. D. 1538.

IMMEDIATELY upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert, being born and brought

up in Norfolk, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge; where after that he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith, and there remained the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and, by the accusation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Otford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries; having five and forty articles ministered against him, whereunto he rendered answer again by writing: the which answers, forasmuch as they contain great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplify the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The copy both of the articles, and also of his answers, here in order followeth.

"Imprimis, Whether thou wast suspected or infamed of heresy?

"II. Whether ever thou hadst any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned? and how long thou didst keep them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

"III. Whether thou wast constituted priest, and in what diocess, and of what bishop?

"IV. Whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife?

"V. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity?

"VI. Whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation? and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ, in likeness of bread and wine?

"VII. Item, What opinion thou holdest touching the sacrament of baptism? whether thou dost believe that it is a sacrament of the church, and a necessary sacrament unto salvation, and that a priest may baptize; and that the order of baptizing ordained by the church, is necessary and wholesome?

"VIII. Item, Whether thou believest that matrimony be a sacrament of the church necessary to be observed in the church, and that the order appointed by the church for the solemnizing thereof is allowable and to be holden?

"IX. Item, Whether thou dost believe orders to be a sacrament of the church, and that saying of mass, ordained by the church, is to be observed of priests? whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned; and whether the order of priesthood were invented by man's imagination, or ordained by God?

"X. Item, Whether penance be a sacrament of the church, and necessary unto salvation; and whether auricular confession is to be made unto the priest, or is necessary unto salvation? and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free priest, under necessity of salvation, to be confessed unto a priest, and not unto any layman, be he ever so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a priest, in cases permitted to him, may absolve a sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoin him wholesome penance?

"XI. Item, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the sacrament of confirmation and extreme unction be sacraments of the church, and whether that they do profit the souls of them that receive them? and whether thou believest the aforesaid seven sacraments to give grace unto them that do duly receive them?

"XII. Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in Holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient? and whether some things upon necessity of salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

"XIII. Whether thou believest that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

"XIV. Whether holy martyrs, apostles, and

confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

"XV. Whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us?

"XVI. Whether thou believest that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints?

"XVII. Whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the canon law, and received in common usage of Christian people, (unless necessity otherwise requireth,) are to be observed?

"XVIII. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints?

"XIX. Whether thou believest that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed, and being in purgatory?

"XX. Whether men may merit and deserve, both by their fastings and also by their other deeds of devotion?

"XXI. Whether thou dost believe that men, prohibited of bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion before a higher judge?

"XXII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God, or no?

"XXIII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God?

"XXIV. Whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, doth oblige and bind them before God?

"XXV. Whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?

"XXVI. Whether thou believest that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother-language?

"XXVII. Whether is it lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language?

"XXVIII. Whether thou believest that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church, are to be praised?

"XXIX. Whether thou believest that the pope may make laws and statutes, to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God?

"XXX. Whether thou believest that the pope

and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay-people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the sacraments of the same?

"XXXI. Whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying?

"XXXII. Whether a priest, marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, and begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly?

"XXXIII. Item, Whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore troubled and stirred with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for remedy of the same, do sin deadly?

"XXXIV. Item, Whether thou dost ever pray for John Wickliff, John Huss, or Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any of them, since they died? or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss, and saved?

"XXXV. Item, Whether thou hast accounted them, or any of them, to be saints, and worshipped them as saints?

"XXXVI. Item, Whether thou dost believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, and the council of Constance also, doth represent the universal congregation or church?

"XXXVII. Item, Whether thou dost believe the same things which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith, and soul's health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians?

"XXXVIII. Whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the whole general council of Constance, were duly and rightly done, and so, for such, by every catholic person they are to be holden?

"XXXIX. Whether thou believest that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be, perverse; for the which books, and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics?

"XL. Item, Whether thou believest or affirmest, that it is not lawful in any case to swear?

"XLI. Whether thou believest that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy?

"XLII. Item, Whether a Christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly ?

"XLIII. Item, Whether thou believest that St. Peter, as Christ's vicar, hath power upon earth to bind and loose ?

"XLIV. Item, Whether the pope, ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being expressed, be the successor of St. Peter ?

"XLV. Item, Whether thou hast ever promised at any time, by an oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles, seeming to you and your accomplices right and consonant unto the faith ; and that you certify us touching the order and tenor of the said opinions and conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your adherents, and promised to be adherent unto you in this behalf ? "

The answers of John Lambert to the forty-five articles.

"Unto your first demand, wherein you do ask whether I was suspected of or infamed of heresy, I answer, that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me ; peradventure some better, some worse ; like as the opinion of the people was never one, but thought diversely of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yea, and of Christ himself : as appeareth in St. John, how, when he came into Jerusalem in the feast called *Scenopegia*, anon there arose upon him a great noise, some saying that he was a very good man ; others said nay, and called him a seducer, because he led the people from the right ways of Moses's law into error. Seeing therefore that all men could not say well by Christ, which is the author of verity and truth, yea, the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants ; what should I need to regard if at some time some person, for a like cause, should suspect of me amiss, and evil report of me ? seeing moreover, it is said in the Gospel, Woe be to you, when all men speak well of you ; for so did their fathers to the false prophets. If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded the same, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more than twice a fool to show you thereof ; for it is written in your own law, No man is bound to bewray himself. But this I insure you : I was never so charged with suspicion or infamy of crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reproved before any judge before that I was

troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your hands : and of them, seeing you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those things pass, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first ; that is to wit, no whit culpable in either, had it not been that by long imprisonment you forced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do ; and that, indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any sore punishment, unless you will beard the truth, whereunto I hope it shall not disagree.

"To your second demand, where you do inquire whether I had ever any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have spent any study in them ; I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also since ; but I neither will nor can tell you how long I kept them. But truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I so did ; for by them hath God showed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of others, such light as the deceivable darkness of them (I beseech God to amend it) that name themselves, but amiss, to be the holy church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all things, as all his adversaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages, to the intent that all people might see and know what is said of every part ; whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this methinketh he requireth nothing but equity ; for the law would have no man condemned, nor justified, until his cause were heard and known.

"But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich prelacy, who are so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study God's Scripture, nor preach the same, which should be the principal part of their office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full of equity) no less than they do abhor death. And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained that the writings of all parties might be openly seen and conferred, we should soon see their sleightly dealing, and facing doctrine, with all other cloaked abusion, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in Almain : for there be the books of every party seen openly, and translated into the vulgar language, that all people may see and read upon them ; and so, upon the sight of the books,

they lightly follow the true light of God's word, refusing the horror of darkness and false doctrine, whereby, before, they have been seduced from the right teaching and way showed in the Bible. And this is done, not by a hundred, nor by a thousand; but generally by whole cities and countries, both high and low; few or none excepted.

"But our prelates, seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detected and discovered, have sent out commandments, that if any person should adventure to keep any such books, they shall, for so doing, be excommunicated from God, and all his saints, and cursed as black as pitch, whether the books be in Latin, English, French, Dutch, or any other tongue; as indeed men, seeing the fruit contained in them, have set them forth in all languages. But this ought not Christian men to think any novelty; for so did their forefathers, the prelates in Christ's time and afterwards, to the apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should soon be found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the scribes and Pharisees, who were bishops then and prelates, gave a general commandment, that whosoever confessed him to be Christ should be accursed, and put out of the synagogue, that we call the church; and so they were.

"Look in the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the Old Testament, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporal ruler at that season, to have the prophecy of Jeremy (for he of all others is most vehement against the dissimulation of priests) to be burned. Why then should we eschew them, or their works, (unless we knew a better cause why,) whom our prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprise? but, presuming of their power, without any due authority, that I can find, granted unto them so to do, will, because they so command, so have all done? according to the tyrannical saying, as I trow, of Sardanaspalus, *Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas*; that is to say, So will I, so do I command; and let my will for reason stand.

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter them from such haughty language and doting, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy; void of all wilfulness and tyranny: yea, it should cause them not to prevent,

but easily to follow, the counsel and doctrine of Christ's apostles and holy saints, that be their interpreters. As St. Paul, which writing unto the Thessalonians, would have them all to prove all things, and to retain or hold that only which is good; refraining from all that hath semblance of evil. And St. John would have Christian people to try the spirit of them that should speak; whether they were of God or no. Also, writing in another Epistle unto a noble woman, and unto her children, he saith, If any person shall come unto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, nor make him any cheer. So that in this he would have women to know the doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give credence unto foreign teaching; not favouring the same.

"In the First Epistle also to the Corinthians, St. Paul, writing in general to all the inhabitants of that city, saith, Brethren, be ye not children in wit and understanding; but as concerning maliciousness, be you children. In wit I would have you perfect. And why? Verily for no other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the Hebrews) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the prophet, See that ye be not like unto a horse or a mule, which lack understanding. And we should pray with him in another Psalm, O Lord! teach me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul unto thee.

"St. Chrysostom, according unto this, in a certain book of his Commentaries upon Matthew, (the book is called, *Opus Imperfectum*,) writeth after this fashion, as near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not misreport him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the book. 'The priests that were Pharisees in the time,' saith he, 'of Christ, made an ordinance, that whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and excommunicated. If then the Pharisees or priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like ordinance, because they would not have Christ's doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christ's doctrine? Nay truly. Why,' quoth he, 'shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forefended by the rulers to have knowledge?' He answereth, 'No verily; for if,' saith he, 'when thou desirest to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one merchant's ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further,

to know where is the best cloth, and best cheap, thou, using such careful diligence for a temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, that wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy soul's health. Seek therefore about from one doctor or teacher unto another, that thou mayest know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow; according to the saying of the apostle, Prove all, and hold the good; and as it is said in the Gospel, that thou mayest know who be true or lawful changers or coiners, and who be not.

"He also addeth another similitude or parable. 'When thou goest,' quoth he, 'a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, inquire of one man, and after of another; and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt not so leave off thy journey undone, but make inquisition again to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise,' saith he, 'ought we to seek about intently for the wealth of our soul, who are the right key-bearers, and who not;' meaning there by the key-bearers, Christ's apostles, and the bearers of his testimony or message. Which saying, although it were written of no authentical author, (howbeit it is written even of him whom I showed you in the said work,) but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would answer, I doubt not, that it is full true.

"The same author also, in an epistle which you shall find in a work called *Psegmata Chrysostomi*, sheweth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, because he did study Origen's works, who before was condemned for a heretic: but he maketh an apology to the same, showing, that Christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing; in which apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of Paul above rehearsed, Prove all things, &c. Likewise did St. Jerome, I wot not well in what place of his works, but you shall find it in a Treatise called *Unio Dissidentium*, where he treateth *De mandatis Hominum*. When it was objected against him that he retained by him the works of Eusebius and of Origen, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawful, the said place of the apostle, making therewith an assent, worthy to be greatly noted.

"The same is also reported in the book called *Ecclesiastica Historia*, or else *Historia Tripartita*, I wot not now precisely whether. So that these and other authorities of the Scripture, and semblable examples of holy interpreters, shall prove, that I and other may safely (no good law inhibiting, unless constitutions pharisaical) read and search the works not only of Luther, but also of all others, be they

ever so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a priest: whom the bishop of Norwich ought not to have admitted into orders, unless he had seen me to have had judgment to discern good from ill; neither ought any of you to give orders to any such, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkness, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore, if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemn yourselves, judging rather of sensual pleasure than of equity, which, in men of your order, were a great shame, and much uncomely.

"Unto your third demand, wherein you do ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop; I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop's suffragan of the same diocese.

"Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife; I say that it is lawful, yea and necessary, for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife; and that show both Christ and St. Paul. In Matthew xix., Christ, speaking unto the Pharisees that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, saith in this wise, 'Whosoever shall forsake his wife, except it be for fornication, and marryeth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marryeth her so forsaken, committeth adultery.'

"With that say his disciples, 'If thus the case stand betwixt a man and his wife, it shall be hurtful, and not expedient to contract matrimony.' He made answer, 'Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given of God;' meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a special grace so to continue. And if, with your better advice, I might herein be somewhat bold, I would suppose that whereas he doth say, *Non omnes sunt capaces hujus dicti*, (Every man cannot away with that saying,) this word *non omnes* ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture; as where, in the Psalm, it is said, *Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens*, it is meant that no person living shall be justified before God. And in the Epistle to the Galatians, and to the Romans, where it is said, By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his sight, it is meant thereby *nulla caro*: so that, *non omnis*, after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as *nullus*, and then the sense should be thus, *Nulli sunt capaces hujus dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit*. No man can be *capax* of this saying, or can so pass his life without marriage, except those who

have it given them, by a singular grace of God, to live chaste.

"Then he proceeded further, saying, There be eunuchs that so were born from the mother's womb; and there be some eunuchs that have been so made by men; and there be eunuchs that have so made themselves, for love of the kingdom of heaven. In conclusion he saith, Who, that receiveth this saying, (thinking that it should be inexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste through the gift given him of God,) let him take it and so live. So he leaveth singleness of life to all men's election, without any compelling them thereto.

"Hereunto assenteth St. Paul: when that by many reasons he had persuaded the Corinthians to single life, finally he concludeth thus, This, quoth he, say I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you in bondage. And a little before, I would, quoth he, that all men were even as myself am. But every one hath a several gift of God, one onewise, another otherwise: showing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continently, and to others to engender and procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had showed forth his good wish and desire, saying, I would that all men were even as I am, he putteth a conjunction adversative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, But every man hath his proper gift of God. Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. This, quoth he, I say to the unmarried and widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do: but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage; for better is it to marry than to burn. This proveth well, that all priests, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry for to avoid burning lust, unless they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the traditions of men. In the beginning of the same chapter also he saith, It is good that a man should not deal with a woman: notwithstanding, for avoiding fornication, quoth he, let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband. He saith here, every man and every woman; and not some man or some woman. He excepteth neither priest nor nun, but every one, both man and woman, is bound, for avoiding of burning and fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of chastity.

"The same also confirmeth your own law, where it is written thus, 'If any man do hold that a priest, being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his function, be he accursed.' And, 'If any man shall find fault with matrimony,

and detest a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the kingdom of God, be he accursed.' And every where else such-like are to be seen.

"Moreover, in *Historia Tripartita* it is written, that a noble martyr of Christ called Paphnutius, in the Nicene council, when all other bishops were purposed to have enacted there, that priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with reasons, and also with authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first device could not pass. And one authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy: Your device, quoth he, may have a semblance of holiness, but indeed, it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.

"Moreover, in one of the principal histories of France, called *Les Illustrations de Galles*, whosever please may there read it as it standeth, within six leaves afore the end of the same; how the author with deep sorrow lamenteth the ordinance that first decreed priests to live unmarried, showing, and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto Calixtus the pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in metre, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus: 'O holy Calixtus! all the world hateth thee;' which followeth in writing, to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer treatise hereof, forasmuch as you do daily both hear and see, what foul abomination ariseth in every corner, of this piteous law, made of men that would presume to be wiser than God; thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or else for lack of wisdom he could not, show us a sufficient law or way, to direct our life and conversation to come to the joy and resting-place by him promised, and so by us longed and looked for; whereby both we be far unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise wit, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to help. Amen.

"Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity; that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free-will, so that he may deserve joy or pain: I say (as I said at the beginning) that unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive answer, forasmuch as it surmounteth my capacity; trusting that God shall send hereafter others that shall be of better learning and wit than I, for to indite it. As concerning the second part, where you do interpret; that is to say, whether man hath free-will or no, so that he may deserve joy or pain: as for our deserv-

ing specially of joy, I think it very slender or none, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And that I am taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus, Which of you, quoth he, having a servant that hath eared your land, or fed your beasts, will say unto him, when he cometh home out of the field, Go thy way quickly, and sit down to thy meat; and rather will not say unto him, Make ready my supper; serving me thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterwards take thyself meat and drink? Think you that he is bound to thank his servant which thus shall do his commandment? I trow, saith he, nay. Even so you, saith he, when you have done all things to you commanded, say yet you be unprofitable servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.

"In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done that is commanded by God, but rather, reckon ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, forasmuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to see us do well for our own behoof; and moreover, that when we have done his bidding, we ought not so to magnify, either ourself, or our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done, (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit, whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus, if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the commandment of God, much less should we look for merit for observing of our own inventions or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture (which Paul calleth the word of truth and of faith) promised.

"But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that do observe the precepts of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such reward shall never be attained of us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well St. Augustine, with St. Ambrose, Fulgentius, and others, as you may see everywhere in their works, and especially in the treatise called '*Unio Dissidentium*,' wherein Jerome treateth '*De Gratia et Meritis*.' And of St. Augustine I remember two or three right notable sentences, concerning the same. One is in the ninth book of his Confessions, in this form; 'Woe be to the life of men, be they ever so holy, if Thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever

recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he who glorieth, would glory in the Lord.' Again, in the first book, he saith thus unto God: 'Doth any man give what he oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldest be in his debt? and hath any man aught that is not thine? Thou renderest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debts, and yet loseest nothing.' And therefore his usual prayer was this: 'Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.'

"Also in the book called *Manuale Augustini*, or *De Contemplatione Christi*, he saith in this wise, 'All my hope is in the Lord's death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue; and if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.'

"And to conclude, they be Christ's own merits and good works, (as saith St. Ambrose well-nigh every where,) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown; and not ours, if one should look narrowly upon the thing, and speak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forasmuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours; so that in this, I wot not how others do mean, which lust to sell their merits unto their neighbours, who haply have scarcely enough for themselves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scriptures, with these holy doctors and such other, do teach, wishing that men ever, for good doing, should not so much (as the common people do) regard their merit or reward, for that is not the thing that engendereth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a servile fashion, and for the love of themselves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more than because it so pleaseth God, and liketh him: whereas, if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well, (which is the keeping of his commandments,) and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparate therefrom. And thus, we should serve God with hearty love as children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thralls and servants.

"Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Augustine, that of ourselves we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God, but are subject unto sin and thralls of the same, 'shut up and sold under sin,' as witness both Isaiah and also Paul: but, by the grace of God, we are rid and set at

liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some less.

"Whereas, in your sixth demand, you do inquire whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine, I neither can nor will answer one word otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as now I do, till you had brought forth some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

"As concerning the other six sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the sacrament of the altar, and no other; that is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudeness will serve. I hold well that such as be duly elected ministers in the church, ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise; and that the form used in the church is, in mine opinion, not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edify much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar language, and cause people, in the baptism of children, more effectuously to thank God for his institution, and the high benefit thereby represented.

"In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the others, that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the vulgar language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all countries lightly Judas hath set in his foot over far, and taketh in hand to sell his Master, accompanied with Simon Magus, saying, 'What will you give me, if I deliver unto you Christ?' This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some places twelpence, in some sixpence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money, when a couple should be married: and this they call 'the church's right.' Moreover, that they will not suffer marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christ's rule, but rather is against the same; and that they will not suffer the bans upon all holy-days to be proclaimed, unless a dispensation for money be purchased there-for. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But

the contrary is seen, which is great pity; yea, even at the receiving of the sacrament of the altar, priests every where use to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the west country, no less than twopence, of every poll.

"As touching priesthood in the primitive church, when virtue bare (as ancient doctors do deem, and Scripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the same) most room, there were no more officers in the church of God, than bishops and deacons; that is to say, ministers: as witnesseth, besides Scripture fully apertly, Jerome, in his Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, where he saith, that those whom we call priests, were all one and none other but bishops; and the bishops none other but priests; men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Neither were they instituted and chosen, as they be now-a-days, with small regard by a bishop or his officer, only opposing them if they can construe a collect; but they were chosen not only by the bishop, but also with the consent of the people—among whom they should have their living, as sheweth St. Cyprian; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report. But, alack for pity! such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in; which if we should confer with the form of the election showed of Christ by his apostle Paul, we should find no small diversity, but all turned upside down. To conclude, I say, the order or state of priests and deacons was ordained by God; but subdeacons and conjurers, otherwise called Exorcistæ and Accolitæ, which we call Benet and Collet, were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the law, Dist. 21, and in other places where it is written, 'Subdeaconship, in the time of the apostles, was no holy order.'

"As touching ear-confession, I say that the common fashion now used, was never ordained by Christ's law, that is, written in the Bible; neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have said, you shall know that Chrysostom standeth stiffly with me, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Hebrews; in a homily also that he maketh upon the Psalm Miserere; and moreover in a sermon that he maketh, De Pœnitentia, besides many other treatises, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

"In like manner doth one of your principal doctors, writing upon your canon law, named Panormitane, testify that it is made by the law of man, and

not of God, in cap. *Omnis utriusque sexus*. In the book also called *Historia Tripartita*, you shall find how it was first instituted, (as I remember,) and afterwards undone again, because of a huge villany committed with a woman by a minister of the church, through confession.

"Also it is mentioned in the end of the first Distinction *De Pœnitentia*, how the Greek church, whom I think you do not note to be heretics, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that confession made to a priest should not be necessary, and also that confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, *Quibus auctoritatibus*, &c. I could bring forth others that be yet living, men of surmounting and excellent literature, who exactly, by many and mighty both authorities and reasons, do show and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them into hatred. Notwithstanding, I never said, nor will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whom they know and trust to be of stedfast credence, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, through counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

"But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their curate, or to any other priest, whose credence they deem not at all trusty, or their counsel not sage, but to any other, whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-shewed, when their curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men, needing counsel, be so void of knowledge in Christ's law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men, by spiritual knowledge, might ease themselves.

"To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a priest, in cases unto him limited, may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance; I say that only Christ looseth a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise, and the priest doth nothing but show and declare the word: neither doth declaration or ministry of the priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give credence unto the word ministered and showed by the priest, which word or promise of Christ is called the word of reconciliation or atonement making betwixt God and man. And this testified St. Paul, in the Corinthians, where he saith in this wise, God hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ.

See how it is God that looseth us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ, whom he caused to die for the same purpose. And he, quoth St. Paul, hath ordained us ministers of the said atonement. See how Christ's apostles called not themselves the authors of binding and loosing, but ministers; For he, that is to wit, God, reconciled the world unto him, forgiving their sins (where you may know what reconciling is); and hath committed, saith Paul, unto us, to be messengers of the same word, or tidings of atonement or reconciling.

"Also, that the power whereby men are loosed from sin is not the priest's power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea, and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can show the same in the Decrees, which is thus, 'Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins.' And this was preached at Paul's Cross the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the bishop of London sitting by; the preacher speaking after this form, treating of this text, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world. 'In that,' said the preacher, 'testimony is given of Christ to be a lamb, it is showed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, that he taketh away the sins of the world, is showed that he was God;' alleging there, for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, *Solus Deus remittit peccata*. And the same proposition, or another equal with the same, useth St. Chrysostom, in a homily that is made upon this text of St. Matthew, His name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins. Also St. Chrysostom, in *Opus Imperfectum*, upon this text, Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, &c. As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the book, (as I suppose,) he affirmeth that the keys of heaven are the word and doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover St. Gregory, I trow, in his book called *Pastoralia*, or else it is an epistle that he writeth to the bishop of Constantinople, in these words: 'The key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who, rebuking, doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not, that committeth the same.'

"St. Ambrose, agreeing to the same, saith, 'The word of God forgiveth sin.' But shall we then say that God's ministers do not bind and loose? I say, No, not as the authors of so doing; but they do loose and bind in like manner as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner: I shall, said our Saviour, deliver thee from the people and nations unto whom

I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light. Here Paul is said to open the eyes of men's hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that so doth; and therefore David prayeth unto him, Open mine eyes, O Lord. And in like manner it is spoken of John Baptist, that he should go before Christ in the spirit and power of Elias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous: albeit to turn men's hearts, and to work in them, belongeth to God; but so use we to speak *metonymice*. As, if your Lordship had defined to me to be excommunicated, and thereupon should send a commandment to the parson of Knoll, to declare the same, the people would say, that the parson of Knoll, proclaiming your commandment, had accursed me; but yet doth *he* not properly curse me, but *you* rather, when he, in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

"Touching cases limited to priests and ministers, for loosing from sin, or binding in the same, I do know no such things showed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life: neither can any man, I suppose, show by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

"Concerning enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new virtue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend, verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to show and perform.

"Unto the eleventh article I say, that grace is given unto them that duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church; but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the sacraments, who is destitute of grace, to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments give grace; yet, in due receipt of the sacraments, I suppose and think, that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them also.

"Whereas in your twelfth article you do ask, whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in Holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things, upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: this is the question, as great learned men have showed

me, whom I do count my friends, since the time I appeared at your Lordship's assignment before Master doctor Lesse, and Master Melling, with other, in your chapel of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded: this, I say, is the question, which, as they told me, is the head and whole content of all others objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended right sorely to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking 'that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity;' and also, If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off, and cast away.

"But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had St. Cyril's works by me, I should not need to show any other answer in this, than he hath showed beforetime, writing upon this saying of St. John, There are many things more which Jesus did. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may, I say, that I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation be mentioned and showed in Holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and man's soul's health. And in this shall you find both the ancient doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy writ, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible steadfastness."

"Look what St. Jerome saith upon this verse, The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people. St. Ambrose also, in a treatise, De Paradiso, doth show likewise, where he bringeth this text of Paul, written in 2 Cor. xi., I am afraid lest it may, by some means, be brought to pass, that as the serpent deceived Eve through wiliness, so your minds may be corrupted from the simple verity that is in Christ. And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Colossians, upon this text, In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom; and in divers other places of the same work.

St. Chrysostom also, in his Commentaries upon Paul, declaring this saying, 'The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God,' &c. And in his book called Opus Imperfectum, I wot not precisely upon what text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true preacher of God's law not swerving therefrom, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Solomon: for he that should thereunto add or withdraw, should enterprise, as saith St. Chry-

sostom, to be wiser than God. These, or else such like words, doth he say. I will be deemed by the book brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all such things.

“St. Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an epistle that he writeth, *Ad Cecilium Fratrem*, which I would to God were in English, that all men might learn the devout goodness in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding or attending to the traditions of men; like as he doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of salvation; the administration of righteousness; the word of truth, yea, and the truth itself; the rod of direction; our spiritual food; the spiritual sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies; the seed of God; the kingdom of heaven, and the keys of the same; the power of God; the light of the world, which whoso followeth shall not be overcome with darkness; the law of God; his wisdom and testament. Of which words, and such like, every one will give matter of substantial argument, that we, following the same doctrine only, shall have sufficient safe-conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the same. And certain I am, that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as testifieth the Psalm, in these words, *All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth*. And again, the prophet, willing us to do as he did, saith in this manner, *I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord; confound me not*. In like manner the said whole Psalm warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast to the steady and true word of God, saying, that he is true, and all his ways are truth; but all men are vain and liars. For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ: Every one, saith he, that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation. And there ought to be none other foundation to Christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as showeth St. Paul, saying, *Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ*. And likewise in the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith, *Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God*. And in the same Epistle, St. Paul, dilating of Christ's beneficence, showeth how that he ordained in the church divers officers, to the edifying of Christian people, that he

calleth Christ's body, until all we may come unto the unity of faith; which cometh by following of one doctrine, which is Christ's, whereby we may grow to be perfect men; and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of doctrine, by deceit and wiliness of men that study to deceive us.

“In like form doth he warn us, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, that we should not be carried about as the wind, with divers and strange doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable, as men's constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel or ordain to be of effect, another annuls the same, according as men's minds do always alter, and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the Greeks, with others, (whom neither the pope, nor any of his people, will yet deny to be of Christ's church,) will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the doctrine that persevereth every one, and is immutable, as showeth St. Paul, saying, *Jesus Christ yesterday and to-day is all one, and so ever shall be*. He is white bread, without any sour leaven of Pharisaical traditions; verity without guile; light without any darkness; the very straight way that hath neither hook nor crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand nor the other, unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

“But should I more treat of this, except I would recite all Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel, which God, I beseech him, grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by laws and doctrines of men. Look also into Colossians ii., and into the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude that in Holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough of doctrine for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and because learned men do call this the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the sum of all. Therefore I shall recite it once again. I say, that in Holy Scripture the doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the salvation of Christian men's souls: God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith stedfastly upon the same, in working thereafter!

“As touching the latter part of your question, I

say that there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all other, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same: I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinances be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed; for they are generally therein contained and spoken of.

"Moreover, if you mean by this word 'expressed,' that which in Scripture is clearly showed out, and appeareth evidently to every reader or hearer that hath but a mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not by him expressly understood: as I have ever believed that the Virgin Mary was, and is, a perpetual virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if, by this word 'expressed,' you mean comprehended or contained, (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the demand should be,) so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that, upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture and mentioned in the same either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Dr. Warham was archbishop of Canterbury, ere ever I saw your Lordship; and I believe that I knew verily who was my father and mother, albeit I had no intelligence when they begot me; and such like: and yet in such points, although a man have not a steady belief, he may be saved.

"To the thirteenth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also do the holy doctors, call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth St. Paul to Timothy, whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer, peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people! and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution. In this purgatory do I now reckon myself to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour! Of this speaketh also St. Peter in these words, which pertain to the instruction of all Christian people: Ye, quoth he, are preserved through the power of God, by faith, unto salvation, which is,

prepared to be revealed in the last time; wherein ye now rejoice, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented; that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory, and honour, at the appearing of Jesu Christ, &c. Other purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which, well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have showed.

"But whatsoever be brought against me, I trust that holy doctors shall, by their interpretation, sustain the part which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient; so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak. Yet, that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient doctors concerning the same, I shall show you what I have read in St. Augustine; first, in a sermon that he maketh *De Ebrietate*, in this wise, saying, 'Brethren! let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign, shall without doubt perish with the devil.' In another also that he maketh, it is said thus: 'Know you, that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for its good deeds, put in paradise, or else thrown headlong into the dungeon of hell for its sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose, while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.' Thus saith holy Augustine.

"To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any purgatory beside that I have and shall sustain in this life. And he that believeth not stedfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God wotteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a Grey Friar's frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins, (as is granted in a bull unto the said religion,) and such like. For St. Augustine shall make with me in his book called *Enchiridion*, after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the church of Christ, living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of purgatory, where he concludeth thus: 'Such a thing after this life to be,' saith he, 'is not incredible; but whether it be so or no, a doubt may

be thereof moved, or a question demanded.' The same words doth he again recite in a book called *Quæstiones ad Dulcium*, or *Dulcitiu*, I wot not whether it is called, and there he treateth of the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

"To this agreeth St. Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians, For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil. And again, where he writeth unto the Hebrews, I trow it be said in this wise: Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them; be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.

"To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors, departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of St. Augustine, in his book *De Vera Religione*, in his last leaf, where he saith thus: '*Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes; honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.*' Again, a little after the same, he saith, '*Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, et Dei sapientia incommutabilis, et consubstantialis Patri et coæternus suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creaturâ intellectuali et rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim et nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus angelos et his congratulamur.*'

"*Nec invidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam et nos tale aliquid sperare a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset et conservus.*'

"Thus saith St. Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

"The contents of this unto you I expound,

that know no Latin; for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this and all manner of doing, to the intent that of all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. St. Augustine, in these words, would have that we should worship no men departed, be they ever so good and holy, (for they seek no such honour,) but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet any angel, nor honour the same, but only in imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them: it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the angels will not that we should build any churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original Maker and Performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called *honor charitatis*, which is nothing else but to be loved. Thus saith St. Augustine, Which love we shall testify in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it, I dare say, as the burden of Christ's cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the prophet David saith, When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be borne flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again. And in the Gospel he biddeth, Come you unto me, all that do travail and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek-minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easy, and my burthen light. See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them by the world, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.

"As touching invocation, that is, to wit, calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities or tribulations. As in the Psalms every where; as in this, Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you. Mark how he saith here, Call upon me, appointing neither St. Thomas, nor Master John Shorn. Also in another place, The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon

him truly; and with that he showeth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus: He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe; for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed. And thus used the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is showed in other places in this wise: In my trouble I called upon the Lord, saith David, and he heard me graciously. When I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me. Also, I lift mine eyes unto the mountains. But from whence shall help come unto me? Mine help, quoth he, shall come from the Lord, that made both heaven and earth. I read the first of these verses in form of interrogation, following St. Augustine, who, as I remember, interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I lack books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The hills toward which David did lift up his eyes, were saints and holy men, by whom when he could not have his mind satisfied, he turned another way, saying, From whence shall help come unto me? Anon, remembering himself better, he sued unto God himself, of whom incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction, saying, Mine help is of the Lord, or cometh from the Lord, which made heaven and earth. This interpretation, as near as I remember, is after the mind of St. Augustine; and I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, nor disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture. Also, in this wise it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old, where it is written, Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord shall be saved. And mark how, *cum energia*, it is said, upon the name of the Lord; without any sending us either to St. Christopher, (though he be painted ever so stout,) or to St. Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, in the year of grace, or yet to any other saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is alway our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; and not for our sins only, quoth St. John, (who is the writer of this saying and testimony,) but also for the sins of all the world. St. Augustine upon the same, noteth that St. John, in that place, saith, We have an advocate, and that Christ is advocate

for him, like as he is for all others, to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all others that shall be saved; and that St. John will not be known for our advocate, but that Christ should be taken for advocate of all. St. Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose as doth St. Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head-spring and fountain of all comfort and mercy, as St. Paul calleth him, the Father of mercies and of all comfort, who is ready to comfort us in all tribulation: which, as the Psalm reporteth, healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities. For he is sweet, as is said in another place, and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him. Yet he showeth us no where, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think myself highly beholden to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old: but I ween it cannot be. I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer myself ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, inexpert experience, and feeble discretion, had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometimes he showeth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from others that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometimes with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, Thou, caitiff! wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and doctors to teach the law? As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, forasmuch as St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, showeth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing; so that it pertaineth (like as the Holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. The doctrine of Christ's cross, that is, to wit, of the New Testament, is to them that perish, folly, saith he; but to us that obtain thereby salvation, meaning thereby to such as believe, it is the might or power of God; for it is written, saith he, by the prophet Isaiah, that God aforetime said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.

"This prophecy alleged, Paul thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish affiance, vain-glory, or opinion, that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same: Where are ye now, quoth he, the worldly wise, the scribes, that is to say, doctors, and such other like officers: Hath not God showed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God, which is showed in Scripture, I suppose, 'the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.' He calleth the word of God 'foolish preaching,' not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of them that set a little or nought thereby, esteeming it as *Æsop's* cock did the precious stone, and as swine do pearls.

"After long process in the same matter, he concludeth thus: 'Brethren,' saith he, 'you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the gospel, nor many mighty men, nor many of noble parentage; but those that be fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise,' &c.

"Therefore I say, as I said afore, that, thanks be to God, albeit I am, as I showed before, void of such great prudency as others be well endued with, yet I see partly how their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to show that we ought to pray to saints departed, to be mediators for us to Christ. And amongst other, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, other, contrariwise, esteeming it of no value.

The reason is this: If, when one should desire to come to the speech of our sovereign, to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his chamberlains, or some other like officers, to bring him to the king's presence, for else he may watch long in vain, until he be full cold ere that he shall speak with his Grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break it unto the saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as mediators and intercessors. But such, (with their leave I would speak it,) I think, are deceived, in that they resemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious prince, (as I hear by common report he is,) yet is he not in graciousness to be con-

ferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is every where, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men's hearts; so that he needeth no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king doth need. And he is full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy saints to be intercessors to him for me.

"Therefore, passing such apparent reasons, I take me to the ensample of antiquity, I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and the apostles, and the authority of Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself and his holy Father, forasmuch as he biddeth us, in these words and others like, so to do, saying, Come unto me, all ye that travail, are vexed, and sore charged; and I will refresh and ease you. Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, which are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth nobody for his unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of Him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him what we would have; so that I leave unto others what they list to do, praying Jesus, that we all may lust for that which is most pleasing to him.

"But I think, concerning myself, that according to Christ's own commandment I may, without any doubt casting, resort in all encumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us, when we should pray, to say after this fashion, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c. For there is no creature, nor creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, or so much, either of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; or of mercy and tenderness, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; nor of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, who not only is almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties; so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how, to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

"One thing yet I will show you in this case, of which thing I was once advertised by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this: 'I will,' quoth he, 'pray unto saints; but that shall be when I think, that God

either cannot or will not give me my petition. But that (as I showed in the Convocation house) shall never be, I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief as, I hope, I have found upon God's sure promise.'

"To the fifteenth article, where you do demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us, I say, that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be entangled and clogged with, as sheweth Augustine, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying in this wise: that souls departed neither feel, nor know of any particular miseries sustained by men living in this world, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forasmuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and that their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners; but not as mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace or atonement betwixt God the Father and man. Record I take of Paul, who, in the Epistle to Timothy, saith, There is one God, and one mediator, or peacemaker, betwixt God and man, the man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.

"Thus, I say, I believe saints in heaven do pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators. Yea, all the saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the day of judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. Paul, The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the sons of God shall be revealed. And again, Every creature groaneth with us, and travaileth in pain together unto this present; which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all others elect of God to be his children, and co-inheritors with Christ.

"In the sixteenth article, where you demand, whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints, I say, that what they may be, I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith St. Paul to the Romans, in this wise: Unto those that love God, all things shall well succeed, and work together for their furtherance in goodness: of whom it is written in the

Psalm, Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors; yea, their evil deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increase of virtue. For as it is said in the Gospel, To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less. And again, it hurteth not Onesimus, that he ran away from his master Philemon, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with Paul, which converted him to the faith of the gospel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define; God wotteth. But this I say, that God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all Christian people to follow and believe: yea, that only is of perfect surety, and none other, but as it is agreeable to, and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain doctrine instituted by Christ, or his disciples, teaching us thus for to do; no more is there any merit appointed by him therefore, as I showed before, where I told my mind of our merits.

"Moreover, where ye put *pie*, which I call 'devoutly,' very true devotion (that is called in Latin, *pietas*) is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth Paul, which is nothing else but the observation of Christ's law, that, in the Psalm, for the pureness thereof, is called, silver fined often and many times through the fire. It hath no chaff in it, as have men's traditions; but is pure and clean wheat, as sheweth Jeremy, writing in this wise, What is the chaff to the wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets, saith the Lord, that steal my word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors. And this devotion is that which St. James calleth the pure religion of Christ, saying, Pure and immaculate religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless children and widows in their vexation; whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourless and helpless, with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

"The other part of this religion showed by St. James, is, That a man should keep himself clean from the world; and that do they which be not so affectionate unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them, when God shall please, or charity so requireth.

"Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paul, which, writing to the Corinthians, saith thus, Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have wives, should be

as they had them not; and those that weep, should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away. And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should neither love nor dread any worldly thing passing measure, or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he saith, Go and sell that ever thou hast, and come, follow me. For he hath sold away all that ever he had, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ, to help the poor with all that he may. The will is accepted for the deed, as is commonly said. And this saying both of James, and also of the evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all Christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man nor woman, (as we use to say,) but to them, as well as to any whom we call religious.

"As concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said to your Lordship before, what I do think of the milk of our Lady, the blood which they say is at Hayles, Norwich, and other places, with such others, whereof I trust you do know what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may do therein as your office doth require, so showing example to other prelates to follow your Lordship in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do; remembering always, as Paul saith, the time is short, and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

"Finally, holy Moses, when he died, would be so buried that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in the book of Deuteronomy; and that (as the expositors testify) was, because the Jews, who were prone to new-fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

"To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints' graves and relics, are meritorious works, nor yet that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know, for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

"In the seventeenth article, where you do ask, whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the common law, and received in common usage of Christian people, (unless necessity otherwise requir-eth,) are to be observed, I say that, in mine opinion, they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and

be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the poet, 'Without wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold.' And as St. Jerome, 'The body inflamed with wine, bursteth out into lust.'

"Yet shall not the breaking of these fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despite, or such-like; forasmuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man, are the fast of Lent and other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which willet us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done); yea, and that sparely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkenness or surfeiting (as is commanded by our Saviour in Luke); but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain prince that is mentioned, I trow, in Valerius Maximus, that never rose from his meal's meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderfully a long season, that a man could scarcely think it possible for one's life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable author reported it.

"And, to tell the truth, I suppose the prelates should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so sore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described by Horace, saying, 'Look, what is forbid, that we most desire, and always covet the things that be denied us.' And in another proverb, 'The rope, by overmuch straining, bursteth asunder.' According to this said a good old father in Cambridge. I remember his saying well yet: he was an old doctor of divinity. When a legate came into England at a time, and he, with certain bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and priests should have their gowns made close before, with such other like ordinances, he resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of laws pleased him not; for we had enough and abundantly before. Adding this reason, 'Adam, being in Paradise, had but one law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do,' quoth he, 'but multiply transgression?'

for when a faggot is bound over strait, the bond must break.'

"God therefore, I beseech him, send us of the sweet dew of his heavenly doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fashioned unto him; putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and painted show, that is much caused by human laws and constitutions; and do upon us Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

"Unto the eighteenth article, where you ask, whether it be laudable and profitable that worshippful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints, I say, that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalm saith, Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeisance unto carved images, and that glory in their pictures. Moreover St. Augustine, in his book *De Vera Religione*, saith thus: 'Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men.' Or else thus: 'Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship.' Lactantius also maketh strongly with the same: I cannot without book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of the same matter. Origen also, writing against Celsus, I trow, will likewise testify; where, as I remember, he concludeth, saying, that he would have no goldsmiths nor gravers in a commonalty; for they do but little profit or none thereto. And St. Gregory, that was chief, either inventor that images should be set in churches, or else maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read, (I trow, it is in an epistle which he writeth to Servus,) have them worshipped.

"And as concerning the exciting of men's memory, I would suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so showed and opened, that people might clearly understand it, (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof,) I think verily we should have little need of any other images than that which should, by wholesome doctrine, be showed unto us by word of mouth and writing: 'Nothing is so effectual, to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers;' as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of learned men.

"So that I suppose, if this lively doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up, or taking down, of other dumb stocks, and lifeless stones, carved or made by men; and if prelates would begin to set

up Christ's word, which, alas for pity! is not looked upon, (but rather trodden down and despised; so that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors, for they that magnify it must be sore punished, and taken for heretics,' with such other grievous words,) if this doctrine were yet set up in churches, I say, and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the profit that cometh by images made of men, to excite our remembrance to live Christianly.

"For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of others that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, showeth full perfectly his blessed will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this, therefore, were diligently inculcated, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, who, writing to the Colossians, saith thus: 'See that you lie not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovated after the knowledge and image of Him that made us. Yea, thus should we all be taught of God, as is said in John; and all should know God, both small and great, according to the promise recited in the Hebrews: yea, thus should we be restored to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expressly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of virtuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And, therefore, it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that craftsmen should sing spiritual psalms sitting at their works, and the husbandman at his plough, as wisheth St. Jerome.

"Yea, this holy image of Christ, I mean his blessed doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the works made by the hands of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith St. Paul, writing to the Romans, The invisible power and divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the world, of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made. Look in the Psalms, Praise ye the Lord from heaven. The heavens declare the glory of God, with others. And these two images, God's works and his doctrine, have, ere any images made by men were set up in churches, well and sufficiently instructed the primitive church: and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered, so that we should not need so sorely to contend for setting up of others made by men.

Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them, but rather contrary; as concerning which matter, I would your Lordship would please to read the Epistle of Baruch once again, writing of the same matter.

"Unto the nineteenth article, where you ask, whether I believe that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed and being in purgatory, I made answer in the thirteenth article.

"Unto the twentieth, where you do ask, whether men merit and deserve both by their fasting, and also by other deeds of devotion, I have showed what I do think thereof, in the fifth demand.

"In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men, prohibited by bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion, before a higher judge? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never thought to believe such errors as men, by false suspicion, do deem them to favour; or else, when men, as well of high estate as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Isaiah, Woe be to them, quoth he, that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falsehood, and the falsehood truth. As the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called Paul, saying thus, before a judge called Felix, unto whose court they brought him to be condemned to death: We have, quoth they, gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer-up of the sect of the Nazarenes; which was also minded to have polluted our temple, &c. This is to call, by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their predecessors speak of the prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected, (as I would none were,) ought in no wise, therefore, to cease either from preaching, or teaching.

"Ensample of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is showed that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity, (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to go where he pleased,) the people, hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter, seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow St. John to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the priests and officers of the temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from the dead by the name of Christ, whom they had crucified; and therewith they laid hands on them, and put them in ward until next day. Next day they sent for the apostles before them, manding by what power, and in whose name he did this miracle? Peter made answer, If ye will know, that are head-rulers over the people, how we did this miracle, to know by what means we did it, ye should all know, that we did it by the name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom ye did crucify: but God did cause him to arise again. In the virtue of his name doth this man, who was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, which ye have cast away, which should have builded up the people's faith upon him, neither is there any other name without him.

"These great men, seeing that Peter spake freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or guard of servants, being like idiots and unlearned, wondered thereat. At last they did command them to depart out of their council, while they should commune more largely of this matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, nor teach in the name of Jesus. The apostles answered, saying, I beseech you, let us be left alone, that we may speak to you more better. Ought we to obey you more than God? no? for certainly we must needs testify of all things which we have both heard and seen. The head priests, threatening them sore, did command them strait charge not to break their precept, so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest they would have taken part with the apostles, if the people gave glory unto God for the miracle done by them.

"Notwithstanding all these great threats, the apostles wrought miracles still amongst the people, to the intent that they might know that glory therefore ought to be ascribed to Jesus, by whose power and name they were healed. And wherewith the hearts of the people melted, so that they followed after the apostles whithersoever they went.

"The primate of the priests, hearing of this, all that were about him, replete with indignation, laid hands upon the apostles, putting them in a common prison. But the angel of God, in the night, opened the prison-doors, and brought them out.

out, saying, Go you into the temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life; that is to say, Christ's doctrine: and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or ancients of Israel. So they sent unto the prison-house to have the apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison-house, and found the apostles gone thence, they returned to their masters, saying, We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without, full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find no body within.

"Then, as the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and showed them, saying, Behold, the men that ye put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching unto the people. Then went they thither, and brought the apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

"Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their council-house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in his form: Have we not straitly commanded you, said he, that you should not preach in the name of Christ? and see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death? Then answered Peter and the other apostles, saying, We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our fathers hath raised Jesu from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.

"These great rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the apostles again before them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus; and so did let them depart.

"Then went they away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name's sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth,

and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practice is showed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or inflamed of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they ought for no man's commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves before them: for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judge in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinketh not at all comely. Therefore in the old law, the priests and other judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversy.

"Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causelessly suspected, and namely if he be so found faulty of heresy, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his purgation before some judge. But, in my rude opinion, it were necessary and convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved from preaching, especially in this session, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

"In the two and twentieth article, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God or no, and that in all places, at all seasons, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, *presbyteri*, and *sacerdotes*. The first is to say, ancient men, seniors, or elders, and by that word or vocable are the secular judges, or such-like head officers, sometimes also signified; as we read in Daniel, that they were so called which defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as for those to be called *presbyteri*, who are set to be prelates in the church, to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christ's faith. And priests thus called *presbyteri*, in the primitive church, (what time there were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his apostles,) were the very same and none other but bishops; as I showed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. Jerome.

"Paul, also, recordeth the same right evidently in the First to Titus; in this form: I left thee Titus, quoth blessed Paul, behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed; and that thou shouldest set priests in every town, like as I did appoint thee,

if any be without reproach or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly. For so ought a bishop to be, &c. These are not my words, but St. Paul's in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see that a priest, called presbyter, should be the same that we call a bishop, whom he requireth a little after, to be able, by wholesome doctrine of God's Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine; and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a priest) to make exhortation by Holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in general councils. And as many as are in this wise priests, who are commonly called *presbyteri*, (otherwise bishops,) such as in the church are set to take cure of souls, and to be spiritual pastors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edify and profit.

"And whereas you add this particule, 'though they were not sent;' I say, that all such are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaking St. Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise: 'Whosoever taketh priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the office of preaching.' Yea, your law reporteth in like manner, Distinction 43, where it is thus said, 'A priest ought to be honest, that he may show honesty both in words and conditions.' Wherefore it is said in the Canticles, The cheeks of the spouse, that is, to wit, of preachers, are to be compared to a turtle dove. Where is moreover added, he must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith St. Jerome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example-giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence-keeping: for wolves must be driven away by barking of dogs, and by the shepherd's staff, which (as the Gloss sheweth) signifieth preaching, and sharp words of the priest. And this I understand of such as should be priests elect both by God and men, in God's church; whose office is to preach.

"And though many of them who now do minister in the church, and are elected by bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christ's institution, and the form of the primitive church, neither do nor can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me or others, that are compelled to show the truth and right ordinances of the apostles, that were used aforetime in

the primitive church: God bring it in again! Neither ought we, for the negligence of bishops, who have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do show you thereof, to be so enforced by a book-oath, and therefore noted as heretics, imprisoned and burned.

"Other be called priests in the New Testament, by this word *sacerdotes*, that is to say, I think, sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called king and priest, so be all Christian men in the New Testament (as is testified, Apoc. i.) by Christ made kings and priests. The words in the Apocalypse be thus: To Jesu Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen. Thus saith St. John, speaking of all Christian people. In like manner it is said, by St. Peter, where he writeth unto all Christian men, You, quoth he, be a chosen generation, a regal priesthood, an holy people. St. Bede, expounding the same, (as my remembrance doth serve,) shall testify plainly with me. And St. Augustine, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all Christian men be so called, *regale sacerdotium*; and likewise doth Faber, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the treatise called Unio Dissidentium, shall find a multitude of ancient fathers' sayings, declaring the same.

"But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called priests, and that, in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many other, when we read it first, because we never read or heard of the same before; and so did Christ's doctrine (and his apostles') seem new to his audience, when he himself preached. Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the law and prophets, as is showed in Romans i., where Paul reporteth, that he was chosen apart, to be a minister of the gospel that was promised before by the prophets. And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. John, saying to the Jews, Think you not, quoth he, that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me, &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

"But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same, (God amend and help it, when it shall please him!) yet truly so

standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the doctors above named, and so was it preached of a certain doctor also of divinity in London, the second day of Advent last past, in this sentence. I wot not whether these were the self words or no: 'The church,' quoth the doctor, 'is nothing else but the congregation of faithful people: and you all,' quoth he to the people, 'are of the church, as well as I, or any others, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are priests, but yet are not all alike ordained ministers,' said he, 'for to consecrate the body of Christ in the church.' Thus said the preacher; whom, when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these, I say, ought not all to preach openly in general conventions or assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound, for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such-like, to speak what should be for the destruction of vice, and for the increase or upholding of virtue, whensoever time and place so becometh; as sheweth St. Paul, saying in this wise: You that are fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger; but bring them up in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.

"In the three and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay people of both kinds (that is to wit, both men and women) to sacrifice and preach the word of God: I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion, to preach openly the word of God, except they be chosen and elected to the same, either by God or solemnly by men, or else by both; and therefore St. Paul calleth himself, in all his epistles, an apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galatians he writeth thus, Paul an apostle; not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ. Also to the Romans, How shall men preach truly, quoth he, except they be sent?

"Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of God's law, and also of laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach; and that of both kinds, both men and women; as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith that it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation. Yet in another place he saith that every woman praying or prophesying, having nothing upon her head, doth dishonour her head.

"To this accordeth the prophecy of Joel, recited in the Acts, where, in the person of God, it is said thus, I shall pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesy. Thus did Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, give praise unto Christ in the temple, and spake of

him to all men of Jerusalem, that looked after the redemption of Israel.

"This also doth the Virgin Mary yet speak unto us in the Scripture, by the song which she made, that is daily recited in the church, called *Magnificat*. Yea, Stephen also, being no priest, but a deacon, made a wonderful good sermon. This also willett your Decrees, Dist. 9, *De Consecratione*, where it is thus said: 'A woman, although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, nor baptize, except necessity requireth.' So that, where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, Cap. 16. Quest. 1. et in Glossa. 11. Cap. *Ad jicimus*. Dist. 18. And I beseech God, that, for lack of true and well learned officers, such necessity do not now come upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

"There is a learned man, which, in a dialogue that he maketh betwixt a rude abbot and a gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest, (as his manner is,) and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the dialogue. The gentlewoman answering the abbot, for that he had partly checked her because she was quick in utterance of learning, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it, (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight,) it is to be feared lest they will set you beside the saddle, and put us in your room.'

"As concerning sacrifice-doing, (so do I understand by the word which you do use, *libare*, not knowing else what it should mean,) I say that it is lawful for all men and women to do sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by sacrifice-doing, to say mass as priests used to do, thereunto appointed; but like as Christian people be *sacerdotes*, that is to say, sacrificers, as is showed before, so ought they to offer, and do offer, spiritual sacrifices, as writeth St. Paul to the Romans, saying, I beseech you, brethren, for the love of God's mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping. In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed should be first slain. But he joineth therewith, living; saying, Give your body to be a living sacrifice. So that he would we should continue to live in this body to God's pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do not give unto our

reason overmuch of the bridle whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy: as when men will take in hand to devise by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is instituted by Christ, (which is the wisdom of his heavenly Father,) saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow; of whom it is said by the prophet Isaiah in these words: This people approach near unto me, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me: but they do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.

"Then Paul proceedeth, showing of this Christian sacrifice, saying, And apply not yourselves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed, by renovation of your mind; that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightful before him. See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortify our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the same.

"Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is, to wit, the fruits of our lips, that Hosea calleth *vitulos labiorum*, giving laud unto his name; and that we should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: For in such sacrifice, saith he, God hath delight.

"Thus I say that by plain suffrage of your law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons, in necessity and in time of need, may lawfully preach or show the word of God, and also do sacrifice: but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

"Thus have you herein my mind, which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is showed; as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methinketh the decrees do pass evidently with me.

"In the twenty-fourth article, where you do ask, whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, do oblige and bind them before God: I say, that it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named; and if he denounceth them so to be, not of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of others gathered with him in Christ's name, for the behoof of Christ's church: for so used St. Paul, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, which had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth in 1 Cor. v.

"And the same form declareth the Gospel, in

these words: If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee, thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three, every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, show it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven. So that such excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be virtuous and godly.

"And thus is it convenient to be done: for the pope is made of flesh, as well as other men; and therefore he may sometimes judge awry, cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise many other prelates, judging the Christian to be heretics, and heretics Christian: of whom it is also written in the prophecy of Ezekiel, They slew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live; as did the Pharisees when they did cast Christ out of the vineyard, which signifieth the church; and as our Saviour prophesied, saying unto his disciples, There shall be, quoth he, some that shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall think to do honour to God. And this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me. These words be written in the Gospel of John; whereby you see, that for lack of knowledge of God, which is taught and seen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophesied how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea, and slay his true servants, thinking, through such facts, to please God, and to do him good service.

"Wherefore send, O Lord! I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee to be dilated upon earth, (which Hosea bewaileth sore, seeing it absent,) whereby men's judgments may be rectified; and so do accordingly to the leading of the same!

"In the twenty-fifth article, where you do ask, whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin. I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and immeasurable benefits are showed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth St. Paul bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus,

when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels: I trow their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and lifting up his hands, prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites: but in long holding them up, at last his fervour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downwards. And ever as his hands grew heavy, (which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold,) the infidels prevailed; but as he kept them heaved upward, (whereby was meant intensive prayer of a devout mind,) he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, which indited the law to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses; who always, as they did see his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

“By ‘Moses’ is signified, as show great clerks, devotion; by ‘Aaron and Hur,’ the knowledge of God’s doctrine: which two things (devotion, I mean, and knowledge) all men had need to have present with them: for devotion doth elevate the mind to God, but knowledge doth sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue, not falling down; but so alway doth it incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our heavenly Father; where they savour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of juniper, incense, or whatsoever else, be they ever so pleasant, do savour in any man’s nose.

“Therefore St. Paul, seeing how necessary the knot of these two, devotion and knowledge of God’s will, was (which is showed in Scripture, as teacheth St. Cyprian in these words: ‘The will of God,’ saith he, ‘is that which Christ hath taught and wrought’): Paul, I say, seeing this, wished to be excommunicated and separated from God, for to have the Jews come to the knowledge of Christ’s church, which is the only right way to salvation; for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after, saying, I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christ’s doctrine, &c. Where you may clearly see how the Jews (as St. Paul, which is no liar, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. ‘Moses’ was amongst them, but ‘Aaron’ was away; whose absence pained Paul so sore, that he, ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself, upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be separated from God. It must needs be then greatly hurtful, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledge of God and his law, signified by ‘Aaron.’

“St. Paul also, before that he came to knowledge, had such-like devotion himself, as he reporteth in these words: All the Jews, quoth he, have known my living, (that I have led since I entered into man’s age, (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the sixteenth or eighteenth year of a man’s life; in Latin he calleth it *adolescencia*,) which, from the beginning thereof, was, saith he, at Jerusalem, among mine own nation, that did know me afore also from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most strait order or sect of our religion, being a Pharisee. And I, quoth Paul a little after, thought to do many things in fighting against the name of Jesus Christ, yea, and did also, being at Jerusalem; and I thrust many saints or holy men into prison, having power given me thereto of the high priests; and, when they should be put to death, I gave sentence: and I, quoth he, was commonly in all synagogues, punishing them, and compelling them to blaspheme (as men are fain now-a-days, when the bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the gospel); yea, moreover did I, quoth Paul, rage against them, pursuing after them into strange lands.

“See what zeal Paul had to God before he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. He thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was St. Stephen. He was then sore blinded, through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of ‘Aaron:’ but anon, as Christ, which is the true Aaron, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, O Saul! Saul! why dost thou persecute me, in troubling and striking my servants, the members of mine own body? of whom it is said, He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye: his heart fell, I dare say, as low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himself full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way; as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, O Lord! what wilt thou have me to do? As though one would say, Now I see all that I thought to have done before of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwise. That which I esteemed good, in very deed is and was naught. Teach me therefore, good Lord! quoth he, a better way, and amend my judgment, that, mine own will or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine to please thee, and to do thy will. And so, as he came to Ananias, by the assignment of Christ, the thick filthiness of his old wayward judgment fell away, as appeareth by the dross or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, which is directed after the straight

rule of the gospel : whereby you may see that men's devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledge do assist the same, for to sustain and direct it ; which, knit together, shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations. So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledge : and that sheweth full notably Erasmus, in the second passage of *Enchiridion*, where he testifieth but of easy liking that he hath, in saying of matins, yea, rather contrariwise he sheweth disliking ; and so he doth also in his exposition of the first Psalm, *Beatus vir*, where the text maketh agreeably for the same. It is written in this wise : Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence ; but hath his will in the law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.

" See how the prophet (which, I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as ever did any pope or general council, or whatsoever they were besides, that ordained long service to be said of priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the law of God both day and night ; that is, to wit, always. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For Paul, defining godliness, saith thus : Godliness is profitable unto all things ; for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.

" But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily matins ; neither are we certain by the word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen *Aves*, every day once through a whole year, we shall apertly see our Lady to aid us before our death, as it is testified in the scripture of the Primer, but not by scripture of the Bible ; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten beads that come from the crossed friars, or upon the five beads hallowed at the Charter-house, or for fasting 'the Lady's fast,' as men call it ; nor for fasting on the Wednesday, as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lust ; for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

" They are condemned, you wot well (and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth freely, for such things are called offensive). But would God, that all persons, so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his disciples, when they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, You know that the Pharisees are

offended, hearing such words spoken. I will leave out Christ's answer, lest I should be thought over free and plain in tarrying or uttering of abusions, and speak no further.

" A like demand, with answer thereunto annexed, shall you find in Luke, where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deem me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsel me to do what shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen *Ooes*, which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve) is a very good prayer, or such-like prayers ; nor would I that any person should think me to disallow any secret fastings ; for such, not only present with you, but even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do, by the assistance of God's grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same : for such do cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the gospel, (which Christian men ought only to build their faith upon,) unto new inventions of vanity. St. Paul calleth such, old women's tales, where he writeth unto Timothy, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

" The prophet David, likewise, doth accord thereunto, saying, Blessed is the man that hath in the name of God his affiance or hope ; and hath not looked back to vanities and false dotages or madness. And this I say again, that the matins-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named ; for they were instituted by the fantasy or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think that the priests who will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or encumbered with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from the study of that, which to know, belongeth principally both to their own soul's salvation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of priests doth require, (I mean the study of his gospel,) whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christ's flock, the congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour : I am the door, quoth he ; whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in and go out, and find good pasture or feeding : that is to say, whosoever shall enter to be a pastor or minister in Christ's church or congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of God's glory, declared abundantly

in Scripture, and after go forth and show the same abroad to others, for their wealth and edifying.

“To this accordeth what is written in Luke, where our Saviour speaketh to all his church signified in the person of St. Peter. Peter! quoth he, I have prayed that thy faith should not fail; and thou, being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren. So that he would have Peter established first in the faith of his sure doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach others to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all priests to be called *presbyteri*, which will be ministers in the church; for so biddeth St. Peter, saying thus: I beseech the priests, quoth he, that are among you, I myself being a priest and a witness-bearer of Christ's afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed; see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as enforced thereto, but willingly, not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns, or ensample-givers to the flock, 1 Pet. v. See how he requireth of priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christ's flock, and to show good ensample of living, making no mention of long matins-saying, which then was not mentioned nor spoken of.

“According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form: Ignorance, saith the law, mark it well I beseech you all, is the mother of all errors; which ought to be eschewed especially of priests, who, among the people of God, have taken upon them the office of preaching. Priests are commanded to read the Holy Scriptures, as saith Paul the apostle to Timothy: Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching; and continue always in the same. Let priests therefore know Holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edify all men both in knowledge of faith, and in discipline of good works. These be the words of the law in the Decrees, dist. 38; wherefore you see how the law lamenteth ignorance in all persons; for it is the original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true gospel! It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally by priests, whose labour and diligence should all be bestowed in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same; bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the apostle, which willett it in like manner.

“Moreover, it requireth that priests should give all their study to edify others in faith and virtuous living; whereof I do gather both by the saying of the prophet, that willett us to be studious in the

law of God day and night; and by the saying of the apostle, who would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching; and by the report of your own law, which likewise saith, that a priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a priest, set thus truly to study, that he may establish himself in the faith of Christ's doctrine, intending afterwards to help others with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity assigned in the law of God, shall not offend deadly, if, so spending his time, he omit teth to say matins, which is an ordinance of men.

“Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made priests by negligent admission of bishops, and their own presumption, that labour to be made priests before they be any clerks, and, ere ever they know what is the very office of a priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be curates, they reck not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding, after that, the study of Scripture, after they are come to *Dominus vobiscum*: for such I do think long matins to be needful, to restrain them from other enormities that they should else run into; of which you may be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one matin were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better.

“In the six and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people Holy Scripture in their mother language: I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know Holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may have it by them at all times, to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French king's privilege, and also the privilege of the emperor; and so do I know that they have had it these fifty-four years in France at least, and it was translated at the request of a king called, I trow, Louis, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the book.

“In like manner have they it in Flanders, printed with the privilege of the emperor: in Almain also, and Italy, and I suppose through all the nations of Christendom. Likewise hath it been in England, as you may find it in the English story called Polychronicon. There it is showed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the land, the king at that time, who was a Saxon, did himself translate the Psalter into the language that then was generally

used. Yea, I have seen a book at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relic ; the book is called St. Guthlake's Psalter ; and I ween verily it is a copy of the same that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English ; and, as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also showed, how that St. Bede did translate the Gospel of St. John into English, and the author of the same book promised that he would translate into English all the Bible ; yea and perhaps he did so, but (I wot not how it cometh to pass) all such things be kept away ; they may not come to light : for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their doings known. It is no lie that is spoken in the Gospel of John, All that do naughtily, hate the light, and will not have their doings known. And therefore they keep down the light strongly ; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reprov'd, yea, and all men should see anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being there-for sometimes horribly infamed and slandered, named heretics and schismatics, were indeed as they be called, or no.

"Yea moreover, I did once see a book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latin. But he that showed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforetime for keeping of such, and were convicted therefore of heresy.

"Moreover I was at Paul's Cross, when the New Testament, imprinted of late beyond the sea, was first forefended ; and truly my heart lamented greatly to hear a great man preaching against it, who showed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea, and not only I, but likewise did many others, think verily to be none. But, (alack for pity !) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

"So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the Holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar tongue, in like manner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people : I will not so narrowly touch that point now ; but I say, that they are bound by right and equity to cause it

to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying, and the consolation which the people, by God's grace, should gather thereof ; which now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

"In the twenty-seventh article, where you do demand, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language : all men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I, so saying, could not be well reprov'd ; and therefore are laid out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap me in : Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people : and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken : But without cause you spread the net before the eyes of the birds or fowls. I show you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the bishops have not since amended it, if so be they could, that the people might have it to use and occupy virtuously.

"And here I will add one reason : The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is showed to be true in many places of Scripture ; like as other corporal meat is food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father, that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children ; it should seem that our bishops be no gentle pastors or fathers, that keep away the food of men's souls from them (specially when others do offer the same) both months, years, and ages ; neither do I see any opportunity of time, or reasonable advisement, that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away ; but the contrary rather, for it is reason, convenient and needful for men, to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry ; and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times ; for that we do crave every day in our Pater-noster, saying, Give us, Lord, our heavenly bread.

"In the twenty-eighth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised ? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them ; neither can I therefore overmuch speak of them all, seeing I know them not : such as are the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they should go to Rome, the hallow-

ing of beads, and such-like. But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: when the priest hath consecrated holy bread, he saith, 'Lord, bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health,' &c.: which I would every man might say in English, when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

"Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the gospel: 'The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed gospel;' which is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. All such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with rejoicing of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul, where he wisheth, rather to speak five words in the church heartily with understanding, whereby others might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown: yea, to say truth, (and truth it is indeed that I shall say,) a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is known, the further the virtue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in men's hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things!

"Thus I conclude, that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of others I can give no sentence, wishing, even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

"In the twenty-ninth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all Christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God: I say, that if that be true which is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, that laws be never confirmed, until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the pope's laws bind all Christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly, so that I do not find that his laws may bind all Christian men.

"Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the king, or the emperor. And, to say sooth, I say, (as I

have said before,) I think verily that the church was more full of virtue before the decrees or decretals were made, (which is not very long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if that be true which is reported in the Decrees,) than it hath been since. God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection!

"In the thirtieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the sacraments of the same: I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law: for such are sundered from God, before the prelates do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in Isaiah by Almighty God: Your sins, quoth he, do make division betwixt you and me. And the prelates, by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, and that is to pronounce such to be excommunicated of God, and unworthy to minister any sacraments, or to be conversant with Christian folk, that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul, If any amongst you, called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, a covetous person, or a worshipper of images or idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat. Such ought to be put out of the church, and not be suffered to come within it.

"I am not certain that prelates have any such power: and though they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through which the sturdy, coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a law made in the council of Carthage, which is this: 'A bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the church, and to hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, or Jew, or heretic, until the mass time of them that are called Catechumeni.'

"Moreover, where you speak of prelates' deputies, I think such be but little behovable to Christ's flock. It were necessary and right, that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is!) undone. Such doth St.

John call thieves and murderers, although they make ever so goodly a worldly show outward, and bear a stout port.

“This I say, that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate rebels against God’s ordinances, and to suspend them from receiving or ministering the sacrament: but I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of churches, especially when God’s word is there preached, unless the sinners be so sore desperate that they scorn the same. And I would that every prelate, receiving his living of benefices, should himself work in the same, especially in true preaching of Christ’s doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoke, and charging therewith others, called deputies or vicars, curates, and such-like. For God would have every man to get his living by the sweat of his own face; that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat, so contrariwise, they that labour not, unless they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and much less to take of those, to whom they do no service, fifty or forty pounds a year, for waiting after none other thing than the moon shining in the water. The canon law maketh clearly with the same. Look in the Decrees, and you shall find plainly as I say.

“In the thirty-first article, where you ask, whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith only doth justify, and work salvation, before a man do any other good works; and that is showed by many authorities, both of Scripture and also of many holy fathers, in a treatise called *Unio Dissidentium*, which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter, (like as is here showed by many authorities of holy fathers,) that a man fallen into sin after baptism, shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ’s passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a man, having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man’s true faith. This declareth St. Augustine upon John; I trow it is where he expoundeth this text: If ye love me, keep my commandments: where, within a little after, he speaketh in this wise: ‘Good works make not a just or a righteous man; but a man once justified, doeth good works.’

“In the thirty-second article, where you ask,

whether a priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly; I say, that he doth not so much offend as those which in Wales, (as I have heard say,) and also in many parts beyond the sea, or rather in all places, do give openly, for money, dispensations to priests to take concubines: neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they, on every hand, do clearly commit fornication and adultery, utterly forbidden by God’s law; and the priest, of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but man’s law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written; I ween it be in a gloss, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a book: the sentence is thus: A priest doing fornication, ought to be punished more than one who hath married a wife. Finally, I think such a priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

“In the thirty-third article, where you ask, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly: I say, that a Latin priest and a Greek priest are all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in Holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty as another, and no more nor less; for there is the same God in Greece that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And, therefore, I cannot see by his law, but that a Latin priest may marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christ’s law in believing the same, and living thereafter, you would call them heretics. But that will not the pope have done. Wherefore, seeing they do let priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretics, why should other men, that say the same, be called heretics, or be therefore burned? Therefore, following the law of God, I make the same answer of a Latin priest, that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding fornication.

“In the thirty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I ever prayed for John Wickliff, John Huss, and for Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any one of them, since they died, and whether I have openly or secretly done any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss and saved: I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember: and though I had, it followeth not, that

in so doing I should be a heretic. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great country, called Bohemia, which yet doth follow (as men say) that same doctrine, which John Huss and Jerome of Prague taught their ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the pope nor you do account heretics and infidels.

"In the thirty-fifth article, where you ask, whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints: I say that in such secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, which biddeth that we should not judge over soon, but abide (unless the things which we should pass upon be the more evident) until the coming of the Lord, who shall illumine, and show forth clearly, things that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot is infallible.

"And whereas you say, they were condemned of heresy in the council of Constance: if so the council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not; and that shall suffice to have commendation of him: so that it is not need to ask of me whether the acts of the same are commendable or no; neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily persuaded that I, because the council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, as I ween, may sometimes slip beside the right truth: but what that council did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God wotteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a council, appeareth by God's law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the council that is spoken of in the Gospel, where it is showed, that after our Saviour had restored Lazarus to life, the bishops and Pharisees then were gathered together in a council, saying, What shall we do? Truth it is that this man Jesus doth many miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of Jerusalem, our dwelling-place, and destroy our nation. At which time Caiaphas did arise, showing forth his sentence, which the whole council did admit.

"In like wise is showed in the Acts, where, in a council of bishops and priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christ's apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them, (for they before had commanded the apostles no more to speak in Christ's name,) there, among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did arise a certain man,

called Gamaliel; (a pitiful thing verily, to see but one good man in such a great convocation or council of priests, that should be the lights of virtue to all the people;) which Gamaliel was a doctor of the law, and had in good reputation among the people: much like he was, as seemed to me, to Dr. Colet, sometime dean of Paul's in London, while he lived. I may come no nearer, to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This Gamaliel did bid the apostles go aside for a while out of the council, or convocation-house; and so he spake unto the other priests or bishops in the council thus: You men of Israel, quoth he, take heed to yourselves what ye shall do unto these men the apostles: for afore this time hath risen one called Theudas, and afterwards another named Judas of Galilee, which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now, quoth he, I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if this enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubtedly it shall perish, and be foredone: but if, quoth he, it be of God, you cannot foredo it. And this I tell you, said Gamaliel, lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.

"Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the others of the convocation or parliament agree; and so they called in the apostles of Christ before them, causing them to be scourged, and charging them, no more afterwards to preach of Christ's name; and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the time of our Saviour and of his apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew before, that like practice should come in the latter time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that councils do not always discern with Christ, but sometimes they may do against him. And therefore said David, I did not sit with the assembly or council of vain doers, or liars, and I will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: for I have hated the convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: but I will wash my hands among innocents, &c. Also in another psalm he writeth thus; The Lord doth destroy or annihilate the counsels of the Gentiles; he reproveth the counsels of the people and of rulers. But the counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever; and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the world of worlds. For that purpose doth St. Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, allege this verse out of the psalm, Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things, &c. Like unto this it is written, in Isaiah i. Also you may see in the councils

of the Pharisees above showed, that one singular person may sometimes perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: for Gamaliel only did see better what was behoveable, than could all the others there congregated.

“Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees, where it is written that the council of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the church, ordained laws, called canons or rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married before they were consecrated into the order. With that arose Paphnutius, a confessor of Christ, and gainsayed it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper wife. And so he persuaded the council, that they should constitute no such law; affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the priests, or else to their wives, an occasion of fornication: and this was Paphnutius’s reason. The words of the canon proceed thus: ‘This declared Paphnutius, he never being married, nor having experience of marriage; and the council commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to every man’s free-will and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity.’ These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in *Historia Tripartita*, as I have showed before in the fourth article. Upon this, that Paphnutius did thus resist and prevail against all the other council, doth the Gloss note in the same law, that one singular person may gainsay or speak against a universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in Abbot Panormitane, where he saith thus: ‘I would,’ quoth he, ‘rather believe one lay person, bringing for him authority of Scripture, than a universal council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.’

“Finally, I say, that I never accounted them either saints or devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

“In the thirty-sixth article, where you do ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every general council, and the council of Constance also, do represent the universal congregation or church: I say, that what such councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro*

or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel; for I know of no Scripture to certify me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And methinketh this, (under correction I speak,) that councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the universal church, not being yet the same; as I wot well they neither are nor were. For the church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation, whether they be temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church spreadeth through the universal world, where any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ; and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, where his blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared: for that is the relief of man’s soul, whereunto all men, loving their soul’s health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life); for in it is showed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is an hungered for, shall come into the kingdom of heaven. Of this the proverb in the Gospel (although it be applied to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) may well be verified, Wheresoever is a dead carrion, thither will soon be assembled eagles. That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christ’s death, thither will men seek and fly, to know how they may enjoy and attain them; which I beseech him to grant us. Amen.

“In the thirty-seventh article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the same thing which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved, and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith and soul’s health, is to be approved and holden of all Christian people; and that which the same council hath condemned, and doth condemn, to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same Christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned: I say that whatsoever the same council or any other hath approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all Christian people to be likewise approved, holden, and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to faith or good living, I say that the same ought of all Christian people to be condemned and reproved. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright; because I did never look upon their acts, neither do I greatly covet for to do:

wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have some more skill in them than I.

"In the thirty-eighth you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every catholic person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed: I answer, that it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss the thing determinately, yet my Christendom shall be therefore nevertheless; and that I and all Christian men may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

"In the thirty-ninth you ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be, perverse; for the which books, and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics: I say that I know not determinately whether they be heretics or no, nor whether their books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called heretics or no.

"In the fortieth article, where you ask whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear: I say, that I neither so do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

"In the forty-first, where you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in a case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy: I answer, that I never said the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge, to say the truth, if the judge so require, and that by request lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in controversy betwixt two persons, and thereupon they sue unto a judge for sentence; when the judge can none otherwise bolt out the truth, he may require an oath. As when the two women who contended before Solomon to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in oppressing her child to death, and would have put the same upon the other, if Solomon could not by his wisdom otherwise have investigated the truth, he might, I suppose, for to come by the more certain information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to swear; wherein the woman had been bound to obey him; but judges had need to be spare in requiring of oaths; for in customable, or oft ju-

ries, creepeth in always, betwixt times, some perjury, as showeth Chrysostom in words semblable to these: and things precious, through oft haunt or occupying, lose their estimation; and so reverent oaths, unadvisedly required for every trifle, usually do cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear, to break them.

"Therefore in Almain, they have made of late (as I have heard say by credible persons, who have come from thence) many notable ordinances for the commonwealth within a while, and amongst others this is one: If a man be set for to enter plea against another in any town, the peers thereof before whom all actions are used to be debated, hearing such a plea entered, shall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open court. And the matter examined, they shall exhort them to let the plea cease without further process, showing them the great damage, both godly and worldly, coming of waging the law, and the great ease and commodity that is in agreement and concord: which exhortation they use to show with so great gravity and fatherly love, (such wonders are wrought where the gospel hath free passage,) that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commenced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do set the suitors at unity, ere the matter do come to discussion in open court.

"Notwithstanding, if some be so waywardly minded, (as in a multitude all are not one man's children, and therefore unlike of intent,) that they will needs proceed and follow the law, they shall be heard to speak their matters in open court, and taught how the matter is most like to succeed, and counselled with new exhortation to stop their process. If they will not be persuaded, and then the judges, seeing the matter so ambiguous that they cannot give perfect sentence therein, except, by virtue of an oath made by one of the parties, they be first better certified; then will they show the same before the suitors, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a solemn oath for love of winning some worldly profit: and how, unless such as shall make it be the better aware to eschew the same, they shall, beside an evil example given to a multitude, work themselves, haply, shame, or dishonesty.

"Upon this, they shall give respite until a certain day appointed; so that in the mean while the suitors may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this they will not thus rest, at the day appointed shall they come forth into a common place, and the great bell of the city be caused to be rung, whereby the people shall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people assem-

bled, the judges shall, in full chargeable and lamentable wise, charge the parties, under virtue of their oath, to make true relation of what shall be demanded. So that by reason of soberly and fatherly exhortations made by the judges or peers of the town, and persuasion of neighbours, and for avoiding of God's displeasure and shame of men, there is little suit in courts; and if at any time any be made, they be lightly stopped; so that jury and swearing be well excluded, and need not much to be required.

"This I have showed, because it pitieth me to hear and see the contrary used in some of our nation, and such also as name themselves spiritual men, and should be head ministers of the church; who, incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a book, and do move him to swear, without any longer respite; yea, and they will charge him by virtue of the contents in the Evangely, to make true relation of all that shall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to show them the truth of their demands, or no: for such things there be that are not lawful to be showed. As if I were accused of fornication, and none could be found in me; or if they should require me to swear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I suppose it were expedient to hold me still, and not to follow their will: for it should be contrary to charity, if I should so assent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet, trusting to their amendment, I have promised before to keep their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreover, if such judges sometimes, not knowing by any due proof that such as have to do before them are culpable, will enforce them, by an oath, to detect themselves, in opening before them their hearts; in this so doing, I cannot see that men need to condescend to their requests. For it is in the law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: 'No man is bound to bewray himself.' Also in another place of the law it is written, 'No man should suffer punishment of men for his thought.' To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus: 'Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.' So that, to conclude, I think it lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, especially if a judge requireth an oath duly, and in lawful wise; or to make an oath in any other case convenient; and that also for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid against a man.

"In the forty-second, where you ask, whether a Christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly; I say the like

of the receipt of them, as I have said before of the self-same things, and none otherwise.

"In the forty-third, where you ask, whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, having power on earth to bind and loose: I say, that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term vicar; for Christ never called Peter nor any other so, in Scripture. If you mean thereby that, after the departing hence of Christ, when he was risen from death in his immortal body, and so hied into heaven, where he remaineth sitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he so being away from hence, St. Peter occupied his room: then, I say, it is not untrue that Peter, in a manner, (which I shall show hereunder,) was his vicar: and like as Peter was his vicar, even so were Paul and the other apostles, and the one no less than the others, if it be true that St. Cyprian doth write, which is also consenting to Scripture. He saith thus: that Christ spake unto Peter, saying; I say, quoth our Saviour, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock of stone shall I build my congregation, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it. To thee will I give the keys of heaven, and what things thou shalt bind upon earth, the same shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shall loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven. And to him, after his resurrection, doth Christ say, Feed my sheep.

"And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his apostles after his resurrection, and saith, Like as my Father sent me, do I also send you. Take you the Holy Ghost. If you shall retain to any man his sins, they shall be retained. If you shall remit to any man his sins, to him they shall be remitted. Nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained, by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with equal partaking both of honour, and authority or power; but the beginning cometh of one, that the congregation should be showed to be one. Those are the words of St. Cyprian, in a treatise that is called, *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*; wherein you may see that Christ made all the apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testify the unity of his church or congregation, he spake, as it were, only unto Peter, when he said, Feed my sheep; and, I shall give thee, Peter, the keys of heaven. But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the church, being, as it were, a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the apostles, unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto

Peter; as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearly showed out of St. Augustine in divers places; but no where more plainly in a few words, than in a treatise called *De Agone Christiano*.

"To this accordeth well that which was written by Paul. Of those apostles, quoth Paul, which seemed to be of authority, I was not taught; (what they were in time past it skilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man;) nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price, showed me no learning, nor gave me any counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the gospel of uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the evangely of circumcision was unto Peter, (for He that was mighty in Peter concerning the apostleship toward the Jews, was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles,) therefore, when James, Peter, and John, which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace given me, they gave unto me and Barnabas their right hands in sign of fellowship, to be their partners, so that we should exercise the office of apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Jews. Wherein you may clearly see, that Paul took no instruction of those who seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, James, and John, who were noted principals, took Paul and Barnabas to be their mates and fellows; which they would not have done, as I suppose, if they had known that God had granted unto them a prerogative singular, to excel Paul, and to be his sovereign. But, according to the prerogative of God granted, they might have safely showed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoice in other benefits granted to them of God, to be ministers in his church for the edifying of the same; and as St. John calleth himself the disciple loved of his master Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ, hanging upon the cross, did commit his blessed mother.

"Moreover, if these three apostles, James, Peter, and John, should by humility have left out to make mention of their prerogative, when they took Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, who never useth any inordinate arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their primacy unspoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from others to himself unlawful; which cannot so be. Moreover he saith a little after the words before rehearsed, that he reproved St. Peter, even before his face. Whereupon St. Jerome, expounding the same Epistle, saith, (as I remember,) that Paul

would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to Peter.

"In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no pre-eminence or primacy above the others, for James is named before him; which Paul would not have done, I think, knowing Peter to be James's superior. Therefore he, making no such variety in order, put James before, saying, And James, Peter, and John, that appeared the principals, quoth he, gave unto me, and to Barnabas, their right hands in sign of fellowship. Yet, notwithstanding, Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, who contend so sore for superior rooms and pre-eminency, claiming to be the apostles' successors. I would it were so much for the commonwealth of Christian people, as it is suspected that they do it for vain-glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find in Acts xi., where is showed that after Peter, by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius, a petty captain, having the governance of a hundred men, teaching him the ways and doctrine of Christ, and baptizing him and others with him assembled, being, like as he before was, pagans; the apostles, and other Christian brethren that were in Jewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, they which held upon circumcision made none obeisance unto him, (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any pope,) as the emperor is fain to do to the pope at his coronation, falling down to kiss the pope's feet, or to hold the pope's stirrup while he mounteth upon his horse's back; according to the form of law written, I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather, (for such ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally recorded,) but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against St. Peter, and also his doings, saying, You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised; yea, and what is more, you have eaten and drunk with them. Peter, mildly and coldly, made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order, showing that he was so instructed to do, by mighty and clear revelations of God, and not by his own fantasy and pleasure. Which answer being heard, the others that before had made sore objections against him, (which were both of the apostles, and other Christian brethren,) were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying, Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life.

Wherein you may see, that the other apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is showed of Paul, to dispute against him; neither were they therefore by Peter reprov'd of inobedience. He did not allege any pre-eminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: as one would say, Why should you that are my sheep control me, that am the head of the church and your pastor, or Christ's general vicar, having both jurisdiction temporal and spiritual? with such other like: but showed them it was the will of God that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them, as well as to the Jews; in token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

"Thus may you see, that if Peter were the vicar of Christ, even so likewise were Paul and all the other apostles. And I do not think contrary but that Peter, and all other of the apostles, were Christ's vicars, if you mean by this word 'vicar,' a deputy, or such like, for to preach his evangely, (which is an office of all others most sovereign,) to minister sacraments, and to do other such divine service in God's church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, legates, or any such like; which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained. And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the church, after the mind of St. Augustine and others, in Peter, saying, Peter, feed my sheep.

"In the forty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I believe, that the pope ordinately chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the successor of Peter: I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no; I cannot see that it should be numbered amongst the articles of our faith: notwithstanding I will show my rude thought in it, which is this:

"The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same, duly and diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing virtuous example of living to the same: and, so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your Lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many others as do truly their duty, and duly the office of a bishop: and otherwise may not the pope be called the successor of Peter,

because he is entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding to do what is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of virtue; but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not impossible. For what should men call those Peter's successors, that play the pageants, and follow with the conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, no more than the night may claim to be successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peter's adversaries, forasmuch as they do not his will which is showed by his own acts and writing, but work against the same. Of such may be said, 'They are not all saints' children that occupy the room of saints, but they are their children that exercise their works.' Yea, of such may be said that which is written of St. Jerome: 'All bishops,' quoth he, 'are not bishops. Mark you well Peter, but mark also Judas: behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a Christian man. Cornelius the centurion, being yet a pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost: contrariwise, Daniel, being a child, condemneth priests, or ancient men.' 'It is no easy thing,' saith he, 'to stand in the room of Peter and Paul, and to keep the seat of them now reigning with Christ: for unsavoury salt is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and trodden down of hogs.' This saith St. Jerome. Whereunto agreeth well St. Augustine: 'Every one,' quoth he, 'that saith unto you, *Pax vobis*, ought not to be heard, or to be believed as a dove. Crows be fed of dead carrion; and so is not a dove, but she liveth by the fruits of the earth: her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill bishops are no bishops, and that they that follow not saints in virtuous living, are not the successors of saints, but unsavoury salt; that is, neither of the church, nor shall come into heaven, to reign there with Peter and Paul, but be thrown out with great contempt: for God knoweth a dove from a crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of carrion; but such as declare and show good deeds, as the saints did, be their children and successors, and shall with them reign in heaven.

"So that, to conclude, I say, that the pope, ordinately chosen, is the successor of St. Peter, following St. Peter's godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name: for rather may he else be reputed an image of a pope, or of a bishop, according as such be called of the prophet, O idol shepherds!

"In the five and fortieth article, where you ask, whether ever I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would alway hold and defend certain conclusions or articles seeming to me and to my complices right and consonant unto the faith; and will that I should certify you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the names and surnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalf: I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles, seeming to me and others right and consonant to the faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form: 'That I would never, with the aid of God, forsake, nor decline from, the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.'

"Thus I have, perhaps, said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, God's grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, or to what persons, or at what time, either in what place; neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for God, and in God: and those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly Christian, in calling upon Christ's name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none others than I have showed; the sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament.

"The first is in the Acts of Apostles, in this wise: Christ is the head corner-stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given amongst men, wherein we may be saved. This is one of the propositions, wherein is engrossed or comprehended my saying, which St. Paul doth thus otherwise explicate; Christ is made of God our wisdom, our righteousness, our pureness, our satisfaction, and our redemption. And in another place: There is none other foundation that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is, Christ Jesus.

"The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Saviour, in the Evangely of Matthew, in these words: Men do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines and precepts, or laws human. Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and every where well nigh: amongst others, in the second chapter of Colossians, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man do spoil them, or to steal them away by philosophy or vain

deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

"Thus I do certify you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Others hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day.

"Finally, in that you require to know of the names and surnames, in order of them particularly, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part: I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of, I suppose, through all regions and realms of Christendom, that do think in like wise as I have showed. I ween the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of Christendom; and more should do likewise, by a great sort, within a while, I doubt not, but that our ghostly enemy laboureth amain to have the knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that have so promised me to be in these matters: and though I did, I would not (except I knew that charity so required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect or bewray any one of them, for any man's pleasure: for I am bound to obey God above men: who be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen."

These answers of John Lambert to the five and forty articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth, about A. D. 1532, at which time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Otford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of books, as by his own words is to be gathered. But, so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, A. D. 1533, the said Archbishop Warham died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert, for that time, was delivered. In this mean while Dr. Cranmer was sent over in embassy, with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Kern, Dr. Benet, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome lying then at Bologna, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly, first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor; where, after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet, when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: first, that no man, *jure Divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife: secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense

to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will treat, (the Lord's grace permitting,) in the sequel of our story, coming to Dr. Cranmer's life.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that see the said Dr. Cranmer. Lambert, in the mean season, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of Queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the stocks, in teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongue. And forasmuch as priests, in those days, could not be permitted to have wives, he left his priesthood, and applied himself to the function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers, and to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after the secret pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedom, and married him to his Son Christ Jesus, (as now consequently followeth to be declared,) bringing him into the freedom of his spiritual kingdom, to reign with him.

And thus much, briefly, touching the first education and bringing up of John Lambert; hereafter it followeth more at large to discourse and declare the whole process and order of his doings and disputations, with the order and manner of his death and condemnation. This death and punishment of his happened in this year; being so much the more lamentable, in that it was first occasioned, and afterwards brought to pass, by no others than by such, whom, for the common society of the profession of the gospel, it had been more meet to have been authors of his safeguard, rather than the causers of his destruction. But this is the accustomed craft and malice of that ancient serpent, which intermeddeth himself in all congregations, envying all men's felicity and welfare, rejoicing in nothing but in the death and blood of innocents; seeking occasions of sedition, not only amongst the wicked, but the good also; stirring brethren oftentimes to contention amongst themselves; and that so craftily, that his policies can never be perceived until the mischief be done. I would to God that as this is a common complaint to all countries, so this our region of England, amongst others, were free from it, and not more infected herewith than the rest. Where now, in a manner, shall a man find more slaughter of the commons, subversion of the nobles, burning of good men, and most cruel contentions, which are never, in a manner, ended but with bloodshed? that mischievous disturber of human concord and quietness doth so incessantly rage!

But as I am here forced to speak against my will, so would to God that, even with my own contumely and hatred, I might engrave more meekness in the

hearts of our men; which, notwithstanding, I doubt not but will shortly come to pass, by the most prosperous success of learning, which daily flourisheth more and more in England: and as it is to be hoped, foreign examples, and greater experience of things, will bring a more civility to this, which is already obtained by learning. But, because we will not pass our bounds too far, we will return again to the matter as touching John Lambert, intending to make declaration of his cause even from the first beginning, so far forth as we could attain unto the knowledge thereof.

So soon as the dark clouds of ignorance were driven away, and that the brightness of the gospel began to shine in England, there was at the same time, although not of the number of those who sustained the first assaults of the adversaries, the aforementioned John Lambert; who, partly for the cruelty of the time, and partly for the desire of learning, which he was always inclined unto, departed into foreign lands, being but a young man, where he understood that learning did most flourish. From thence, after a few years, he returned again, hoping that the time had been amended, for that, by the means of Queen Anne and Cromwell, and the abolishing of the pope, all things seemed more prosperous and quiet in England; and began to set his mind to the setting forth of the gospel.

Thus then, after that John Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the youth, it happened this present year (1538) he was present at a sermon in St. Peter's church at London. He that preached was named Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and who afterwards, in the time of King Edward, was made bishop of Lincoln, and, at last, in the time of Queen Mary, was deprived from the same; and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind, and to come again at more leisure. Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, proving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors: the which arguments, although they came not all

unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affairs, reported them to be of great force and authority; and of a few, which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the Gospel, This cup is the new testament.

"And if," saith he, "these words do not change either the cup, or the wine, corporally into the new testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ."

Another reason was this: "That it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body, or else, truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say, in heaven and in earth; on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

"Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents; like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then, forasmuch as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not plainly perceive, that there is no transubstantiated body of his in the sacrament? And, to reason by the contrary, all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the bread to be there."

He added also many other allegations out of the doctors. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whom I spake of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert in this matter, amongst others whom he took to counsel, he also conferred with Dr. Barnes; which Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause; fearing, peradventure, that it would breed among the people some let or hinderance to the preaching of the gospel, (which was now in a good forwardness,) if such sacramentaries should be suffered. He persuaded Taylor, by and by, to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. And hereby we may see it truly verified, which William Tyndale before, writing to John Frith, did note in Dr. Barnes, saying, "That Dr. Barnes will be hot against you," &c.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, that, through the sinister doings of many, it began of a private

talk to be a public and common matter: for he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the king's Majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was, by and by, spread throughout the whole court.

I told you before, how that King Henry for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded Queen Anne his wife; which deed did not only greatly displease the German princes, (who for that only cause had broken off the league with him, A. D. 1536,) but also many other good men in England. Moreover, how that, within a while after, abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad: for which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, insomuch that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority amongst the king's councillors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the gospel: albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the king, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose. But, at length, upon this matter advising himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire: neither did he foreslack the occasion ministered, but went straight unto the king, privily admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in almost all places; first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for that the divorce of Queen Katharine was yet fresh in men's minds; and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them that were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumours, and as it were with one nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The king, giving ear more willingly than prudently or godlily to this siren, immediately received the

wicked counsel of the bishop, and by and by sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of this realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, which commission the king himself would sit in judgment upon.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, (even as a lamb to fight with many lions,) and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was, so that now they tarried but for the king's coming to that place.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, as covering, by that colour and dissembling, severity of all bloody judgment. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which, albeit it was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was set in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance; and then, turning himself unto his councillors, he called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly and judgment. The whole effect of his oration tended in a manner to this point:

"That the king in this session would have all states, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now, the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty unto heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other bishops, the heresies of this man here

present, (meaning Lambert,) and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all."

When he had made an end of his oration, the king, standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: "Ho! good fellow; what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

Lambert. "O most noble prince! your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name." And after divers prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the king commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men, in many places, are privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge. But now, forasmuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: "I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance." Thus he spake in Latin. But Lambert, being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities. But the king, being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

Lambert. "I answer, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner."

The king. "Answer me neither out of St. Au-

gustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no." These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert. "Then I deny it to be the body of Christ."

The king. "Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*"

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert! let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same."

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places?

In this manner the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher; for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the *minor* was not thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the Scripture doth not say that Christ, being upon earth, did speak unto Paul; but that suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest, &c. Here this place doth nothing let, but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they that were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body.

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, "Paul himself doth witness that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision."

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, that he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gen-

tiles: notwithstanding, we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Thus when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed, then the bishop of Winchester, who was appointed the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument would be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the king's commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of 1 Corinthians ix., where St. Paul saith, Have I not seen Jesus? And again in the fifteenth chapter: He appeared unto Cephas, and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but, last of all, he appeared unto me, as one born out of due time.

Hereunto Lambert answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ was seen, and did appear; but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then Winchester again, abusing the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of 2 Cor. v., And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now, henceforth, know we him so no more, &c.

Lambert answered, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who, speaking of his own revelation, saith thus: I know one, whether in the body, or without the body, God knoweth, who was rapt into the third heaven; and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth: whereby, even by the testimony of St. Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things; rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven, to show them unto him: especially for that it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he should come again. And St. Peter saith, whom it behoveth to dwell in the heavens. And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he addeth, even until all things be restored, &c. Here again, Lambert, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

After the bishop of Winchester had done, Tonsal, bishop of Durham, took his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God's omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body : and moreover that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this is a figurative speech, every where used in Scripture, when the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign ; by which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb the passover ; besides six hundred such other. Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature.

Then again began they to rage afresh against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do ? He might well hold his peace like a lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesley, bishop of London, who afterwards, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting that in his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics. This man, amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, that it was not only a work of a divine miracle, but also that it did nothing abhor nature. "For it is nothing dissonant from nature, the substances of like things," saith he, "to be oftentimes changed one into another, so that nevertheless the accidents do remain ; albeit the substance itself, and the matter subject, be changed." Then he declared it by the example of water boiling so long upon the fire, until all the substance thereof be evaporated. "Now," saith he, "it is the doctrine of the philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance : wherefore we do affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air ; notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed ; for the air is moist even as the water is."

When this argument was heard, the bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophical transmutation of elements, and like as it had been of more force than Chrisippus's argument, which passed all manner of solution.

Lambert's answer was long looked for here of all men ; who, as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the bishop's assumption, that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. "For albeit," saith he, "that we do grant, with the philosophers, the air to be naturally moist ; notwithstanding it

hath one proper and a diverse degree of moisture, and the water another. Wherefore, when the water is converted into the air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say ; but that is not the moisture of water, but the proper and natural moisture of the air. Whereupon there is another doctrine amongst the philosophers, as a perpetual rule, that it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject."

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy ; for his ten arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop ; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible, and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader.

Lambert, in the mean time, being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages ; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock, until five at night ; being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace. Hereby it came to pass, that those bishops which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert now and then would allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause ; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But, for the most part, (as I said,) being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace ; defending himself rather with silence, than with arguments, which, he saw, would nothing at all prevail.

At the last, when the day was passed, and that torches began to be lighted, the king, minding to brake up this pretended disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise : "What sayest thou now," said he, "after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions

of these learned men? art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? thou hast yet free choice."

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your Majesty." Then said the king, "Commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

Lambert. "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." And, by and by, turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, "Cromwell! read the sentence of condemnation against him." This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the peevish and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan (which oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell; who, afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the gospel's sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

This, undoubtedly, was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But, to be short, Cromwell, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar: also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times every year in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert; wherein great pity it was, and much to be lamented, to see the king's Highness that day so to oppose, and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly soul, to be devoured, whom his Majesty, with more honour, might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many wolves and vultures; especially in such a cause, tending to no derogation to him nor his realm,

but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein, especially, consisteth the honour of princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth stand with him: which if the king had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his princely estate to all posterity.

But how much more commendable for thee, O King Henry! (if that I may a little talk with thee, wheresoever thou art,) if thou hadst aided and holpen the poor little sheep, being in so great perils and dangers, requiring thy aid and help against so many vultures and leopards; and hadst granted him thy authority, to use the same for his safeguard, rather than unto the others, to abuse it unto slaughter. For they, even of themselves, were cruel enough, that thou shouldst not have needed to have given thy sword of authority unto those mad-men, whose force and violence if you had that day broken, believe me! you should have committed a worthy spectacle unto all men, and have done a most commendable and praiseworthy thing for yourself. For what hath that poor man Lambert offended against you, who never so much as once willed you evil, neither could resist against you!

But, peradventure, you thought him to be a heretic! At the least his reasons and allegations should have been moderately heard; which if they had seemed more sound, you should have given place unto the truth; if not, notwithstanding, he should have been convinced, either with the like or more strong arguments, and have been reclaimed by all manner of means again into the way; for an error is not overcome with violence, but with truth. Truly it was not meet that you should have refused him, who so obediently yielded and submitted himself unto you. But, O King Henry! I know you did not follow your own nature therein, but the pernicious counsels of the bishop of Winchester: notwithstanding, your wisdom should not have been ignorant of this, (which all other kings also ought to consider, who, at this present, through the wicked insinuations of the bishops and cardinals, do so rage against the simple servants of Christ,) that the time shall once come, when ye shall give account for all the offences which you have either committed by your own fault, or by the counsel or advice of others, what shall then happen, if these miserable heretics, which you here in this world do so afflict and torment, shall come with Christ, and his apostles and martyrs, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel, sitting

upon their seats? if they, with like severity, shall execute their power upon you, what then, I say, shall become of you? With what face will ye behold their majesty, who here in this world have showed no countenances of pity upon them? With what heart will ye implore their mercy, who so unmerci-

fully rejected and cast them off, when they fled unto your pity and mercy? Wherefore, if that the ears of princes be so prompt and ready to hearken unto the counsels of others, being void of counsel themselves, why do they not rather set apart these flatterers, backbiters, and greedy blood-suckers, and

hearken unto the wholesome counsel of the prophetic king? who, crying out in the Psalms, sayeth, "Now, ye kings, understand, and ye which judge the earth, be wise and learned, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Embrace his Son, lest that ye err and perish from the just way; for, when his wrath shall suddenly kindle, blessed are all they which trust in him."

But thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when before the tribunal seat of that great Judge both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.

And thus much, hitherto, of Lambert's articles, answers, disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the story of his death.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning unto the house of the Lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, where, it is reported of many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There, at the last, Lambert, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, was greatly comforted and cheered; and, being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his saints, for ever and ever. Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all others which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach, after the manner and form that is described in the picture adjoined. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, "None but Christ, None but Christ;" and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtlety this good man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed; so that now remaineth nothing

but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the bishops thought should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause to King Henry, wherein, first mollifying the king's mind and ears with a modest and sober preface, he declared how he had a double hope of solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty Prince of princes, God; the other next unto God, in his Majesty, which should represent the office and ministry of that most high Prince in governing here upon earth. After that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done. And, albeit he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet, notwithstanding, because he was not also ignorant how desirous the king's mind was to search out the truth, he thought no time unmeet to perform his duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence; but only unto the prince himself, unto whom he might safely declare his mind.

After this preface made, he, entering into the book, confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by divers testimonies of the Scriptures; by the which Scriptures he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place.

Then, gathering together the minds of the ancient doctors, he did prove and declare, by sufficient demonstration, the sacrament to be a mystical matter: albeit he so ruled himself, in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny but that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Saviour, and the wine his natural blood: and that, moreover, his natural body and blood were in those mysteries; but after a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this protestation thus made, he inferreth the sentence of his confession, as here followeth.

A treatise by John Lambert upon the sacrament: addressed to the king.

"Christ is so ascended bodily into heaven, and his holy manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father, (that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory,) that, by the infallible promise of God, it shall not, or cannot, from thence return before the general doom, which shall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so can I not see how he can be corporally in

the sacrament, or his holy supper. And yet, notwithstanding, do I acknowledge and confess, that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very body and blood in a certain manner, which shall be showed hereafter, with your Grace's favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, instituting the same holy sacrament, and saying, This is my body, which is given for you : and again, This is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.

"But now, for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heaven, and his holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c., that by the infallible promise of God he shall not, or cannot, any more from thence bodily return before the general doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the authorities of old holy doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing but that we have taught to us in these three articles of our Creed, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty ; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' For Christ did ascend bodily ; the Godhead, which is infinite, uncircumscribable, replenishing both heaven and earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend."

Scriptures affirming the same.

"The Scriptures which I promised to allege for the confirmation of my said sentence, be these : He was lifted up into heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes. And when they were looking up into heaven, they saw two men, &c. Here it is evidently showed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscribed body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words do testify : And when they were looking up ; Why stand you here looking up into heaven ? and, Even as ye have seen him, &c. That, secondly, it was in body, I have before proved : and moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth thus ; To God only invisible, &c. ; and, He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth, nor may see, &c. : therefore the manhood and natural body was assumpt, or did ascend. That, thirdly, it was in a circumscribed body, appeareth manifestly in this : first, that his ascension and bodily departing caused them to look up : and, secondly, that he was lifted up ; that is to wit, from beneath or from below : and, thirdly, that a cloud received him ; whereas no cloud nor clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

"I am fain to leave out other evident arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow, in like form, how the angels made answer to the disciples, saying, Ye men of Galilee ! why stand ye gazing into heaven ? This Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come again, as you have seen him going up into heaven. Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to that we read, I went forth from the Father, and I came into the world : I leave the world again, and I go unto the Father. That is, not else but as he came from the Father of heaven into this world, in that he was incarnate and made man, (for his Godhead was never absent, either from heaven, or yet from earth,) even so should his manhood leave the world again, to go to heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, So shall he come, is plainly testified, that he is away, and now corporally absent.

"Finally, it is showed, further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, Even as you have seen him going up into heaven ; which is not else but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to heaven, a cloud embracing him, and taking him from among you ; even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the clouds, as we read in Matthew, You shall see the Son of man to come in the clouds of heaven : and again, And they shall see the Son of man. Such other texts have we full many, declaring my sentence to be catholic and true ; of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, Mark xvi. ; Luke xxiv. ; John xiii., xiv., xvi., and xvii. ; Rom. viii. ; Ephes. i. and ii. ; and 2 Cor. vi. ; Heb. viii., ix., x., and xii. ; and 1 Thess. iv. ; and 1 Pet. ii. ; which all do testify, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, and, departing from it unto his Father, ascended into heaven ; sitting still upon the right hand of the Father, above all dominion, power, and principality ; where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father ; and that he shall so bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.

"Nothing can better, or more clearly, testify and declare, what is contained in the sacrament of Christ's holy body and blood, than do the words of Scripture, whereby it was instituted. Mark doth agree with Matthew, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is ; for, as the doctors do say, The Gospel of Mark is a very epitome or abridgement of Matthew. I shall therefore write the relations of them, touching the institution of this sacrament, together."

or testimony of Matthew is this : As they were eating, Jesus took bread ; and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body. And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this ; for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.

“ The testimony or relation of Mark, is this : And as they did eat, Jesus took the bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, unto that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God. Luke, being the companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. iv., doth so next agree with him in making relation of this supper, and holy institution of the sacrament. His relation or report is this : When he had taken bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you ; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also, after supper, he took the cup, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you.

“ Paul’s testimony doth follow next, agreeably to Luke, and it is thus : For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you ; that our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread ; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat ; this is my body which is broken for you : this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood : this do, as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me ; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord’s death till he come. By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your Grace, which I conceive of the holy sacrament of Christ’s blessed body and blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy doctors and fathers, to show that I do not ground any thing upon myself. Thereafter shall I add certain arguments, which, I trust, shall clearly prove and justify my sentence to be true, catholic, and according both with God and his laws, and also with the mind of holy doctors.

“ My sentence is this : That Christ ascended into heaven, and so hath forsaken the world, and there

shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general doom ; at which time he shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his natural body, which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross ; who died for us, and was buried : in which he also did rise again to life immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so assumpt into heaven, we may soon prove ; forasmuch as the Godhead of him is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth, and all that is besides, being infinite and interminable or uncircumscribable, so that it cannot properly either ascend or descend, being without all alterations, and immutable or unmovable. So that now his natural body, being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth, Whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. And the same doth the article of our Creed teach us, which is, ‘ From thence [*i. e.* from heaven] shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead ; ’ which time Paul calleth the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.

“ Seeing then this natural body of our Saviour, that was born of his mother Mary being a virgin, is all whole assumpt into heaven, and departed out of this world, and, so as saith St. Peter, He must remain in heaven until the end of the world, which he calleth, the time when all things must be restored ; this, I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the natural body of him can, contrariwise, be in the world, and so in the sacrament. And yet, notwithstanding, is this true, that the holy sacrament is Christ’s body and blood, as after shall be declared.”

Doctors affirming the same.

“ But first, for the establishing of my former purpose, that the natural body of our Saviour is so absent from this world, and ascended into heaven, that it can be here no more present until the general doom ; I would beseech your Grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy doctors in this purpose or matter, how agreeably they testify with that which is before showed. Amongst whom we have first St. Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus.

“ ‘ Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the Creator, all things are made by him. But as touching man, Christ is a creature made of the seed

able; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it 'almighty substance.' Furthermore, to show that Christ (as touching his human and natural body) is local, and in one place, he allegeth, and that right justly, two texts of Scripture: the first is, I ascend to my Father, &c.; and the second is of Lazarus, I am glad for your sakes, &c.

"Finally, he maketh this demand: 'But how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is a local and very man?' whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to St. Augustine, writing as is above showed: 'And he shall so come (as the angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we do not so esteem his Divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body. So that they both do testify, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man; and that if he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore St. Augustine saith further, to Dardanus, 'Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be no where: and because they shall be no where, they shall have no being at all.'

"We, therefore, coveting to find Christ or his natural body, should seek for him in heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us St. Ambrose, in the tenth book which he writeth upon Luke, speaking of Christ's humanity assumpt, in this wise: 'Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now, according to the flesh, we do not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephen did not seek thee upon the earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right hand of God the Father: but Mary, which sought thee upon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee, because he sought thee in heaven: Stephen amongst the Jews saw thee being absent,' &c.

"Thus we must seek for the natural body of Christ, not upon the earth, but in heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely show in the same treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christ's body: 'How could it come to pass that the body could not rest in the sepulchre, in which the tokens of the wounds and scars did appear, which the Lord himself did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only establish the faith, but also augmented devotion)? Because he

would rather carry up into heaven the body received for us, and would not put them away, might present to God the Father the price of liberty: such a one the Father doth place on his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of salvation,' &c.

"Gregory also, in a homily of Pentecost agreeably to the others, in these words: 'We see it that he did not tarry with them, which, he went up into heaven, promiseth, saying, Behold, I will be with you continually until the end of the world. But the Word Incarnate tarrieth, and abideth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in power. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them, even he which was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his visible power.' In like wise doth he testify in the Gospel of the Easter-day.

"With these doth Bede accord in a homily of the Easter, in which he declareth this text, A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while, and ye shall see me: and also in a homily of the Vigil of Pentecost. And who can otherwise think, knowing the Scripture and our belief, that the natural body of Christ is so assumed into heaven all whole, that it must there abide, without returning, until the general judgment? We stand, seeing this is the chief point where we should seek to establish my sentence in this matter, that Christ's holy and natural body was so assumpt into heaven, that there it must remain all whole without returning until the general judgment will yet, with the permission of your Grace, I will add two arguments deduced out of the Scriptures to declare further my sentence to be faithful and catholic."

Arguments out of Scripture.

"First, as Christ was enclosed, and so about, in the womb of his mother, being a virgin, undefiled, and afterwards was born into this world, and put in a manger, and so he, growing up, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, some time in Galilee, some time in Samaria, some time in Jewry, some time beyond and some on this side of Jordan, and consequently he was crucified at Jerusalem, there being enclosed and buried in a grave, from whence he did arise, so that the angels testified of him, He is risen, and is not in the grave; and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, he was assumpt, or lifted up into heaven from the top of the mount of Olivet, in the sight of his disciples, a cloud compassing him about; even so did he come from the same celestial place corporally, that they did see him to depart out of the one place

porally, according to the testimony of the angels. So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once; and so to be corporally in his natural body in heaven, and also in the earth; and that it is, moreover, in so many parts of the world, as men have affirmed.

"Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoil Christ of the property of man's nature, which is, to be in one place, whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witness and teach to be man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. Paul doth teach, that Christ, in his manhood, was made in all points like unto his brethren, sin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his brethren? But here do some witty philosophers, yea, rather sophisters than divines, bring in, to the annulling of Christ's humanity, a similitude of man's soul, which, being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soul and body of man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christ's body to be of one nature and property with his soul, and that things naturally corporal were not most diverse from creatures naturally spiritual.

"Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were merely spiritual, and full like unto the substance of angels, yet it could not in this wise follow, that his body could be every where, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtleties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old doctors do define that the body of Jesus, exalted or assumpt into heaven, must be local, circumscribed, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or every where. How could Christ corporally depart out of this world, and leave the earth, if he in the kinds of bread and wine be not only corporally contained and received, but also there reserved, kept, and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testify, But Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to his Father, &c.; and in like form, And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into heaven? what do they signify, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his natural body being surely assumpt into heaven?

"They do therefore undoubtedly declare that

Christ, being very God and very man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being assumpt into heaven, where he remaineth sitting in glory with the Father: whereas yet his Deity did not leave the world, nor depart out from the earth. Paul doth say, that of two things he wist not which he might rather choose, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh, for preaching the gospel; or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By which Paul doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, who yet do abide mortal in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the temple of Christ; and as Paul doth say, Do you not know yourselves that Jesus Christ is in you? in which sense he also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ, therefore, must be otherwise in that place in which the apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the supper, or else in any other places of the churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean heaven, which is the paradise of perfect bliss and glory; where Christ, being a victor, triumpher, and conqueror over death, sin, and hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your Grace doth see my sentence, so far forth, to be right catholic, Christian, and faithful; according to Holy Scripture, to holy fathers, and the articles of our Christian belief. Which sentence is this: Christ's natural body is so assumpt into heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence, that is to wit, return from heaven, until the end of the world: and therefore cannot the same natural body naturally be here in the world, or in the sacrament, for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and already come; which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood."

The second part of this matter.

"Now my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your Grace shall please to know it, as I, your poor and unworthy, but full true subject, would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it): I grant the holy sacrament to be the very and natural body of our Saviour, and his very natural blood, and that the natural body and blood of our Saviour is in the sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testify, Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you: and again, Drink ye

all of this; this is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many^p for the remission of sins. Of which words, seeing on them depend a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is, and hath been, all the controversy of this matter, I, therefore, shall show the interpretation that holy doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy of credit.

"First, We find in the second book of Tertullian, which he writeth against Marcion, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.' This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the sacrament, saying as is above written, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.' As who would say, If Christ had judged the bread evil, then would he not have left it for a sign or sacrament to represent his blessed body. Agreeably to the same doth he also say in the fourth book made against the said Marcion in these words: 'Christ made the same bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a fantasy, could not receive a figure or a form.' This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural body, but a body fantastical; which error or heresy, this famous doctor Tertullian doth improve by the holy sacrament, saying, as before is written, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body: ergo, Christ had a very and true body; for a thing which is vain and fantastical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, This is my body: which interpretation is not new, but authentic, or full ancient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the older doctors which followed him did ever reprove him there-for, but rather have followed it; as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalm, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, which so long did suffer and forbear Judas, as if he had been a good and an honest man: whereas, notwithstanding, he did know his traitorous thoughts, when he received him to the feast or supper, in which he did commend and deliver to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of Augustine be these: 'In the history of the New Testament, the patience of our Lord was great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Judas so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the feast in

which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his disciples.'

"The same holy doctor also, writing against Adamantius, saith thus: 'For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.' And for a further declaration, in the same chapter, he saith, 'For so the blood is the soul, as the rock was Christ.' Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did *signify* Christ: but he doth say, that the rock *was* Christ.

"Expressly doth Augustine here call the sign of Christ's body, his body; plainly interpreting these words, This is my body, as both he and Tertullian did before.

"Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, This is my body, The soul is the blood, and Christ was the stone, to be of one phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this text, The rock was Christ, doth he commonly thus expound, 'The rock did signify Christ;' as appeareth, lib. xviii. De Civitate Dei, cap. 48. Also in the Book of Questions upon Genesis, and in the Book of Questions upon Leviticus, handling John xviii.; and in his sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

"In like manner also St. Jerome expoundeth it in the small Scholies, written upon I Cor. i., and all other writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as Lyra saith, 'The thing which signifieth, is wont to be called by the name of the thing which it doth signify.' And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, which thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this text, The stone was Christ, likewise doth he expound The blood is the soul, with which he doth knit this text, This is my body, to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy doctor write, 'Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived the same carnally; and thought that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said, This is a hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying hard. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves, He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid sacrament or mystery therein. They should have aboden with him, easy of belief, and not hard; and then should they have learned of him that which other learned, that tarried after they were gone away.'

"In this may we see, that our Saviour willeth

his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been, much controversy. The Jews of Capernaum were offended with Christ when he said, he would have his flesh eaten, and, except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this gross, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him, This a sore or hard saying. They did shoot forth their bolt and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had cause. They took that for hard and sore, which should have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

"And even so now, that which in this matter may appear at the first blush a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, forasmuch as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads, and persuaded to our minds, yet, by deliberation and indifferent hearing, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear sore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your Grace is, loving to hear and to know all truth. But the Capernaimites were hard, as here saith Augustine, and not the word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have said in themselves, Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein: and so, by patient tarriance, they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hastiness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the disciples tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words of life, that to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death; for they took them literally and grossly: and the letter (as Paul saith) slayeth.

"But, to show what the disciples remaining with Christ did learn, St. Augustine doth consequently show, by the words of the Gospel, saying thus: 'But he instructed them, and said unto them, The spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth which shall crucify me. I have set forth to you a certain sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you

life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly.' In this do we see, that both Christ and Augustine would have Christ's words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally: and therefore doth he say, You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me. And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken? But he would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his material or natural blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural body crucified, as saith Augustine: but he ordained and willed his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his body was crucified for us, and that his blood was shed for remission of our sins.

"This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is showed. Wherefore, as Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting, even so doth he say, He that believeth in me hath life everlasting. And St. Augustine, agreeable to the same, treating upon John, doth say, Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten. I do know that Christ ordaineth his sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but the same doth not feed the mind of men, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.

"And St. Augustine, assenting to the same, doth say in a sermon that he maketh upon these words in the Gospel of St. Luke, Lord, teach us to pray: 'He said bread, but supersubstantial bread. This is not the bread which goeth into the body; but that bread which doth satisfy the substance of our soul.' Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the body and blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed body and blood so to be eaten and drunken; although our souls cannot live except they be spiritually fed with the blessed body and blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed sacrament, which is truly called his body and blood. Not that it is so really, but as is showed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Augustine, because it is a sign or figure of Christ's body and blood. And the signs or sacraments do commonly, as saith St. Augustine, both *Ad Bonifacium*, and in

his work *De Civitate Dei*, take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

"But forasmuch as some will object that Augustine, in the words before rehearsed, doth not speak of eating the sacrament; for the text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the sacrament, which text is this, Unless a man may eat my flesh, &c.; I answer, that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto serveth the text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten either without the sacrament or in the sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful; as more evidently doth appear by these words there following: 'I have commended unto you a sacrament, which, being understood of you spiritually, shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.'

"Here doth he show that he meaneth of eating, not without the sacrament only, but also in the sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, 'I have commended unto you a certain sacrament,' &c.; but he addeth moreover, 'Although it is requisite the same to be celebrated visibly.' How, therefore, can the eating of Christ and the sacrament thereof be visibly celebrated, but in the Maundy, or in his supper; which is celebrated visibly in visible things of bread and wine, which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be understood and so received spiritually?

"Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the supper, This is my body, &c., St. Augustine, writing to Boniface, saith thus:

"We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, the Passion of the Lord, whereas he, notwithstanding, had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say, upon the Lord's day, This day the Lord hath risen: whereas so many years are passed since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liars for this manner of speaking, because we call these days according to the similitude of those in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but which, by course of time of the year coming about, is like unto it; and also because that thing is said to be done that day, through the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himself? and yet, notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the sacrament in the solemn feasts of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither

doth he make a lie, which being demanded, saith, that Christ is offered up: for, if the same had not a certain similitude of those things which they are sacraments, then should they be sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude, sacraments oftentimes do receive the name of the selfsame things whereof they are sacraments.

"Therefore as, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, even likewise, the sacrament of faith is faith. To believe, is none other thing than to have faith. By this it is answered, that the very infirmity of faith, because of the sacrament of faith, and themselves unto God, because of the sacrament of conversion: for the very answer itself doth pertain unto the celebration of the sacrament. The apostle speaketh of baptism; for he saith, buried by baptism into death. He did not only have signified a burying, but he plainly was buried. Therefore he named the sacrament so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing itself.

"Nothing can be more plainly spoken, and agreeable to the natural understanding of the words of the supper, and to the exposition before of Tertullian and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heaven, and so absent from the earth, it is needful to know how the holy sacrament, which he doth call his body and blood, should be called his body and blood.

"This holy doctor Augustine, therefore, in this matter manifestly and sincerely declareth his opinion by like speeches; and first by common speech, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The first common speech is, 'We do,' saith he, 'use often that when Easter doth approach or draw near, the day after tomorrow, or the next day, is the Lord's day, whereas he did suffer before many years past, and that passion was never but once done.'

"The second common speech is, 'And the day after Sunday we say, that this day the Lord did rise from death; whereas so many years be yet past since that time he arose.' Wherefore to conclude, he saith, 'No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lied, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfsame, but for the revolution of time like unto it. And the resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the sacrament of that which was done that day, but long time before past.'

"The third speech, 'Was not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? yet is he never

less offered in the sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the feast of Easter, but also every day : neither doth he lie, which, when he is demanded, shall answer, that he is offered up or sacrificed. For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all : by reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And, therefore, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, and so also be the sacraments of faith called faith.' This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this : It is none other thing to believe, than to have faith. And therefore, when answer is made that the infants have faith, who indeed have it not in full working, it is answered that such have faith for the sacrament of faith, and that they do convert themselves unto faith for the sacrament of conversion. For the very answer itself doth pertain to the celebration of the sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that Good Friday, or the day of Christ's passion, which is not indeed the day of Christ's passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever ; and as we use to call the next Easter-day, the day of Christ's resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long time past ; and as Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at Easter, but also every day in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented : even so, saith Augustine, is the sacrament of Christ's body the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood the blood of Christ, in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the sacrament is his natural body or blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before showed be of his very and natural body crucified for us, and of his precious blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so ? for they, saith Augustine, have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or sacraments ; for else they should be no sacraments at all : and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part, receive the denomination of the things whereof they be sacraments.

"So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood the very body and blood of Christ, but as he said

before. But yet he saith, in a certain manner or wise. Not that the sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural body and blood ; for this is a false argument of sophistry, which they call *Secundum quid ad simpliciter* : that is to say, that the sacrament of Christ's body is in a certain wise the body of Christ : *ergo*, it is also plainly and expressly the natural body of Christ. For such another reason, might this be also : Christ is after a certain manner a lion, a lamb, and a door : *ergo*, Christ is a natural lion, and a lamb, or a material door. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is therefore called his body and blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption : which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently allege of baptism : *Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus dicit*, &c. 'The apostle,' quoth Augustine, 'saith not, We have signified burying, but he saith utterly, We be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sin, who yet do live in all sin.' And therefore saith Augustine immediately thereupon, 'He called therefore the sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name than of the thing itself.'

"Thus, O most gracious and godly prince ! do I confess and acknowledge, that the bread of the sacrament is truly Christ's body, and the wine to be truly his blood, according to the words of the institution of the same sacrament : but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significatively, according to the exposition of the doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old doctors am I enforced both by the articles of my creed, and also by the circumstances of the said Scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same can I not find the natural body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent both from the sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in heaven, where he, by promise, must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

"The same holy doctor, writing against one Faustus, saith in like manner, 'If we do prefer with great admiration the Maccabees, because they would not once touch the meats which Christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time, being then propheticall, that is, in the time of the Old Testament ; how much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the baptism of Christ, and for the sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the Old Testament were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of

things complete and finished?' In this do I note, that according to the expositions before showed, he calleth the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, *signum Christi*, that is, a sign of Christ; and that, in the singular number, forasmuch as they both do signify well-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he called them *indicia rerum completarum*: that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And them he doth usually call both the sacraments, *signum Christi*, in the singular number. And as the same St. Augustine in his fiftieth treatise upon the Gospel of St. John teacheth, where he saith thus: 'If thou be good, if thou pertain to the body of Christ, (which this word Petrus doth signify,) then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through faith; here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the sacrament of baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the altar,' &c."

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much only came to our hands.

The death of Robert Packington..

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of God's word, and of all good proceedings. The story is this: The said Robert Packington, being a man of substance, yet not so rich as discreet and honest, and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, to go to prayers at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercer's Chapel. And one morning amongst all others, being a great misty morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly murdered with a gun, which of the neighbours was plainly heard; and, by a great number of labourers standing at Soper-lane end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while unespied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murderer so covertly was conveyed, till at length, by the confession of Dr. Incent, dean of Paul's, on his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian, for sixty crowns or thereabouts, to do the feat. For the testimony

whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Incent, the names both of them that heard him confess it, and of them that heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

The cause why he was so little favoured by the clergy, was this: for that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy; wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talk with the king; for which he was the more had in disdain with them, and murdered by the said Dr. Incent for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, who was the brother of Austin Packington above mentioned, who deceived Bishop Tonstal, in buying the new translated Testament of Tyndale: whose piteous murder, although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

The burning of one Collins at London.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, some time a lawyer and a gentleman, which suffered the fire this year also in Smithfield, A. D. 1538; whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for a heretic; but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At leastwise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning so, without all discretion, this man, being mad, and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth:

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but, notwithstanding, of so light behaviour and unchaste conditions, (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty,) that she, forsaking her husband, which loved her entirely, betook herself unto another paramour; which thing when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last, being overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a church where a priest was saying mass, and was come to the

place where they use to hold up and show the sacrament.

Collins, being beside his wits, seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people, he, in like manner counterfeiting the priest, took up a little dog by the legs, and held him over his head, showing him unto the people. And for this he was, by and by, brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the same year in which John Lambert was burned, A. D. 1538.

The burning of Cowbridge at Oxford,
A. D. 1538.

With this aforesaid Collins may also be adjoined the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise, being mad and beside his right senses, was, either the same, or the next year following, condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire by him to be burned at Oxford.

The fruitful seed of the gospel at this time had taken such root in England, that now it began manifestly to spring and show itself in all places, and in all sorts of people, as it may appear in this good man Cowbridge; who, coming of a good stock and family, whose ancestors, even from Wickliff's time hitherto, had been always favourers of the gospel, and addicted to the setting forth thereof in

the English tongue, was born at Colchester, his father's name being William Cowbridge, a wealthy man, and head bailiff of Colchester, and of great estimation.

This man, at his decease, left unto his son great substance and possessions, which he afterwards abandoning and distributing unto his sisters and kindred, he himself went about the countries, sometimes seeking after learned men, and sometimes, according to his ability, instructing the ignorant. Thus he continued a certain space, until such time as he came to a town in Berkshire, named Wantage, where, after he had by a long season exercised the office of a priest, in teaching and administering of the sacraments, but being no priest indeed, and had converted many unto the truth, he was at last apprehended and taken, as suspected of heresy, and carried to a place beside Wickham, to the bishop of Lincoln, to be examined; by whom he was sent to Oxford, and there cast into the prison called Bocardo.

At that time Dr. Smith and Dr. Cotes governed the divinity schools, who, together with other divines and doctors, seemed not in this point to show the duty which the most meek apostle requireth in divines toward such as are fallen into any error, or lack instruction or learning. For, admit that he did not understand or see so much in the doctrine and controversies of divinity as the learned divines

did, yet Paul, writing unto the Romans, and in others places also, saith, that the weak are to be received into the faith, and not to the determination of disputations; but the imbecility of the weak is to be borne by them that are stronger, &c. And in another place, we understand the spirit of lenity and gentleness to be requisite in such as are spiritual, who shall have to do with the weak flock of Christ. But, alas! it is a sorrowful thing to see how far these divines are separate from the rule of the apostolic meekness, who, after they had this poor man fast entangled in their prison of Bocardo with famine and hunger, brought this poor servant of Christ unto that point, that, through the long consumption and lack of sleep, his natural strength being consumed, he lost his wits and reason; whereby (as it is the manner of mad-men) he uttered many unseemly and indiscreet words: whereupon the divines spread rumours abroad that there was a heretic at Oxford, who could abide to hear the name of Jesu, but not the name of Christ, to be named; and therefore that he ought to be burned: and so thereupon condemned him. That done, they sent the articles, whereupon he was condemned, up to London, unto the lord chancellor, at that time being the Lord Audley, requiring of him a writ to put him to execution; of which articles we could only attain to knowledge and understanding but of two, which were these:

"First, That in the second article of the Creed, he would not have it *Et in Jesum Christum*, &c., but *Et in Jesum Jesum*, &c. The second, That every poor priest, be he ever so poor or needy, being of a good conversation, hath as great power and authority in the church of God and ministration of the sacraments, as the pope or any other bishops."

What all his opinions and articles were, where-with he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse; for as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, which said he could not tell what? And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he, in my judgment, a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother church of Rome, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move,

nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appear; who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to reduce the silly wretches into their right minds again; according as the true pastors of Israel be commanded, by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c., and not so extremely to burst the things that be bruised before.

But, to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatsoever his madness was before, or howsoever erroneous his articles were, (which, for the fond fantasies of them, I do not express,) yet, as touching his end, this is certain, that, when the day appointed was come, this meek lamb of Christ was brought forth unto the slaughter with a great band of armed men; and, being made fast in the midst of the fire, (contrary to their expectation,) oftentimes calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, with great meekness and quietness he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Puttedew and Leiton, martyrs.

About the same time and year, or not much before, when John Lambert suffered at London, there was one Puttedew also condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolk; who, coming into the church, and merrily telling the priest, that after he had drunk up all the wine alone, he afterwards blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, *Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis*, as the old saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*.

The great and almost infinite number of most holy martyrs, the variety of matter, and the great celerity used in writing this story, is such, that we cannot use such exact diligence in perusing them all, or have so perfect memory in keeping the order of years, but that, sometimes, we shall somewhat the more swerve or go astray; whereby it hath happened that this man William Leiton, as it were lying hidden among a great multitude of others, had almost escaped our hands; whom, notwithstanding that we have somewhat passed his time, yet do we not think meet to omit, or leave out of this catalogue or history.

This William Leiton was a monk of Eye in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about in the processions at Eye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper

ought to be administered in both kinds ; about the year and time aforesaid.

The burning of N. Peke, martyr, at Ipswich.

In the burning of another Suffolk man, named N. Peke, dwelling some time at Earlstounham, and burned at Ipswich somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded and testified ; that when he, being fast bound to a stake, and furze set on fire round about him, was so scorched that he was as black as soot, one Dr. Redyng, there standing before him, with Dr. Heyre and Dr. Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said, "Peke! recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration over it ; and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee;" having a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, "I defy it, and thee also;" and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Dr. Redyng said, "To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Then Baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people. Witness John Ramsey and others, who did see this act.

In the year last before this, which was A. D. 1537, it was declared how Pope Paul the Third indicted a general council, to be holden at Mantua: whereunto the king of England, amongst other princes, being called, refused either to come or to send at the pope's call, and for defence of himself directed out a public apology or protestation, rendering just and sufficient matter why he neither would, nor was bound to obey, the pope's commandment ; which protestation is before to be read. This council, appointed to begin the twenty-third day of May, the year aforesaid, was then stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no council there, unless the pope would fortify the city with a sufficient army, &c. ; for which cause the pope prorogued the said council, to be celebrated in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the city of Vincenza, (lying

within the dominion of the Venetians,) to be the place for the council. Whereunto when the king, the year next following, (which is this present year of our Lord 1538,) was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort either himself, or to send, he, again refusing, (as he did before,) sent a protestation, in way of defence and answer for himself, to the emperor or other Christian princes.

As the Lord, of his goodness, had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan (who is adversary and enemy to all good things) had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to impeach and put back the same ; who, after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert, (as ye have heard,) proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking, under the names of heresies, sects, Anabaptists, and Sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books and faithful professors of God's word out of England, so wrought with the king, that the next year following, which was A. D. 1539, he gave out these injunctions, the copy and contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these :

"First, That none, without special licence of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England, any manner of English books, either yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned so long as it shall please the king's Majesty.

"Item, That none shall print, or bring over, any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books before be examined by the king's privy council, or others appointed by his Highness ; and yet not to be put thereto these words, *cum privilegio regali*, without adding, *ad imprimendum solum* : neither yet to imprint it, without the king's privilege be printed therewith in the English tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated book, without the plain name of the translator be in it ; or else the printer to be made the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof, at the king's pleasure.

"Item, That none of the occupation of printing shall, within the realm, print, utter, sell, or cause to be published, any English book of Scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king's Highness, or one of his privy council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall therein be expressed, upon pain of the king's most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

"Item, Those that be in any errors, as Sacra-

mentaries, Anabaptists, or any others, that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the king's Majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent to have it punished, without favour, even with the extremity of the law.

"Item, That none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without all favour, only those excepted that be learned in divinity: they to have their liberty in their schools and appointed places accustomed for such matters.

"Item, That the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter-day, setting up of lights before the *Corpus Christi*, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of chrismes, keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such-like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the king to change or abrogate any of them."

This article was made for that the people were not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then used.

"Finally, All those priests that be married, and openly known to have their wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any duty of a priest, and shall have no manner of office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity in any thing appertaining to the clergy, but from thenceforth shall be taken, had, and reputed as lay persons, to all purposes and intents: and those that shall, after this proclamation, marry, shall run in his Grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his Grace's will and pleasure.

"Item, He chargeth all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God and truth of his word; and also, considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many by reason of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them, upon pain of imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people thereby might grow into further superstition.

"Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, some time archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome

laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's Highness's noble progenitor, King Henry the Second, for the commonwealth, rest, and tranquillity of this realm, of his froward mind fled the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said realm); and that his death, which they untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue by him made; and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen which then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that rescue, and he not only called the one of them 'bawd,' but also took Tracy by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church, so that upon this fray, one of their company, perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain: and further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been both a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the clergy:

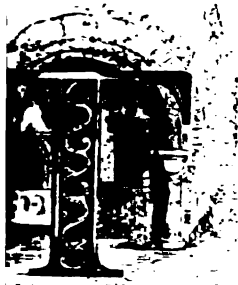
"For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's Majesty, by the advice of his council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

"Therefore his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but Bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be plucked down, and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers in his name read, but rased and put out of all the books; and that all their festival-days, already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his Grace's ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his Grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past: upon pain of his Majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his Grace's pleasure.

"Finally, his Grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that his subjects do keep and observe all and singular his injunctions made by his Majesty, upon the pain therein contained."

Here followeth how religion began to go backward.

*variable changes and mutations of religion
in King Henry's days.*



O many which be yet alive, and can testify these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth; what chances and changes

Even as the king was ruled and gave sometimes to one, sometimes to another, so one went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometimes clean altered and for a season, according as they could prevail, were about the king. So long as Queen Elizabeth, the gospel had indifferent success. But that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king, was made away, the course of the religion began again to decline, but that the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Cromwell opportunely to that behalf; who, no doubt, did much avail, to increase of God's true religion, and much to be brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the religion, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him, and supplanted his virtuous progress. By means of which adversaries it came to pass, after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of religion more and more decayed till the residue of the reign of King Henry. Among these adversaries above mentioned, the chief was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, with his confederates and adherents, looking at the state of the Lord Cromwell, and the late marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves (in the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540, married to the king); as also grieved partly at dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the decay of the gospel, sought all occasions how to overthrow these happy beginnings, and to train the religion to their own purpose. Now what occasion chiefly Winchester found out to work upon, ye shall hear in order as followeth:

It happened the same time, that the Lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere religion in his realm, devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the Lady Anne of Saxony, whose other sister was already married unto the Duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance,

should be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany; and so thereby godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the king to stumble at. For, when the parents of the noble lady were communed withal for the furtherance of the said marriage, among others of her friends whose good will was required, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, misliked the marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followed that the slackness of the duke in that behalf being espied, crafty Winchester, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the king's mind from the amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof he brought the king at length clean out of credit with that religion and doctrine, which the duke had then maintained many years before.

This wily Winchester, with his crafty fetches, partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the king's ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow religion, first bringing him in hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other foreign powers to rise against him; but especially of civil tumults and commotions here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion, and dissolving of abbeyes, and for abolishing of rites and other customs of the church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring, moreover, what a dangerous matter in a commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, he exhorted the king, for his own safeguard, and public quiet and tranquillity of his realm, to see betimes how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would show himself sharp and severe against these new sectaries, Anabaptists and Sacramentaries (as they called them); and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholic faith, as whereby he might recover again his credence with Christian princes, and whereby all the world besides might see and judge him to be a

right and perfect catholic. By these, and such-like crafty suggestions, the king, being too much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other princes; especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general council at Vincenza, being thereto invited both by the emperor, and other foreign potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore, although he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself, nevertheless, to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies, (as the blind opinion of the world then did esteem them,) first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then, afterwards, he gave out those injunctions above prefixed; and now, further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was A. D. 1540, through the device and practice of certain of the pope's factors about him, he summoned a solemn parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28th day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realm; also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The Act of the Six Articles.

In which parliament, synod, or convocation, certain articles, matters, and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certain prelates, to the number especially of six, commonly called The Six Articles, (or, The Whip with Six Strings,) to be had and received among the king's subjects, on pretence of unity. But what unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of divers, both in the days of King Henry, and of Queen Mary, can so well declare as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst Christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet, for that the office of history compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posterity to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another, this shall be briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the aforesaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The first Article.

The first article in this present parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: "That in the

most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, (it being spoken by the priest,) is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man."

The second Article.

"That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh, as well apart, as they were both together."

The third Article.

"That priests, after the order of priesthood received as before, may not marry by the law of God."

The fourth Article.

"That vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly, ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of Christian people, which, without that, they might enjoy."

The fifth Article.

"That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; as whereby good Christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits; and it is agreeable also to God's law."

The sixth Article.

"That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the church of God."

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realm, craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail unless strait and bloody penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practice, to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament, as followeth:

The penalty upon the first Article.

"That if any person or persons, within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writ-

ing, imprinting, ciphering, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, (after the consecration thereof,) there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; or, after the time above said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the means above-said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is above said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament: that then, every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein, (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the authority above said,) should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted, or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatsoever they were, which any such offender or offenders should have, at the time of any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason."

The penalties upon the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five articles following, the penalties devised for them were these: "That every such person or persons which do preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth day of July the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any, being in orders, or after a vow advisedly made, did marry, or make marriage, or contract matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary, &c.

"Item, That every such person or persons, which after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, ciphering, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted: for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convicted, should suffer as in case aforesaid of felony.

"Item, If any within order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

"Item, That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying their wives, should also redound to the women married unto the priests.

"Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted by the said parliament, that full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at least, (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary, be one,) should sit four times at least in the year; having full power to take information and accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at the least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their sessions. And also, that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power, by the oaths of twelve lawful men, to inquire, likewise, of all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present Act, &c.

"Provided withal, that no person or persons thereupon accused, indicted, or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be empannelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of felony, &c.

"Provided, moreover, that every person that should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take a corporal oath, the tenor of which oath here ensueth.

The oath of the commissioners.

"Ye shall swear, that ye, to your cunning, wit, and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the king's commission, made for correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help, and all saints."

And thus much briefly collected out of the Act and originals, which more largely are to be seen in the statute, anno 31, reg. Hen. VIII., concerning the six articles, which otherwise, for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called *The Whip with Six Strings*, set forth after the death of Queen Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But herein, as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of that bishop appeared, who, like a lurking serpent, most slyly watching his time, if he had not taken the king coming out upon a sudden, there where it was, (I spare here to report as I heard,) it was thought and affirmed by certain which then were pertaining to the king, that Winchester had not obtained the matter so easily to be subscribed as he did.

These six articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning, (as all men having any judgment in God's word may plainly understand,) yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the king's mind so fully addicted, upon politic respects, to have these articles pass forward, few or none in all that parliament would appear, which either could perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then, being married, (as is supposed,) like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, oppressed in the parliament; three days together disputing against those six wicked articles; bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause; who, in the said disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was disliked of the king; and again, his reasons and allegations were so strong,

that they could not well be refuted. Wherefore the king, (who ever bore special favour unto him,) well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council-chamber, for a time, (for safeguard of his conscience,) till the Act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation, refused to do.

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king, considering the constant zeal of the archbishop in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same, sent the Lord Cromwell, (who, within few days after, was apprehended,) the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where they signified unto him, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his Highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament had declared himself both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations.

He most humbly thanked, first, the king's Highness, for his singular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he so hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the realm: which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant among us, to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead, for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

Allegations against the Six Articles.

N the mean while, forasmuch as the said heretical articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our fore-elders' days; I thought therefore, (the Lord thereunto assisting,) so much as antiquity of stories may help to the restoring again of truth and doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some

allegations out of ancient records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled articles and heresies above touched.

And first, as touching the article of transubstantiation, wherein this parliament doth enact that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the selfsame which was born of the Virgin Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, after the priest's consecration; but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine: First, here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs, in that form of words as it standeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, universally for a catholic, that is, for a general, opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under Pope Innocent the Third, A. D. 1216.

And forasmuch as it hath been a common persuasion amongst the most sort of people, that this article, in the form of words as here it standeth, is, and hath been ever since Christ's time, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the Scriptures and doctors, and consent of all ages unto this present time; to the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may see how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this foresaid article by true antiquity and course of histories, to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

Now therefore, for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the article; the contents of which article consist in two parts or members. In the first whereof is noted to us a presence of a thing which there was not before: in the second, is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The presence is noted by these words of the article, where it is said that in the blessed sacrament, by the words pronounced, are present the natural body and blood of our Saviour under the forms of bread and wine: so that in these words, both the sacrament and the natural body are imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, if the sacrament there were not present itself? or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? Wherefore by these words both the sacrament, and also the body, must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the sacrament and of the body, being rightly taken, may right well stand together; the sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the body of

Christ to the inward eyes of faith, and mouth of the soul. And therefore touching these prepositions in this article, "in" and "under," if question be asked, In what is the body of Christ? it may well be answered, In the sacrament, to the eyes of our faith; like as the outward sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the body. Again, if the question be asked, Under what is the body of Christ? it may be well answered, Under the forms of bread and wine, so as the doctors did take the forms to mean the outward elements and natures of the sacrament, and not the accidents.

And thus, to the first part of the article, being well expounded, we do assent and confess the same to have been the true catholic opinion, approved by the ancient doctors and consent of all times, even from the first institution of this sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of the article, which taketh away all presence and substance of bread from the sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their own article: secondly, that it standeth not with the doctrine of Scripture: thirdly, that it standeth not with antiquity, but is merely a late invention.

And first, that it agreeth not with their own article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their article they say, that the natural body of Christ is present in the blessed sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament, if there remain no sacrament? or how can any sacrament of the body remain, if there remain no substance of bread, which should make the sacrament? for how can the body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the sacrament of the body have any being, where the substance of bread hath no being? For first, that the body itself cannot be the sacrament of the body, is evident of itself.

Secondly, that the accidents of bread, without the substance of bread, cannot be any sacrament of Christ's body, certain it is, and demonstrable by this argument.

Argumentum à definitione.

"A sacrament is, that which beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a sacrament.

"Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which is there signified.

"*Ergo*, Accidents can in no wise be a sacrament."

Wherefore, upon this argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow.

"In the sacrament of the Lord's body, the thing that representeth must needs bear a similitude of the thing represented.

"The substance of bread in the sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christ's body.

"*Ergo*, The substance of bread must needs be in the sacrament."

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent that these two parts in the article aforesaid are evil couched together, whereof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the article be true, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, and seeing the sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present must needs be the substance of bread, and not the accidents only of bread, as is above proved, then the substance of bread cannot be evacuated from the sacrament; and so the second member of the article must needs be false.

Or, if the second part be true, that there is no substance of bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the sacrament of the natural body of Christ, but only the substance of bread, forasmuch as the accidents of bread can make no sacrament of Christ's body, as is above showed; then, taking away the substance of bread, the first part of the article must needs be false, which saith, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament; forasmuch as the substance of bread being evacuated, there remaineth no sacrament, wherein the body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the treatise of John Lambert upon the sacrament, as also in other sundry places in these volumes besides. Thirdly, that the said article of transubstantiation is no ancient or authentic doctrine in the church publicly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most above the time of Lanfranc, A. D. 1070, it remains now to be proved.

Wherein first may be joined this issue: that this monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never induced or received publicly in the church, before the time of the Lateran council, under Pope Innocent the Third, A. D. 1216; or at most before the time of Lanfranc, the Italian, archbishop of Canterbury, A. D. 1070.

In which time of Lanfranc, I deny not but that this question of transubstantiation began to come in controversy, and was reasoned upon amongst certain learned of the clergy. But that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or prescribed in the church, for a general law or catholic doctrine, of all men necessarily to be believed, before the time of the aforesaid Innocent

the Third, it may be doubted, and also, by the force of time, proved to be false.

And though our adversaries seem to allege the old doctors certain speeches and phrases, which they wrest and wring to their purposes; as they say, "that the bread is called, is believed to be, is, the body of Christ;" "that of bread is made the body of Christ;" and "that the bread is not altered, or converted to the body of Christ, but made to be his body;" "that the creature is converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ;" "that the bread and wine do contain the Divine substance;" with such other sentences; and bear themselves brag upon it, as though this doctrine of transubstantiation were upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and the judgment of the church was never otherwise: and yet, if the old doctors' sayings be weighed, and the discourse of times by this well examined, it will be found that this odious opinion of transubstantiation hath no ground of consent and antiquity as they pretend; nor yet that any heresy or treason was made by denying transubstantiation before the time of Lanfranc the Third, or, at the furthest, of Lanfranc the Fourth, aforesaid, about which time Satan, the old serpent, was prophesied by the Apocalypse, to be let loose to seduce the world.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of Tertullian and of Augustine; which do teach the sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and a representation of the Lord's body, and knew no such transubstantiation; and yet no traitors nor heretics.

Neither was St. Ambrose any heretic or schismatic, where he writeth these words, *Ut sint quædam, nec in aliud convertantur*, &c.; which words Lanfranc could not answer unto any other way, but by denying them to be the words of Ambrose. Gelasius was bishop of Rome, and lived about the year of four hundred years after Christ, and speaketh of a mutation of the bread and wine into the Divine substance; but there, expounding himself, he denieth what he meaneth by that mutation, so that it expressly sheweth the elements of bread and wine, notwithstanding, to remain still in their proper substance, with other words more, very plain to the effect: unto the which words Contarenius in the assembly of Ratisbon could not well answer, but was astonished.

Theodoret likewise, speaking of the visible elements, hath these words: "After the sanctification, they remain in their former substance, figure, and form."

Ireneus, where he saith that "the bread broken, and the cup mixed, after the vocation of God, cease to be common bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ:" and, explicating his words more plainly, addeth, moreover, that "the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly, which is bread and wine; the other heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ," &c.: he declareth, in these words, both his own opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the doctrine of his time.

Hesichius also, who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of the said mystery, to be both flesh and bread; declaring thereby two substances to be in the sacrament. By the which we have to understand that transubstantiation, in his age, was not crept into the church; and yet neither heresy, nor treason, therefore, was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Emissene, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the body and blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, that outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward, &c.; wherein, no doubt, he spake against this article, and yet no man, in all that age, did accuse him therefore to be either heretic or traitor.

Here might be added the words of Fulgentius, "This cup is the new testament; that is, this cup which I deliver unto you, signifieth the new testament."

Bede also, who lived about the year 730, writing upon the twenty-first Psalm, hath these words: "Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the sacraments, and shall be filled eternally; because they shall understand in bread and in wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true body and true blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished."

And thus, in these words of Bede, likewise, is to be understood, that no transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the church of England.

Long it were to stand upon all particulars. Briefly to conclude; the further the church hath been from these our latter days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous article of transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of Bertram and of Haymo, who were about the year of our Lord 810, under Charlemagne.

By whose writing it is evident, that the church was infected as yet with no such fantasy of transubstantiation, neither did any almost dream of

taking away the substance of bread from the sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and others who lived in that age, do attribute to the sacrament, that honourable name and reverence (as we also do) of the Lord's body and blood, yet they exclude not from thence all substance of meal and bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of Haymo doth appear. Where he, following the words of Bede, sheweth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lord's body? "Because," saith he, "bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the blood of Christ." What can be more effectually spoken to prove the substance of bread there to remain? for take away the substance of bread and wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm man's heart, or engender blood in the flesh? And therefore, seeing there must needs something remain, that must be referred to Christ's body and blood in that sacrament, it either must be the substance of bread and wine, or else it can be no sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith, that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a sacrament of the Lord's body.

And likewise the same Haymo, in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of corn and wine, declareth how our Saviour, making of them "an apt mystery," converteth them to "a sacrament of his body and blood," &c.

Bertram likewise, as he lived in the same age, so in like sort he showed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For, as Haymo, writing in these words, declareth, "The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing; for the sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is satisfied."

So after like manner, Bertram, according to the same, thus writeth: "The bread, which by the ministry of the priest is made the body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly, it is bread, the same it was before; the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth: but inwardly, there is another matter far more precious and more excellent, because it is heavenly, which is the body of Christ that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind," &c.

We will now proceed to the testimony of Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz, and scholar some time to Alcuinus, in Paris, an Englishman; who, living also

in the same age with Haymo and Bertram, (which was eight hundred years after Christ,) giveth the like testimony of this doctrine in his Book of Institutions; where he, asking the question why the Lord would give the mysteries of his body and blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour, thus he answereth again: "The Lord," saith he, "would rather that the sacraments of his body and blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the visible action the invisible effect might be showed. For, like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soul: for man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God." And after followeth, "For this bread and drink signifieth the eternal society of the Head and of the members together." And again: "For the sacraments are one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is received with the mouth; with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is nourished; for the sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the body; but, by the virtue of the sacrament, the dignity of eternal life is gotten. Wherefore, like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also are we turned into the body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly," &c.

Who seeth not by these words of this bishop, what form of doctrine was then in the church received concerning this article of the sacrament, such diverse from this our gross opinion of transubstantiation?

With the same Rabanus, also, accordeth another of the like standing and doctrine also, called Christianus Druthmarus, who, writing upon Matthew, "The wine," saith he, "doth cheer and cherish the blood, and, therefore, not inconveniently the blood of Christ is figured thereby: for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us." And a little before, the said Druthmarus saith, "The Lord gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body to the remission of sins, and keeping of charity; that they, always remembering his doing, might do that in figure, which he should do for them. This is my body, saith he; that is, in sacrament." This Druthmarus lived also in the time of Charlemagne, as witnesseth the abbot of Spanheim.

After Bertram was Johannes Scotus, or else, as some call him, Johannes Erigena; a man well accepted with Charles the Bald, and afterwards with Louis the Stammerer, about A. D. 880. He wrote a book, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, so af-

firming therein, and teaching, as he knew that Bertram had taught a little before in France. This book the pope caused to be condemned in the synod of Vercelli. Of the life and conversation of this Johannes Scotus, and also of his death, read before.

In the year of our Lord 950, lived Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time, it appeareth, by the Romish Catholics' own confession, that many priests then affirmed, that the bread and wine, after consecration, did remain in their former substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, as we find it witnessed by Osberne himself, who did write the lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anselm's chaplain. The words of Osberne be these: "About this time," saith Osberne, writing in the days of Lanfranc, "certain of the clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that bread and wine, which are set upon the altar, after the consecration do remain in their former substance, and are but only a figure of the body and blood of Christ," &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the clergy was so, that the sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine, notwithstanding, were not transubstantiated, as the Romish Catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their writings and stories still they diminish the better number, whereby their faction may seem ever to be the bigger; and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then received in the church, he inferreth mention of certain of the clergy, &c.

And as he faileth in the number of these clergymen which then held against transubstantiation, so he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle; which miracle he feigned to be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said clergymen, by the blood dropping out of the host at mass, as Odo was breaking the host over the chalice. At the sight whereof, first, Odo himself (saith he) wept for joy; seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

Secondarily, "All those clergymen," saith he, "which before believed not this transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the archbishop that ever he was born; desiring him to pray again, that the blood might return to his former shape; and straight it was done." And this was the miracle; which seemeth as true as that which William of Malmesbury writeth of the said Odo, how, by his prayers, he caused a sword to come flying from heaven into King Ethelstan's scabbard, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against

Analanus; or else, as that miracle where the said Odo is said to cover and defend the church of Canterbury, that no drop of rain could touch it, so long as the roof thereof was in making.

In the which so miraculous a miracle, many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvel that at this great miracle of the archbishop in his cathedral church, amongst so many singing men, we read of no *Te Deum* there to be sung after the doing thereof.

Secondly, I marvel that those priests and clerks which then denied transubstantiation, were suffered to be so near the archbishop at his mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretics and traitors, if this article of transubstantiation had been then such a catholic doctrine, and so publicly received in the church, as they say it was.

Thirdly, I marvel, seeing the time of miracles is expired, we, having the Scriptures to guide us, why the archbishop would seek to miracles and apparitions to convert men, rather than to the law and prophets, according as we are commanded: especially having no such examples of all the old doctors, which, in confutation of so many erroneous opinions, yet never sought to such miracles, or blind means.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the discrepance in telling this tale, between Osberne and the others, which since have written Legends of Odo. For whereas Osberne, speaking of certain priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaketh absolutely, certain priests; all other, who have since written the Legends of Odo, do tell this tale against certain priests of Canterbury; adding to the words of Osberne, certain priests of Canterbury. But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more ancient than this of Osberne, written (as it may seem) in the time of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and Elphege, then bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of Osberne, and to another purpose than to dissuade certain priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: which is only brought to show the holiness of Odo, as commonly the manner of legends is to do: so that in this old legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed the matter not to many priests of England that were in that error, as Osberne would, "but called unto him a certain faithful servant who was near about him, and showed unto him the miracle secretly;" whereupon the priest (saith the legend) much rejoiced at the holiness of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the

body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out of this old lying legend Osberne, and other likewise that followed him, seemeth to have taken this tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not storied in Henry Huntingdon, which professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in Roger Hoveden, and such others; but only in such blind legends, which commonly have no substance of verity, nor certainty of time or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying visions and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osberne were true, that for the converting of priests of England which would not believe transubstantiation, this blood did drop out of the host, (of which blood peradventure came the blood of Hayles,) and by the sight thereof, the priests eftsoon were all converted, (as Osberne pretendeth,) how then came it to pass, that after the time of Odo, in the days of Elfric, which was after him archbishop of Canterbury, the third from Dunstan, and fourth from Odo, not only the priests of England, but also the archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this transubstantiation, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both by the epistles and homilies of the aforesaid archbishop Elfric, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ willing) we will annex.

This Elfric, as saith Capgrave, in the life of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, was first abbot of St. Alban's, and after made archbishop of Canterbury, about A. D. 996, in the time of King Ethelred, and of Wulfine, bishop of Sherbourne. Elfric, also, (as witnesseth William of Malmesbury, in the life of Adelmus,) was abbot of Malmesbury. Furthermore, the said William of Malmesbury, writing of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, saith, that he was before bishop of Wells, and afterwards bishop of Canterbury. So, that Elfric was archbishop of Canterbury, it is out of all ambiguity. But whether Elfric, who was abbot, (of whom we do here speak,) were the same archbishop or not, by this diversity of Capgrave and Malmesbury, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forasmuch as although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one age, and lived in one time together.

Furthermore, the same Elfric, of whom now we speak, of what calling soever he was, yet, notwithstanding, he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for

his learning, authority, and eloquence, his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected together a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the epistles of Alcuinus, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, &c. ; among the same canons and constitutions be placed these two epistles of the said Elfric hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to Wulfseine, bishop of Sherbourne, the other to Wulfstane, archbishop of York ; as yet are to be seen in two books belonging to the library of the church of Worcester, the one written in the old Saxons' tongue, entitled *Beƿeort ƿinoƿe*, the other for the most part in Latin, with this title, *Admonitio Spiritualis Doctrinæ* : which book of Saxon canons and constitutions, sometime belonging to Wulfstane, bishop of Worcester, was given by him, as for a great jewel, to the church of Worcester, as by the same book appeareth.

Moreover, besides this book of Worcester above-touched, there is yet extant also another like book of canons, belonging to the church of Exeter, wherein the same two epistles of Elfric be contained in the old Saxon tongue, and also in Latin, and prescribed yearly to be read to the clerks and priests of that church ; which book, in like manner, was given to the church of Exeter, by Leofric, the first and most famous bishop of that see.

Of this Elfric, further, is to be understood, that he translated two books of fourscore sermons out of Latin into the Saxon speech, used then orderly to be read in churches on Sundays, and other festival days of the year.

Of his epistles especially we read of four which he wrote, one to the monks of Egnesham, *De consuetudine Monachorum* : another to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, wherein is touched the matter of the sacrament : the third he wrote against priests' marriage, to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certain anchorite abiding, who defended the marriage of priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to Wulfseine, bishop of Sherbourne, touching the matter of the sacrament ; in the which epistle, he, taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that priests, on Easter-day, filled their housel-box for sick persons, and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till Easter came again, writeth upon that occasion in these words :

" Men shall reserve more carefully that holy housel, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new, for sick men, always within a week or a fortnight, that it be not so much as hoary : for so holy is the housel which to-day is hallowed, as that which on Easter-day was hallowed. That housel is Christ's body not bodily, but ghostly : not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine, to housel, the night before his suffering, and said, by the blessed bread, This is my body : and, again by the holy wine, This is my blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of sins. Understand now that the Lord, who could turn that bread, before his suffering, to his body, and that wine, to his blood ghostly, that the selfsame Lord blesseth daily, through the priest's hands, bread and wine, to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood."

After this epistle of Elfric above prefixed, written to Wulfseine, bishop of Sherbourne, concerning the sacramental bread, how it is not Christ's body *h. chamlice*, that is, " bodily," or, as we term it now, " really ;" and also how the same ought not to be over long kept in the pix ; here followeth further another epistle of the said Elfric, written to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, both reprehending the said abuse above touched, and also containing matter more at large, against the bodily presence in the sacramental bread. The copy of his epistle, in our English, here followeth :

" Some priests fill their box for housel on Easter-day, and to reserve it a whole year for sick men, as though that housel were more holy than any other. But they do unadvisedly, because it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it so long space : and thus are they become guilty, as the book witnesseth to us. If any do keep the housel so long, or lose it, or mice or other beasts do eat it, see what the penitential book saith by this : ' So holy is altogether that housel which is hallowed to-day, as that which is hallowed on Easter-day.' Wherefore I beseech you to keep the holy body of Christ with more advisement, for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a very clean box ; or at the most not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in Moses' books, as God himself hath commanded in Moses' law, how the priests should set, every Saturday, twelve loaves, all new baked, upon the tabernacle, which were called *Panes propositionis* : and those should stand there, in God's tabernacle, till the next Saturday ; and then did the priests themselves eat them, and set others in the place."

" Some priests will not eat the housel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how

the book speaketh by them: 'The priest that doth say mass, and dare not eat the housel, his conscience accusing him, is accursed.' It is less danger to receive the housel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one host to housel, is like unto those heretics, who do christen twice one child. Christ himself blessed housel before his suffering: he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his apostles, Eat this bread; it is my body. And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and thus also spake unto them, Drink ye all of this; this is mine own blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins. The Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so; nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both be truly, that bread is his body, and that wine also is his blood; as was the heavenly bread which we call manna, that fed forty years God's people; and the clear water, which did then run from the stone in the wilderness, was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his Epistles, All our fathers did eat in the wilderness the same ghostly meat, and drink the same ghostly drink: they drank of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ. The apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink. And he saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel did eat that meat and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same mystery in the old law, and they did ghostly signify that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body, which we consecrate now."

Besides these epistles above prefixed of Elfric to Wulfine and Wulfstane, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of certain sermons, to the number of fourscore, translated by the said Elfric out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which fourscore sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read, instead of homilies or treatises, unto the people; in such order as the first twelve sermons or treatises, treating of general matters, were appointed to be read at pleasure, and at the discretion of the minister. The other twelve sermons were prescribed of

proper feasts, whereof this testimony remaineth in the same book yet to be seen, both in the Saxon tongue, and also in the preface of the latter twelve sermons.

Furthermore, as touching these fourscore sermons aforesaid, which Elfric translated into English, here is to be understood, that among the said sermons, used then orderly to be recited by the people, there was one appointed to be read *In Die Sancto Paschæ*, that is, upon Easter-day; which sermon, being translated by the said Elfric, we have here exhibited both in Saxon speech and English, to the intent that the Christian and indifferent reader, perusing the same, may judge thereby how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation, in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received or known in the church of England; forasmuch as the said sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident declaration, what was the common opinion of the sacrament in the church received, before Elfric did ever set hand to translate the same out of the Latin.

And though the Latin copies and exemplars of these aforesaid sermons are not remaining in our libraries, let that be no marvel to thee, loving reader! but understand thereby the crafty packing of the pope's clergy, who, in the time of Lanfranc and Pope Innocent, studying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of transubstantiation, did abolish and rase out of libraries and churches all such books which made to the contrary. And therefore, because Lanfranc, and other Italian priests here in England, understood not the Saxon books as they did the Latin, (all that which they understood they made away,) the Saxon books, because they knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cause why our Saxon copies are now to be found: which to be true by three reasons conjectural it may be probably supposed.

First, for that these Saxon sermons, being translated out of the Latin, (as ye have heard by the words of Elfric already proved,) we see only the Saxon books reserved: of the Latin none do appear.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an epistle of Elfric in the library of Worcester; wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these: "Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood of his which he shed for us: but, spiritually, it is made his body and blood as that manna which

tained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock. As Paul,' &c. These words, so rased out, are to be restored again by another Saxon book found in Exeter: by the rasing of which one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest.

Thirdly, by one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil in our days, the properties and doings of all other Italian papists of elder time may partly be conjectured: for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licensed by the king to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had compiled out of libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true factor for the pope's own tooth, he piled his books together, and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did, I cannot certainly pronounce; but whoso considereth well his religion, may shrewdly suspect him: for a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial; that whereas of all other writers of histories that have been in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Rastal, More, Leland, Bale, Hall, and such others, some of their books which they then occupied, yet remain in hands to be seen: only of such books as Polydore used, and which passed his hands, what Englishman is he that hath seen, or can show me one? Whereby it may well be thought the aforesaid information to be true. As also by this one Italian trick of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpose. But forasmuch as those Latin books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our tongue again, and see what this Saxon sermon of Elfric's translation doth say for transubstantiation; the copy whereof here ensueth:

"Men beloved! it hath been often said unto you about our Saviour's resurrection, how he, on this present day after his suffering, mightily rose from death. Now will we open unto you, through God's grace, of the holy housel, which ye should now go unto, and instruct your understanding about this mystery, both after the old covenant, and also after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food.

"The Almighty God bade Moses, his captain in the land of Egypt, to command the people of Israel, to take to every family a lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the country to the land of promise, and to offer that lamb to God, and after to cut it, and to make the sign of the cross, with the lamb's blood upon the side posts and the upper posts of their door; and afterwards to eat the lamb's flesh roasted, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce.

God saith unto Moses, Eat of the lamb neither soddin in water, but roasted at the fire, the head, the feet, and the inwards, and let none of it be left until the morning; if any thing remain, that shall you burn with fire. Eat likewise: gird your loins, and do your shoes on your feet; have your staves in your hands; and go out in haste. The time is the Lord's passover, when there was slain on that night, in every house throughout all Pharaoh's reign, the first-born child. God's people of Israel were delivered from the death through the lamb's offering, and the blood's marking. Then said God unto Moses, Observe this day in your remembrance, and hold it as a feast in your kindreds, with a perpetual observance, and eat unleavened bread always seven days of the year.

"After this deed, God led the people of Israel over the Red Sea with dry foot, and drowned Pharaoh and all his army, together with all their possessions, and fed, afterwards, the Israelites forty years with heavenly food, and gave them rest out of the hard rock, until they came to the good land. Part of this story we have treated of in another place, and part we shall now declare: that which belongeth to the holy housel. Our men may not now keep that old law bodily, but behoveth them to know what it ghostly signifieth. That innocent lamb which the old Israelites offered to kill, had signification, after ghostly understanding, of Christ's suffering, who, unguilty, shed his blood for our redemption. Hereof sing our servants at every mass, 'Thou Lamb of God, take away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.'

"Those Israelites were delivered from the death and from Pharaoh's bondage, by the lamb's offering, which signified Christ's suffering, through which we be delivered from every death, and from the devil's cruel reign, if we will believe in the true Redeemer of the whole world, Christ the Saviour. That lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour suffered in the sixth hour of this world. This age of this corruptible world is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the lamb's blood, upon the doors and the upper posts, *Thau*, that is, the sign of cross, and so were defended from the angels that killed the Egyptian first-born child. And we ought to mark our heads and our bodies with the token of Christ's blood, that we also may be delivered from destruction, when we shall be marked both on forehead and also in heart, with the blood of our Lord's suffering. Those Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh at their Easter time, when they were delivered;

we receive ghostly Christ's body, and drink his blood, when we receive with true belief that holy housel. That time they kept with them at Easter seven days, with great worship, when they were delivered from Pharaoh, and went from that land. So also Christian men keep Christ's resurrection at the time of Easter these seven days, because through his suffering and rising we be delivered, and be made clean by going to this holy housel, as Christ saith in his Gospel: Verily, verily I say unto you, ye have no life in you except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlasting life, and I shall raise him up in the last day. I am the lively bread that came down from heaven: not so as your forefathers did eat that heavenly bread in the wilderness, and afterwards died. He that eateth this bread liveth for ever. He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, Eat of this bread; it is my body: and do this in my remembrance. Also he blessed wine in one cup, and said, Drink ye all of this. This is my blood that is shed for many, in forgiveness of sins. The apostles did as Christ commanded; that is, they blessed bread and wine to housel again afterwards in his remembrance. Even so, also, their successors and all priests, by Christ's commandment, do bless bread and wine to housel in his name with the apostolic blessing.

"Now men have often searched and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through fire's heat baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned, through one blessing, to the Lord's blood. Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of Christ by signification, and some be things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is said to be bread by signification, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain. He is called bread, because he is our life, and angels' life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But Christ is not so, notwithstanding, after true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy housel called Christ's body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which in the supper by the priest are hallowed, show one thing without, to human understanding, and another thing within, to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and wine, both in figure and in taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through ghostly mystery.

"A heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-stone sinful, through Adam's disobedience; howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font water, that is called the wellspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water, through the priest's blessing, and it may, after, wash the body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold, now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after ghostly mystery, hath wholesome virtue. So also, if we behold the holy housel after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine, and is, by might of God's word, truly Christ's body and blood; not so notwithstanding bodily, but ghostly.

"Much is betwixt the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body truly, that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his ghostly body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever is in that housel, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy housel called 'a mystery,' because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape; and what we do there understand, hath ghostly might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That housel is temporal, not eternal; corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; howbeit, nevertheless, after ghostly might, it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is so all in every part, after ghostly mystery. Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might, notwithstanding, in the more part, than in the less, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we

keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth itself; and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but ghostly.

"But now hear the apostle's word about this mystery. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, thus writing in his Epistle to faithful men, 'All our forefathers were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea; and all they did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ. Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ; but it signifieth Christ, that calleth thus to all believing and faithful men, Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels shall flow lively water. This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The apostle Paul saith that the Israelites did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink; because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christ's body and his blood, that now be offered daily in God's church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

"We said unto ye ere while, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to housel before his suffering, and said, This is my body and my blood. Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible might, the bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was born to be a man; when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death, which some of that folk deserved for their unbelief. Moses and Aaron, and many others of that people who pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread, and they died not that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly meat was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. And he bade them not eat that body wherewith he was enclosed, nor to drink that blood which he shed for us; but he meant with those words, that holy housel which ghostly is his body and his blood, and he that tasteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life.

"In the old law faithful men offered to God

divers sacrifices, that had foresignification of his body, which, for our sins, he himself to his Father hath since offered to sacrifice. Of this housel which we do now hallow at God's table, is a remembrance of Christ's body, which he shed for us, and of his blood, which he shed. So he himself commanded, Do this in my remembrance. Once suffered Christ by himself, nevertheless, his suffering is daily renewed in supper, through mystery of the holy housel. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how the holy housel is both Christ's body, and the body of all faithful men, after a ghostly mystery. Augustine saith of it, If ye will understand Christ's body, hear the apostle Paul thus say, Ye truly be Christ's body and his members, which is your mystery set on God's table, and yet your mystery, which mystery ye yourselves touch, that which ye see on the altar, and receive, which ye yourselves be. Again, the apostle saith by it, We many be one bread, and one body. Understand now and rejoice: many be one body, and one body in Christ. He is our Head, and we be his limbs; and the bread is not of one loaf, but of many; nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So, also, we all should have one unity in our church, as it is written of the faithful army, how they were in so great a unity, as though all of them were one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed the bread and wine, the mystery of our peace and of our unity. He that receiveth that mystery of unity, receiveth not the bond of true peace, receiveth not the witness for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for Christian men, that they go to the holy housel, if they bring with them to the altar singleness and innocency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to his good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy housel. Holy books command that the bread be mingled to that wine which shall be for his body, because the water signifieth the people, and the wine Christ's blood; and therefore shall the one without the other be offered at the altar, the mass, that Christ may be with us, and we be his body; the Head with the limbs, and the limbs be the Head.

"We would before have treated of the mystery, which the old Israelites offered at their Easter, but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mystery, and after, how we should receive it. The signifying-lamb was offered at the Easter. Of this the apostle Paul saith, in the Epistle of this present day, that Christ is our Easter, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death. The Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh, as God commanded.

with unleavened bread and wild lettuce; so we should receive that holy housel of Christ's body and blood without the leaven of sin and iniquity. As leaven turneth the creatures from their nature; so doth sin, also, change the nature of man from innocency to uncleanness. The apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet dough of purity and truth. The herb which they should eat with the unleavened bread is called lettuce, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitterness of unfeigned repentance, purify our mind, if we will eat Christ's body. Those Israelites were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bade them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in water, but roasted with fire. He shall receive the body of God raw, that shall think without reason, that Christ was only man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will, after man's wisdom, search the mystery of Christ's incarnation, doeth like unto him that doth see the lamb's flesh in water, because that water, in this same place, signifieth man's understanding. But we should understand that all the mystery of Christ's humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghost; and then eat we his body roasted with fire, because the Holy Ghost came in fiery likeness to the apostles in divers tongues.

"The Israelites should eat the lamb's head, and the feet, and the purtenance; and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we do eat the lamb's head, when we take hold of Christ's Divinity in our belief. Again, when we take hold of his humanity with love, then eat we the lamb's feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all worlds, and man in the end of this world. What be the lamb's purtenance, but Christ's secret precepts? and these we eat, when we receive with greediness the word of life. There must nothing of the lamb be left unto the morning, because that all God's sayings are to be searched with great carefulness; so that all his precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal resurrection do appear. If we cannot search out thoroughly all the mystery of Christ's incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep secretness, above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the lamb's flesh with their loins girded. In the loins is the lust of the body, and he who will receive that housel, shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receipt.

They were also shod. What be shoes, but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truly shod, if we match, in our steps and deeds, the life of men departed this life, who pleased God with keeping of his commandments. They had staves in their hands when they did eat. This staff signifieth a carefulness and diligent overseeing: and all they that best know, and ken, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was enjoined to the eaters, that they should eat the lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulness in his servants, and that he loveth those that seek the joy of everlasting life with quickness and haste of mind. It is written, Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying. The eaters might not break the lamb's bones. No more might the soldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy legs, as they did of the two thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death, sound, without all corruption: and at the last judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the cross. This time is called in the Hebrew tongue, *pascha*, and in Latin, *transitus*, and in English, a passover, because that on this day the people of Israel passed from the land of Egypt over the Red Sea, from bondage to the land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith John the evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the devil to Christ; from this unstable world, to his stable kingdom. Howbeit we should first, in this present life, depart from vice to holy virtue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will, after this our lent life, go to the eternal life; and, after our resurrection, to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins! To him be honour and praise of well-doing, world without end. Amen."

And thus, I suppose, it standeth clear and evidently proved by course of all these ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Augustine, unto the days of this Elfric above mentioned, and after him, that this new-come miracle of transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the church, (at least for any general doctrine of all men to be received,) till a thousand years complete after Christ, that is, till Satan began to be set at large. For who ever heard in all the primitive church, or ever read in the works of the old ancient doctors, this question once to be asked or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lord's supper? or what man was ever so doltish

to believe any such thing, or ever called heretic for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the thousand years aforesaid were expired? Wherefore they that stand so much on the antiquity of this article, as a doctrine which hath ever, since Christ's time, been received in the church, taught by the apostles, believed by all catholics, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of councils, of nations, and people, unto this present day; these, I say, either show themselves very ignorant in histories, and in all state of antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of people.

To proceed now further in this discussion of antiquity, it followed that after the time of Elfric aforesaid, this matter of transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious monks; so that as blindness and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said gross opinion still more and more, both in number and authority, prevailed, insomuch that about the year of our Lord 1050, the denying of transubstantiation began to be counted heresy.

And in this number first was one Berengarius, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Angers, which, of all Christian men which we read of, was first called and counted a heretic for denying of transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This Berengarius lived in the time of Pope Leo the Ninth, Victor, and Nicholas the Second, which latter died in the year 1061. Albeit I do find our writers here in some discrepance; for the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under Pope Leo the Ninth, in the council of Vercelli, and afterwards again under Pope Nicholas the Second, about the year 1062, as is to be gathered of Gratian, De Consecrat. dist. 2, "Ego Berengarius," where he saith that Pope Nicholas did send about to bishops and archbishops the copy of his recantation.

Again, by the acts of the council of Rome it there appeareth that the said Berengarius made this his said last recantation under Pope Hildebrand, called Gregory the Seventh. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The truth of the story is this; that when Berengarius had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the ancient verity of the doctrine received in the church before, he was so handled by certain malignant and superstitious monks, that, what by evil entreaty, and what for fear of death, (such is the weak frailty of man,) he began to shrink, and afterwards did indeed recant the truth.

Of these malicious enemies against Berengarius, the chiefest troublers were Lanfranc, abbot of Caen,

afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Gaimon monk likewise first of the abbey of Leinster afterwards archbishop of Aversa; Algea monk of Corbeny; Fulbert also, monk and archdeacon of Tours, and afterward bishop of

By these, and such other monks of the eternity, the error and heresy of transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts put in writing, to be taken about that matter; of which sides and parts, the first that began to seduce by writing seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius, about the year of our Lord 1040, Bertram, and likewise Lanfranc, the first that brought it into England.

On the contrary side again, the first that openly impugned and troubled for denying of transubstantiation, was this Berengarius; with whom Lanfranc, also, was supposed at the first began to hold and take part; but afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against him in the council, and against him.

It followeth then in the act of the council of the synod of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story) did hold that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding, (saith the story) there were in the said council who were contrary with Berengarius, but at last were forced to give over. Berengarius, among the rest, he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, confessed his error, (where none was,) and desired pardon of the council. And this was (as seemeth by William of Malmesbury) his first giving over; who after returning to himself again after the death of Pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, driven again to recognise the truth, which he had denied.

The pope, (saith Malmesbury,) perceiving he would not leave him so, but sent into France Hildebrand, his cardinal chaplain, (as meet a man to do such a feat, as was in all Satan's court,) and sent him with a wanyand to come again *coram* the council who so handled Berengarius, bringing him to the face of the council holden at Tours, there he made him to say, *erravi*, once again: against which he stood up in that council Lanfranc, and Gaimon aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus endeth the narration of Malmesbury. But, by the acts of council of Rome, appeareth another declaration which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius should be at Rome under Hildebrand being pope, in the year of our Lord 1079, and in the

of February; and that in the same council, holden in the church of Our Saviour, this recantation of *Ego Berengarius* was made, and he enjoined by the said Pope Hildebrand, upon his oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of the sacrament there holden, &c.

Again, Henry Bullinger in his book, *De Origine Erroris*, following belike some other author, expresseth the order of the aforesaid recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of Pope Leo the Ninth, A. D. 1050, there was a Roman council holden at Vercelli; in the which council, Lanfranc being then present, the book of John Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that council, refused himself to come, but sent two clerks, which openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto prison. Such is the freedom of the pope's general councils, with prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this council notwithstanding, the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at Angers and Tours, joining and consenting with Berengarius.

Not long after this died Pope Leo; and after him succeeded Pope Victor, by whom another synod was kept at Florence, where the acts and doings of the aforesaid council of Vercelli were confirmed, and a legate also appointed to be sent to Tours in France. This legate was Hildebrand above mentioned, who, calling the clergy of France together in a synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the sacrament. Berengarius, not being ignorant of these Roman councils, so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the faith of the catholic church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the council, rather deluding the pretences of his enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Again, after Victor, came Pope Nicholas the Second, who, congregating another council at Rome, A. D. 1059, sent for Berengarius there to appear, who, being present, argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: in the pope's general councils such a stroke and mastership beareth authority above verity. Berengarius being thus borne down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again, (for the law of relapse was not yet in season,) he desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would require of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then Pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lorraine, and, afterwards, a cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words

the order of his recantation, after the prescription of Rome, which he should read, and publicly profess before the people; the form of which words is registered in the Decrees. The effect thereof is this:

"That he pretendeth with heart and mouth to profess, that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, doth execrate all heresy, namely, that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remain only a sacrament, and are not the very self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a sacrament: consenting now to the holy and apostolical Church of Rome, he professeth with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord pope Nicholas, with his synod here present, doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are the very true and self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed; and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the canons," &c.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave to the contrary part no little triumph, whereby, ever since, they have taken the greater courage to tread down the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that Hildebrand, the pope's grand captain in the behalf of his master, Pope Nicholas, went in warfare against the Normans. This war being finished, shortly after he set upon a new voyage to fight for Pope Alexander, against Cadolus; which victory being also achieved, it was not long but he put the new Pope Alexander beside the cushion, and was made pope himself: so that during the busy stir of these wars, the pope's Holiness had no leisure to attend the debating of this controversy of the sacrament.

At length, when all was quieted, and Pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but eftsoons summoneth a new council at Rome, in the church of Lateran, to revive again the old disceptation of Berengarius, about the year, as some hold, 1079. Thus Berengarius, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side,

that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of conscience, that he had now twice denied the truth, on the other side, the man, (as is of him reported,) after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for his living, all the residue of his life.

The opinion which Berengarius maintained touching the sacrament (as by his own words, in Lanfranc's book, may appear) was this :

"The sacrifice of the church consisteth of two things : the one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the sacrament. Which thing, (which is to mean, the body of Christ,) if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen : but being lifted up into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father, to the time of restoring all things, (as St. Peter saith,) it cannot be called down from thence. For the person of Christ consisteth of God and man : the sacrament of the Lord's table consisteth of bread and wine ; which, being consecrated, are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of those things, whereof they be sacraments," &c.

By these words of Berengarius's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the Holy Scripture, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church, that in the holy supper all faithful believers be refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do misreport him, (as they do many others besides,) which falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithful, besides only the bare signs, which are the bread and the wine.

And now that you have seen the doctrine of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfranc and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side, with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them soundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of Lanfranc be these :

"I believe the earthly substances, which, upon the Lord's table, are divinely sanctified, through the ministration of the priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously, by the operation of God's mighty power, into the essence of the Lord's body, the outward forms only of the things themselves, and certain qualities re-

served, and that for two respects : the one, lest the sight of the raw and bloody flesh might otherwise make men to abhor from eating thereof ; the other, for that they which believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lord's body notwithstanding, yet is the selfsame body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath its essential being at the right hand of his Father, immortal, inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted ; so that truly it may be affirmed, the selfsame body both to be received of us, and yet not the selfsame. The selfsame, I mean, as touching the essence, property, and virtue of his true nature : and yet not the selfsame, as touching the forms of bread and wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses," &c.

And thus have ye the confession of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. From this confession of Lanfranc, the opinion and assertion also of Guimund, archbishop of Aversa, doth nothing differ in grossness and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending : "that the body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the hands of Thomas."

And moreover, the said Guimund, (if his book be not rather counterfeited at Louvain,) in the same place, answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce, that whether we take tearing for hard biting or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the body of Christ may be touched with hands, bitten with mouth, crushed, yea, and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth : and that as he was bruised upon the cross, according to the prophet, saying, He was bruised for our iniquities, &c. ; so the same body, for the health of the faithful, may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c. Judge now, all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of God's word, saying, in Exodus, And of him ye shall not break a bone, &c.

This rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached, so, if you would now know by what learning and scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest grounds and substance to persuade the people, were at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings ; whereof one was the same above recited of

Odo, which Osberne or some other monkish legend invented of him, how he should show unto certain the host, turned into the likeness of flesh and blood, dropping into the chalice, for the conversion of those clerks, who before would not believe it. Another like miracle is also told by the said Osberne of Dunstan, in this order: how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain lame cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored; which cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan, appearing again by the way, asked from whence he came, and whither he would. The cripple, answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried; and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan: "I am," saith he, "Dunstan, the fellow servant of all God's servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary business, for which I could not be present there with my children: for Elfric," said he, "otherwise surnamed Bata, hath attempted to disherit my church; but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail."

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, and to others more, which, to recite all, would fill a whole sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. "There was a priest of Almain," (saith he,) "named Plegildus, who did see and handle with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar; and so after he had embraced and kissed it, it returned again to the likeness of bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof." This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he, merrily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words: "A godly peace," quoth he, "of a false varlet; that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth."

Another miracle is reported of a Jew boy, who, upon a time, entering into the church with another, a Christian lad, who was his play-fellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards, by portions, to be distributed among the people: which sight when the young Jew, coming home, had told unto his father to be true and certain, he was for the same condemned to be burned. Thus he, being enclosed in a house, and the door made fast where he should be burned,

he was found and taken out from thence by the Christians, not only alive, but also having not one hair of his head blemished with the flames about him. Who then being of the Christians demanded, how he was so preserved from the burning fire, "There appeared," said he, "to me, a beautiful woman sitting on a chair, whose son the child was, which was before divided and distributed in the church among the people; who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her gown-skirts kept the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from perishing." Belike these monks lacked miracles among the Christians, when they were fain to borrow such figments of the Jews, to prove their feigned transubstantiation. And these commonly were then the arguments of these monks, wherewith they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return again to Berengarius, thus Malmesbury of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recanted, as is aforesaid, yet, notwithstanding, this doctrine of the sacrament still remained in the mind of his hearers. And howsoever the tyranny of the pope did drive him, through fear, to deny his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet, notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his well-willers; in the number of whom was Hilbert, bishop of Mans.

Although in this time of Berengarius, which was about the year of our Lord 1050, (as ye have heard,) this error of transubstantiation began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain popish monks above rehearsed, as Lanfranc, Guimund, Algerius, Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert, (of whom it is said in stories, that our Lady gave him suck, being sick, with her own breasts,) and such others: yet, notwithstanding, all this while the said transubstantiation was decreed for no public law, nor doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the Church of Rome, or any other council, before the council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent the Third, who, A. D. 1215, celebrating in the church of Lateran a general council of thirteen hundred bishops, enacted there divers constitutions, as of yearly confession, and the communion to be used by the whole multitude once a year through every parish church. Item, for the recovery of the holy land, with subsidy also to be levied for the same. Item, for the abolishing of the books and writings of Joachim the abbot, and also the opinions of Almaric before mentioned. Notwithstanding that the said Joachim did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same doctrine which was in the Church of Rome, and also submitted his books to be presented to the see of

Rome, there to be corrected or approved, yet was he judged, though not a heretic, yet to be erroneous; and especially in those books which he wrote against Peter the Lombard, called afterwards the Master of Sentences.

In the said council, besides divers other constitutions and the articles of the Creed there in order repeated, as appeareth, there was also enacted, decreed, and established, the faith and belief of transubstantiation, in these words following:

“There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved; in which church the selfsame Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God: so that to the accomplishing of this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this sacrament none can make or consecrate, but he that is a priest lawfully ordained, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his apostles, and to their successors,” &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of transubstantiation, upon the consent of these aforesaid thirteen hundred bishops, in the year of our Lord above specified, under Pope Innocent, and the doctrine thereof intruded for an article of faith into the church, necessarily to be believed of all men under pain of heresy.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, yet was not this body elevated over the priest's head, nor adored by the people, till the days of Pope Honorius the Third, succeeding after Innocent, who, by his council, likewise commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation; as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Again, the said sacrament of the Lord's supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored, yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory, nor for a merit *operis operati, sine bono motu utentis*, &c., before that other popes, coming after, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus have you the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass described by their times and ages, which first began with consecration and the form thereof, which were words of the canon. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent, and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius;

and, last of all, came the oblation, meritorious and propitiatory, for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, *ex opere operato*: which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the Church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the Christians; first beginning with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, near about the time of the said Innocent, as is before remembered.

And thus much for the first article, of transubstantiation, which, as you have heard, was not admitted into the church for any general doctrine of faith, before the year and time above assigned of Pope Innocent the Third: and therefore, if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion still of this doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance than for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own catholic sort, John Duns Scotus I mean, who, in his fourth book, writing of transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: “These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation; but the church did choose this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold, of the sacraments, the same which the Church of Rome doth hold,” &c. And further, in the same place, the said Duns, expounding himself what he meaneth by the Church of Rome, maketh there express mention of the said Innocent the Third, and of this council of Lateran, &c. And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention, I will also adjoin to this testimony of John Scotus, the judgment and verdict of Erasmus, where he writeth in these words: “In the sacrament of the communion, the church concluded transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true body of Christ to be present either under bread, or else by some other manner,” &c.

The second article : of both kinds.

S touching the second article, which debarreth from the lay-people the one-half of the sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forasmuch as the world well knoweth that

this article is but young—invented, decreed, and concluded no longer since than at the council of Constance, not two hundred years ago, I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter; especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before, in our long discourse of the Bohemians' story.

First, let us see the reasons and objections of the adversaries, in restraining the laity from the one kind of this sacrament. "The use," say they, "hath been of so long continuance in the church:" whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentic example of any ancient custom in the church, which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alleged the place of St. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread, &c.; citing, moreover, many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of those places may be understood of the sacrament, yet that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the sacrament was only ministered to the people without the other, when by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed unto them: for so we find by the words of St. Paul, that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate, not only in breaking of bread, but in participating the cup also: "The cup," saith he, "which we partecipe," &c.

Also, after the apostles, in the time of Cyprian, of Jerome, of Gelasius, and others successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the church. First Cyprian, in divers places, declareth that the sacrament of the blood was also distributed. "How do we," saith he, "provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their blood, if we deny unto them the blood of Christ, when they prepare themselves to the conflict?"

The words of Jerome are plain: "Priests," saith

he, "which minister the Eucharist, and divide the blood unto the people."

In *Historia Tripartita*, it was said to the emperor Theodosius, "How will you receive the body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the cup of his precious blood with that mouth, who have spilled so much innocent blood?"

In the canon of Gelasius, and in the pope's own decrees, these words we read: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving only the portion of the Lord's body, do abstain from the cup of his sacred blood; to whom we enjoin that either they receive the whole sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither; for the dividing of that whole and one sacrament, cannot be done without great sacrilege," &c. So that this decree of Pope Gelasius being contradictory to the council of Constance, it must follow, that either the pope did err, or else the council of Constance must needs be a sacrilegious council; as no doubt it was.

The like testimony also appeareth in the council of Toledo, that the laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old precedents remaining yet in the churches both of Germany and also of France, declaring likewise the same.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable, by manifold probations, how far this new-found custom differeth from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custom thereof were ever so ancient, yet no custom may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand the open and express commandment of God, which saith to all men, Drink ye all of it.

Again, seeing the cup is called the blood of the new testament, who is he that dare or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Further, as concerning those places of Scripture before alleged, Of breaking of bread; whereupon they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first, we say, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament therefore was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread, to signify generally the whole feast or supper: as in the prophet Isaiah, these words, Break thy bread to the hungry, do signify as well giving drink, as bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, concerning the breaking of bread, be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For, if the

sacrament were administered among them *in fractione panis*, that is, in breaking of bread, then must they needs grant, that if bread was there broken, ergo there was bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the natural body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, And ye shall break no bone of him, &c. Wherefore take away the substance of bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christ's body, neither yet the accidents without their substance, can be broken, neither again will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken? And what then was it, in this their breaking of bread, that they did break, if it were not bread, that is, the substance of bread, which was broken? To conclude: if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramental breaking of Christ's body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christ's natural body in the sacrament is a sacramental being, and we are agreed.

Item, They object further, and say, that the church, upon due consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies, and sacraments.

Answer :—The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first, he divided the bread severally from the cup; and afterwards, the cup severally from the bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death, to the world's end. Thirdly, besides this order taken, and example left, he added also an express commandment, Do this: Drink ye all of this, &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church, nor council of men, nor angel in heaven, hath any power or authority to change or alter; according as we are warned: If any bring unto you any other gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed, &c.

Item, Another objection: And why may not the church (say they) as well alter the form of this sacrament, as the apostles did the form of baptism? where, in the Acts, St. Peter saith, Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, &c.

Answer :—This text saith not that the apostles used this form of baptizing, "I baptize thee in the name of Christ," &c.; but they used many times this manner of speech, "to be baptized in the name of Christ," not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptizing, but as meaning this: That they would have them to become members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entering into his bap-

tism, and not only to the baptism of John: and therefore, although the apostles thus spake to the people, yet, notwithstanding, when they baptized any themselves, they used, no doubt, the form of Christ prescribed, and no other.

Item, Among many other objections, they allege certain perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking upon men's beards, &c.; for the which, they say, it is well provided the half communion to suffice.

Whereunto it is soon answered, that as these causes were no let to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church, but that in the public assemblies they received all the whole communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to annul and evacuate the necessary commandment of the gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices, to strain at gnats, to stumble at straws, and to seek knots in rushes, which rather are in our own fantasies growing, than there, where they are sought.

In summa: Divers other objections and cavillations are in popish books to be found, as in Gabriel, the difference made between the laity and priests; also the distinction used to be made between the priests' communion and the laical communion: where is to be understood, that when priests were bid to use the laical communion, thereby was meant, not receiving under one kind, as laymen do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the laymen then did. Some also allege certain special or particular examples, as of the cup only serving for the bread, or of the bread only sent to certain sick folk for the cup. And here they do infer the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the sacrament of bread, which she only received without the cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Others allege other private examples likewise of infants, aged men, sick persons, men excommunicated, frantics, and madmen, or men dwelling far off from churches, in mountains or wildernesses, &c. All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custom of public congregations frequented from the apostles' time; and much less ought they to derogate from the express and necessary precept of the gospel, which saith to all men without exception, This do ye, and, Drink ye all of it.

The third article : of private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses.

Private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses, as they were never used before the time of Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, so the same do fight directly against our Christian doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, *ex opere operato*; in the which action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a sacrifice for remission of sins, *a pœna et culpa*, for the quick and the dead. Of this definition, as there is no part but it agreeth with their own teaching, so there is no part thereof which disagreeeth not from the rules of Christian doctrine; especially these, as follow:

I. The first rule is, Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of which use they are no sacraments: as the sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins to the person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and showed to others, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

II. No sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce but to them only who take and use the same.

III. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his sacrifice upon the cross, is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his soul. Besides this work alone, to apply any action or work of priest or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducive to salvation, to soules' health, or to remission of sins, it is idolatry, and derogatory to the testament of God, and to the blood of Christ prejudicial.

IV. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is idolatry.

V. Every good work, whatsoever it be, that a man doth, profiteth only himself, and cannot be applied to other men, *ex opere operato*, to profit them unto merit or remissions; only the actions of Christ excepted.

VI. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death by any work-doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing.

VII. The sacrifice of Christ's death doth save us freely by itself, and not by the means of any man's working for us.

VIII. The passion of Christ once done, and no more, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by the virtue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind for ever. Amen.

IX. The passion of Christ once done, is only

the object of that faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore, whosoever setteth up any other object beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to idolatry.

Against all these rules private masses directly do repugn. For first, besides that they transgress the order, example, and commandment of Christ, (who divided the bread and cup to them all,) they also bring the sacrament out of the right use whereunto, principally, it was ordained. For whereas the use of that sacrament is principally instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing idol, or a work of application meritorious, or a sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins, or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory: according as it is written in their mass book, *Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi, sumitur: pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur*, That in remembrance of whom the body and blood of Christ are taken, whereas Christ saith contrary, This do ye in remembrance of me.

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass suffereth the priest alone to eat and drink up all; and when he hath done, to bless the people with the empty cup.

Secondly, whereas sacraments properly profit none but them that use the same, in the private mass the sacrament is received in the behoof not only of him that executeth, but of them also that stand looking on, and of them also which be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for remission of our sins, but only the death of Christ, cometh in the private mass, as a work meritorious done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done.

Fourthly, private masses, and all other masses now used, of the sacrament make an idol; of commemoration make adoration; instead of receiving, make a deceiving; in place of showing forth Christ's death, make new oblations of his death; and of a communion make a single sole supping, &c.

Fifthly, whereas, in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest, in his private mass, taketh upon him to merit both for himself, and for many others.

Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, than by faith: wherefore it is false that the action of the

mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis*.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these popish masses stoppeth the freeness of God's grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the priest's hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the Scripture saith, With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private mass proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, anew to be done again: and finally, that which was instituted only for eating, and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the popish mass maketh an oblation, and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, these both private and public masses of priests, turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ sacrificed, to the body of Christ in their masses. And whereas God annexeth no promise of justification, but only to our faith in the body of Christ crucified, they do annex promise of remission *a pœna et culpa*, to the body in their masses sacrificed, by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of their private and public masses, which here I leave to others at their leisure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceed to the other articles following.

The fourth and fifth articles: of vows and priests' marriage.

As we have discoursed before, by stories and order of time, the antiquity of the three former articles above mentioned, to wit, of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now, coming to the article of vows, and that of priests' marriage, the reader will look, perchance, to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued; wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of Anselm, also of Pope Hildebrand, &c., yet, for the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to

the intent that the world may see and judge said law and decree of priests' single sole as a doctrine of no ancient standing here in this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will allege for me the words of Henry of Huntingdon here following:

"The same year, at the feast of St. Peter, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in the which synod he forefended here in England to have wives, which they were inhibited before to have: which constitution was to some persons very pure and chaste. But it seemed again it seemed very dangerous, lest while they should take upon them such chastity, they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which redound to the exceeding slander of Christ's profession," &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, bishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in the days of King Edgar, A. D. 959, as they all monks themselves, so were they great against the marriage of priests, placing in their churches and colleges, and putting out the priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and if priests then married were not constrained to their wives, or their rooms, but only at their choice. For so writeth Malmesbury, "That divers and sundry clerks of many churches, put to their choice, whether to change their or to part from their places, went their way." So also Elfric, after them, (of whom mention made before,) was somewhat busy in setting ward the single life of priests, and Lanfrank likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' law marriage was never publicly established for a law in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and Henry the First, writing in these words: "I command, by the authority which I have in this archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric but also throughout England, that all priests keep women, shall be deprived of their churches and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome began to attempt the same matter, as before hath showed; and also besides him were other more, as Pope Innocent the Third, Nicholas the Second, and Calixtus the Second, by whom the law against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

it were, and tedious, to recite here all such sessions of councils provincial and general, of the council of Carthage and of Toledo, seemed to work something in that behalf the matrimony of priests.

And longer it were to number up the names of such bishops and priests, which, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers ages, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, considering the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be very credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067, at what time Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical office, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to swear to promise the same.

This was, as I said, about A. D. 1067, well attested and testified by course of histories: whereunto agreeth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be fulfilled, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., he writeth in these words: The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be taken with thanksgiving, &c.

This prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, is the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding to marry, which God generally hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be observed, is the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this prophecy agreeth right well with these years of Pope Gregory the tenth aforesaid, being a thousand years completed after the ascension of our Saviour; so that the years may well be called the latter times.

This prophecy of St. Paul, thus standing, as it is plain and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereunto, that the married life of priests is more ancient than the single life; than the law, which commandeth the single life of priests: which may soon be proved to be true, by the true search of times, and search of histories.

For first, at the council of Nice, A. D. 325, it was notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be forbidden, was stopped by Paphnutius.

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crates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A. D. 193, dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

III. Pope Symonicus, about A. D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Symonicus in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Symonicus replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, which showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer to the ancient time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst Christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself, Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have? Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria, who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c., so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited,) do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to condemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.

As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word "contemning" for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And

mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis*.

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"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in the which synod he forefended priests here in England to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have: which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should take upon them such chastity, more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of Christian profession," &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in the days of King Edgar, A. D. 959, as they were all monks themselves, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing monks in churches and colleges, and putting out the married priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leave their wives, or their rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth Malmesbury, "Therefore divers and sundry clerks of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways," &c. So also Elfric, after them, (of whom mention was made before,) was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfranc likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriage was never publicly established for a law here, in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and King Henry the First, writing in these words: "Boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome, began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been showed; and also besides him were other popes more, as Pope Innocent the Third, Nicholas the Second, and Calixtus the Second, by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite here all such constitutions of councils provincial and general, namely, of the council of Carthage and of Toledo, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the matrimony of priests.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, which, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers countries, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be found by credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067, at what time Pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same.

And this was, as I said, about A. D. 1067, well approved and testified by course of histories: whereby appeareth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., where he writeth in these words: The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving, &c.

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of meats, which God generally hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be noted is, the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurrerth right well with these years of Pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

This prophecy of St. Paul, thus standing, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than is the single life; than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests: which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and search of histories.

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crates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A. D. 193, dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

III. Pope Syricius, about A. D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Syricius in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Syricius replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, which showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer to the ancient time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst Christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself, Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have? Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria, who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c., so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited,) do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to contemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.

As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word "contemning" for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And

had wife and children ; Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, was also married ; Gregory, bishop of Nissa ; Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum ; Prosper, bishop of Rheggio ; Cheremon, bishop of Nilopolis : all these were married bishops. Of Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops and married men, we spake before. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in Justinian's time, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors before him were priests and bishops married. Jerome saith, that in his time, " many priests were then married men."

Pope Damasus reciteth up a great number of bishops of Rome, who were priests' sons ; as, Sylvester, A. D. 536 ; Deodatus, about the year 614 ; Adrian the Second, about the year 867 ; Felix the Third, about the year 483 ; Osius ; Agapetus, A. D. 535 ; Gelasius, A. D. 492 ; Boniface, A. D. 418 ; Theodore, (whose father was bishop of Jerusalem,) about the year 642 ; John the Tenth, A. D. 914 ; John the Fifteenth, the son of Leo, a priest, about the year 985 ; Richard, archdeacon of Coventry ; Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon ; Volusianus, bishop of Carthage ; Thomas, archbishop of York, son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester. And how many other bishops and priests in other countries, besides these bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure were such as to make a whole bead-roll of them all !

In the mean time the words of Cardinal Sylvius, afterwards bishop of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain friend of his, which, after his orders taken, was disposed to marriage. To whom the aforesaid Sylvius answereth again in these words following : " We believe that you, in so doing, follow no sinister counsel, in that you choose to be married, when otherwise you are not able to live chaste. Albeit this counsel should have come into your head before that you entered into ecclesiastical orders : but we are not all gods, to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now, forasmuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the law, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.

All these premises well considered, it shall suffice, I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general law and prohibition of priests' marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time, nor long continuance of years, as they make it, but rather to be a late devised doctrine, gendered by the monks, and grounded upon no reason, law, or Scripture ; but that certain which be repiners against the truth, do rack and wrest a few places out of the doctors, and two or three councils, for their pretended purpose : whose objections and blind cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories,

refer to the further discussion of divines, in books this matter is more at large to be searched. In the mean season, so much as pertaineth to the searching of times and antiquities to the conservation of such acts and monuments are behovable for the church, there is a certain learned and ancient, of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage, tending to the defence of lawful wedlock, which Æneas Sylvius, in *Relatione Germaniæ* ; also Illyricus in *Catalogo Melancthon, Lib. de Conjugio*, do father upon Huldéric, bishop of Augsburg, in the time of Nicholas the Second. But as I find it in a written example, sent by John Bale to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, as it is joined to the same book, so it beareth also the same name of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage.

As touching the antiquity of the first copy, appeareth by the copy which I have seen received, of the above-named Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, to be of an old and ancient writing by the form of the characters, and by the texture of the parchment, almost consumed by long years and time.

And as concerning the author thereof, the inscription (if it be true) plainly declareth it to be an epistle of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage : and heretofore, it hath commonly been taken and called by the name of Huldéric, bishop of Augsburg, partly appeareth to be so, both by the testimony of Æneas Sylvius, in *Descriptione Germaniæ*, in the said treatise, affirmeth that Huldéric, bishop of Augsburg, did constantly resist the pope, against the marriage of priests, &c. : and also by the record of Illyricus, testifying that the said copy not only remaineth yet to this day in old monuments, but also that he himself did see two examples of the same, both pretending the name of the said Huldéric to be the author, notwithstanding the copy I have seen, beareth the title, not of Huldéric, bishop of Augsburg, but of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage in Africa ; as ye may see by the words of the preamble, saying, " This is the relation of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage, unto Pope Nicholas, concerning priests not to be restrained from lawful marriage," &c.

Furthermore, which Pope Nicholas this was whom these epistles were written, it is not plain showed in the same ; but that by probable conjecture it may be guessed rather to be Pope Nicholas the Second, forasmuch as in his time priests' marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more than at other times before.

These two epistles, written to Pope Nicholas under the title of Volusianus, give us to understand

by the contents thereof, first, that he himself was then a married bishop: secondly, that the liberty of priests' marriage ought not to be restrained by any general law of compulsion, but to be left to every man's free choice, and voluntary devotion: thirdly, the said epistles, being written to Pope Nicholas, (if the title be true,) declare, that this law, prohibiting the lawful matrimony of churchmen, began first in this pope's time generally to be enacted.

And although it be not here expressed which Pope Nicholas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of Pope Alexander, it may probably be esteemed to be Nicholas the Second, and not Nicholas the First, as some do suppose; amongst whom is Illyricus, and also John Bale, with certain others: from whose judgments, although I am loth to dissent, yet, notwithstanding, modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were thoroughly tried, it might, peradventure, be found that they be herein deceived, and all by mistaking a certain place of Gratian: for the better explanation hereof it is to be understood, that amongst the distinctions of Gratian, there is a constitution, the tenor whereof is this, "No man shall hear mass of any priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a concubine, or a woman privily resorting to him," &c.

This decree, forasmuch as Gratian doth allege under the name and title of Pope Nicholas, not naming what Nicholas he was, therefore John Bale, and Illyricus, one following the other, and they both following Volateran, do vouch this constitution upon Nicholas the First. The words of Volateran be these, writing of Nicholas the First; "He determined on many useful measures, such as that none should be present at the sacrifice of a priest who kept a concubine."

In like effect follow also the words of Illyricus aforesaid; and he allegeth, as Volateran doth, the said distinction of Gratian, in alleging whereof they both seem to be deceived, in mistaking belike one Nicholas for another: as may be proved and made good by three or four reasons.

First, by the words of Pope Alexander the Second, in the next chapter following, who, being the successor of Leo, and of Nicholas the Second, useth the same words in his synod of Mantua, (which Gratian referreth unto Nicholas,) and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alleging, moreover, the former constitution of both his predecessors, Popes Leo and Nicholas, who, by all stories, are known to be Leo the Ninth and Nicholas the Second, which both were next before him. The words of Alexander the Second be these; "Beside this,

we command that none hear mass from a priest known to be privately married. Hence the holy synod has determined this under pain of excommunication, saying, Whosoever of the priesthood, after the constitution of our predecessors of blessed memory, the most holy Popes Leo and Nicholas, shall openly marry a wife, or if married, shall not leave her," &c., &c. By which words, speaking of Nicholas his predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be Pope Nicholas the Second, which was his next predecessor, and not Pope Nicholas the First, who was about two hundred years before him.

The second reason, I take out of the chapter of Gratian next going before, where he allegeth again the same Nicholas, writing to Otho archbishop; which Otho was then, in the time of this Nicholas the Second, archbishop of Cologne, and was afterwards in the council of Mantua, under Pope Alexander the Second, as witnesseth Johannes Quintius, the lawyer. Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was Nicholas the Second, and not Nicholas the First.

The third conjecture or reason is this, for that Pope Nicholas the First never made any such act or decree, that neither priests that were entangled with a concubine, should sing mass, nor that any should resort to hear the mass of such, &c.; but rather to the contrary. For so we read in the history of Antoninus.

And yet more plainly also afterwards he saith, "Where ye demand concerning the priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honour him, or reject him from you: we answer, that albeit they be very much blameworthy, yet ye ought to be followers of God, who maketh his sun to rise both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you," &c.

And this Nicholas, Antoninus confesseth plainly to be Nicholas the First; whereby it is not only not unlikely, but also most certain, that Nicholas the First was not the author of this constitution, either to exterminate married priests from their churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiving their communion; much less then from hearing their service.

Fourthly: forasmuch then as it is undoubted that Nicholas the Second, and Alexander the Second, through the instigation of Hildebrand, were the authors of that constitution whereof Gratian speaketh, it remaineth plain by the words of Volusianus, in the latter end of his letter, (wherein he maketh mention both of discharging the priest from singing mass, and the people from hearing,) that the said

mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis*.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these popish masses stoppeth the freeness of God's grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the priest's hands, and his *opus operatum*, unto us.

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the Scripture saith, With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever: against this rule the private mass proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, anew to be done again: and finally, that which was instituted only for eating, and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the popish mass maketh an oblation, and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead.

To conclude, these both private and public masses of priests, turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ sacrificed, to the body of Christ in their masses. And whereas God annexeth no promise of justification, but only to our faith in the body of Christ crucified, they do annex promise of remission *a pœna et culpa*, to the body in their masses sacrificed, by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of their private and public masses, which here I leave to others at their leisure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceed to the other articles following.

The fourth and fifth articles; of vows and priests' marriage.

As we have discoursed before, by stories and order of time, the antiquity of the three former articles above mentioned, to wit, of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now, coming to the article of vows, and that of priests' marriage, the reader will look, perchance, to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued; wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of Anselm, also of Pope Hildebrand, &c., yet, for the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to

the intent that the world may see and judge the said law and decree of priests' single sole life, to be a doctrine of no ancient standing here within this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege for me the words of Henry of Huntingdon, here following:

"The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in the which synod he forefended priests here in England to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have: which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should take upon them such chastity, more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of Christian profession," &c.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, and Oswald, bishop of Worcester, in the days of King Edgar, A. D. 959, as they were all monks themselves, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing monks in churches and colleges, and putting out the married priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leave their wives, or their rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth Malmesbury, "Therefore divers and sundry clerks of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways," &c. So also Elfric, after them, (of whom mention was made before,) was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfranc likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriage was never publicly established for a law here, in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and King Henry the First, writing in these words: "Boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome, began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been showed; and also besides him were other popes more, as Pope Innocent the Third, Nicholas the Second, and Calixtus the Second, by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite here all such constitutions of councils provincial and general, namely, of the council of Carthage and of Toledo, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the matrimony of priests.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, which, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers countries, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be found by credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067, at what time Pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same.

And this was, as I said, about A. D. 1067, well approved and testified by course of histories: whereby appeareth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., where he writeth in these words: The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving, &c.

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of meats, which God generally hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be noted is, the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurrerth right well with these years of Pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

This prophecy of St. Paul, thus standing, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than is the single life; than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests: which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and search of histories.

I. For first, at the council of Nice, A. D. 325, it is notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be restrained, was stopped by Paphnutius.

II. Before this council of Nice, we read of Poly-

crates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A. D. 193, dissenting from Pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

III. Pope Syricius, about A. D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Syricius in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Syricius replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul, If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die, &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, which showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer to the ancient time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst Christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself, Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have? Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria, who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation, Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you, &c., so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited,) do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to condemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.

As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word "contemning" for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And

moved married priests from saying service ; forbidding also the laymen to hear their mass, after a new and strange example ; and, as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the sentence of holy fathers."

And thus much for the antiquity of bringing in the single life of priests, which, first springing from the time of Pope Nicholas and Alexander the Second, began first with a custom, and afterwards was brought into a law, chiefly by Pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy into other countries, and at length into England also ; albeit not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

In the mean while, as Pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, likewise, was doing here in England about the same matter ; although he began not altogether so roughly as Pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his council holden at Winchester ; where, though he inhibited such as were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet did he permit, in his decree, that such priests as dwelt in towns and villages, having wives, should retain them still, and not be compelled to be separate from them ; and they that had none, should be inhibited to have : enjoining, moreover, the bishops thus to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into orders any priests or deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no wives.

And here, to note by the way of the said Lanfranc, for all his glorious gay show of his monkish virginity and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of Matthew Paris, writing of Paul of Caen, whom Lanfranc preferred so gladly to be abbot of St. Alban's, thus reporteth of him : " Paul, a monk of Caen, and nephew of the archbishop Lanfranc, yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so," &c.

Then, after Lanfranc, came Anselm into the see of Canterbury, who, taking to him a stouter stomach, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the universal clergy ; not permitting (as Lanfranc did) priests that had wives in villages and towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also, (which is against the council of Lateran,) who were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into orders hereafter, without profession of perpetual chastity.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish *μισογάμος*,

the priests, yet still holding their own as they could, gave not much place to his injunction, but kept still their wives almost hundred years after ; refusing and resisting time the yoke of that servile bondage, to buy their freedom from such vowing, professing, promising, as may well appear by those of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of speaketh, writing to Anselm in these words :

" I much desire the purity of my clergy ; howbeit, except it be in very few, I find the deafness of the serpent, aspidochelone, and the stancy of Proteus, that the poet's fable sayeth. With their stinging tongues they cast out while threats, sometime taunts and rebukes ; this grieveth me less in them that be false. This grieveth me most of all, that they turn mine own church, as in mine own bosom, and bendaries of mine own see, condemn our laws, and argue, like sophistical disputers, against statutes of our council. The prebendaries, who ordinally have been taken into orders here, without making vow or profession, refuse to make any profession to me. And they, priests or deacons, having married before, wives or concubines, will not be removed, and reverence, from the altar. And when I call any to receive order, stiffly they deny to do chastity in their ordering," &c.

Thus, for all the rigorous austerity of Anselm, enforcing his decree made at London, the marriage of priests, yet the same had no success, either in his lifetime, or after his life, although sundry priests, during his lifetime, compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many denied to obey him.

Divers were contented rather to leave their wives than their wives. A great number were committed by King Henry, for money, to enjoy their wives ; which was so chargeable unto them, that Eadmer, in his fourth book, that at length, hundred priests, in their albes and priestly ornaments, came barefoot to the king's palace, to him for mercy ; and especially making their suit to the queen, who, using much compassion to them, yet durst not make any intercession for them.

Anselm, at this time, was over the sea, upon his voyage to the pope ; who, hearing hereof, wrote to the king, declaring that such forfeitures obtained nothing to him, but only unto bishops, and their default, to the archbishops : whereof read ye before. So wilful was the blind zeal of this Anselm, late, against all reason, against nature itself, against the example of his fore-elders, against public custom of his own time, against the doctrine of

apostles, the constitution of councils, against all honesty, and all God's forebode, that he, neither at the commiseration of the king, nor at the crying out and public dolour of so many priests, nor yet moved with the letters of Pope Paschal himself, who, putting him in remembrance of so many priests' sons, willed him to consider the necessity of the time, would yet nothing relent from his stubborn purpose unto his latter end: in whom, as many great crimes may justly be noted, so of all others this is most principally in him to be reprehended, for that he, seeing and perceiving what sodomitical fedity and abomination, with other inconveniences, did spring incontinently upon this his diabolical doctrine, yet, for all that, would not give over his pestilent purpose. For so the story recordeth, that when Anselm had established his synodal constitution, in separating priests from their wives, (which was A. D. 1103,) not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of sodomitry, which then began especially to reign in the clergy, after this inhibition of matrimony. Whereupon Anselm was constrained to call another council at Paul's, within London, to provide for this mischief; in which council this was made: "All them that commit the ungracious sin of sodomitry, and them also that assist them in their wicked purpose, with grievous curse we do condemn, till such time as they shall deserve absolution by penance and confession," &c.

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickedness ensued after priests were debarred from marriage, and what sore punishment was devised, by this maidenly prelate, for extirpating that sinful wickedness; in the abolishing whereof, more wisely he should have removed away the occasion whereof he was the author himself, than by penalty to suppress it; which he could never do.

Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy council: "It is enacted, that whosoever shall be publicly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious person, he shall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath already, shall be taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole realm of England, and that none under a bishop shall presume to assoil such as have been monks professed, of that trespass. It is also enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every parish church in England, this general curse aforesaid shall be published and renewed."

Is not here, trow you, good division of justice, that lawful wedlock of priests can find no grace or pardon, yea, is made now heresy, whereas adultery and horrible sodomitry are washed away with a little

confession? And see yet what followeth more. After that this penal curse had now gone abroad, and been published in churches, the monks, perceiving this matter to touch them somewhat near, whispered in Anselm's ear, persuading him that the publication of that act might grow to great danger and inconvenience, in opening the vice which before was not known; in such sort, that in short time after that curse was called in again.

And so cursed sodomitry and adultery passed free without punishment, or word spoken against it; where, contrarily, godly matrimony could find no mercy.

Now, what reasons and arguments this Anselm sucked out of the court of Rome, to prove the matrimony of priests unlawful, were it not for cumbering the reader with tediousness, here would be showed. Briefly, the chief grounds of all his long long disputation in his book entitled, *Offendiculum Sacerdotum*, between the master and scholar, come to this effect.

Argument. Priests of the old law, during the time of their ministration, abstained from their wives:

Ergo, Priests in the time of the gospel, which every day minister at the altar, must never have any wives.

Argument. Moses, when he should sanctify the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to sequester themselves from their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chastely always without wives.

Argument. David, before he should eat of the shew-bread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that be continually attending upon the table and sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any such.

Argument. Uzzah, which put his hand to the ark, was slain therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before:

Ergo, Priests whose hands be always occupied about the Lord's service, must be pure from the company of wife, or any woman.

Argument. Nadab and Abihu, which sacrificed with strange fire, were devoured therefore, because they companied with their wives the same night:

Ergo, Priests and sacrificers must have no wives to company withal.

Argument. The priests of the Gentiles in old time, when they sacrificed to their idols, are said to lie from their wives:

Ergo, Much more the priests that sacrifice to the living God, ought so to do.

Argument. Christ was born of a virgin, Christ

lived ever a virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him to follow him :

Ergo, Priests that have wives, are not meet to serve him.

Text. 1 Cor. vii. 2. Let every man have his own wife, for avoiding of fornication.

Exposition. "That is meant and granted of the apostle only to laymen."

Text. 1 Cor. vii. 9. It is better to marry than to burn.

Exposition. "It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be consumed with concupiscence of strange women."

Text. 1 Tim. iii. 2. A bishop ought to be un-reprovable, the husband of one wife, &c.

Exposition. "The apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be priest, but he who, being a layman before, hath had no more but one wife : and after he be made priest, not to couple himself any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living," &c.

And finally, after these things thus disputed and alleged, the said Anselm concludeth the matter with this final censure and determination, as followeth : "In that these men (he speaketh of married priests) do put on the holy vestments, or do touch the holy vessels, they do lay violent hands upon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a manner visibly crucify Christ upon the altar. The ministry of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a crucifying of Christ," &c.

Lo ! here, the mighty reasons, and strong-timbered arguments, and the deep divinity, wherewith this Anselm, and all others that draw after his string, go about to impugn the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Because the Israelites, when they should appear before the Lord at Mount Sinai, were commanded to keep from their wives three days ; and because the priests of the old law in doing their function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their wives for that present time ; ergo, priests of the new law must at no time have any wives, but live always single, &c.

And why might not Anselm as well argue thus : The people of Israel, approaching to the mount, were commanded in like sort to wash their garments : ergo, priests of the new law, which are occupied every day about the altar, ought every day to wash all their garments.

Moses, approaching to the presence of the Lord in the bush, was commanded to put off his shoes : ergo, priests of the new law, which are ever approaching to the presence of their God, should never wear shoes.

Of King David and his company, which but once

in all their life did eat of the shew-bread, it was demanded by the high priest, whether they had kept them from their wives three days before : ergo, kings and the people of the New Testament, which every year eat the bread of the Lord's board, more precious than ever was that *panis propositionis*, should abide all their life wifeless and unpoused.

But here Anselm should have considered how by these scriptures we are taught not to put away our wives, but wisely to distinguish times, when and how to have them. For, as Solomon teacheth that there is a time for all things, so is there a time to marry, and a time not to marry ; a time to resort, a time to withdraw ; a time of company, a time of abstinence and prayer, which St. Paul calleth, *πρόσκαπον* ; and as he speaketh of a time of prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a time of resorting together, and addeth the cause why : Lest Satan, saith he, tempt you for your incontinency.

And thus should Anselm, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture, that is commanded to some, and at some time, which extendeth not to others ; and that which for a time is convenient, is not, by and by, always convenient : neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever : neither ought special examples to break general orders : neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make a universal rule.

They were then commanded to sequester themselves from their wives at the coming of the Lord : not that the coming of the Lord did break wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience ; and therefore obeyed they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wives, but only to separate themselves for a time ; and that not for months and years, but only for three days : which abstinence also was enjoined them, not in the presence, nor at the appearing, of the Lord, but three days before his descending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth that the use of their wedlock neither displeased God, being present, nor yet did drive his presence away, when he was come ; for he remained there present amongst them, on the hill, forty days notwithstanding.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their wives, as it was expressly commanded to them of God, so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor inconvenient for the time : giving us thereby to understand, how to use separation in wedlock wisely, that is, neither at every time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, who never follow the time of St. Paul, called *πρόσκαπον*, for abstinence and prayer ; so do they worse, which fall into that

παρκαρὸν, whereof St. Paul again giveth us warning. But worst of all do they, who so separate their wives clean from them, and so abjure all matrimony, that they fall headlong into the devil's pitfall of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord, foreseeing the peril thereof, said unto the people, Be ye ready by the third day, and approach not your wives; appointing indeed a separation from their wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of man, he limiteth the time withal, adding, by the third day, and goeth no further. He saith not, as Anselm said in the council of Winchester, *Jurabunt presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub restrictione censuræ, &c.*

The like order also was taken by the Lord with the priests of the Old Testament, who, although they were enjoined to withdraw themselves from their wives during the times of their priestly service, yet, for avoiding fornication, they were permitted to have their wives notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their wives served to sanctification, and their resorting again unto them served to avoid adultery and fornication.

But here our priestly prelates will object, that because they be continually conversant about the priestly function, therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereunto I answer, First, The priestly function of those high priests, sacrificing for the people in the old law, representeth only the function of Christ, the High Priest, sacrificing for the sins of the world, who truly and only performed that pure chastity in his sanctified body, which the law then in those priests sanctified.

Secondly, Speaking now of the priests of the New Testament, (and speaking properly,) the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any priest to sacrifice to God for the sins of man, but only the High King and Priest, Christ Jesus.

Thirdly, Unto that Priest all others be but servants and ministers; of whom some be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some preachers having the gift of utterance, some interpreters and doctors having the gift of understanding, some deacons serving the Lord's board. The office of all whom chiefly consisteth in ministering the word, next in administering the sacraments.

Fourthly, Forasmuch as in these, principally above all others, pureness and sanctification of life is required, as much as, and more too, than was in the priests of the old law, from whom all fornication, adultery, incest, and uncleanness of life ought most to be banished; therefore, in these especially,

above the priests of the old law, matrimony and spousage is most requisite and convenient, who-soever he be, which otherwise cannot contain; according to the apostle, saying, Let every one have his own wife.

Fifthly, Neither is this matrimony in these, any hinderance to their sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification; forasmuch as where matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth adultery, fornication, and all kinds of filthiness; according to the true saying of Bernard, "Take from the church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with concubinaries, with incestuous persons, sodomitical vices, and finally with all kinds of beastly filthiness?"

The truth of which saying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we list here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of matrimony, even from Lanfranc, the first ringleader of this dance here in England, with Paulus, monk of Caen, his nephew, whom Matthew Paris misdoubted to be his own son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his gold locks, the author and workmaster of these six articles. But to the reasons of Anselm hitherto sufficient; which, of themselves, be so frivolous and gross, that only to recite them is enough to confute the same.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest, by process of times and histories, that this cruel law, compelling ministers of the church to abjure matrimony, entered not into this land before Lanfranc, A. D. 1076, and Anselm his successor, as both may appear by the multitude of priests' sons lawfully begotten in matrimony, and succeeding in the churches here in England, testified by the epistle of Pope Paschal to Anselm before, and also may appear likewise by the council of Anselm, holden at Winchester, which partly was touched before, and now the full act we have more largely expressed, to be read and seen of all posterity.

And yet this unreasonable statute of Anselm, so diligently defended with sharp censures and penalties, had no such great speed, neither in the lifetime of the said Anselm, nor long after his death; but that divers priests notwithstanding still kept their wives, or after his death they returned to their wives again, through the sufferance of the then famous and learned king, named Henry Beauclerk, who something stayed the importunity of this monkish prelate, and willed the priests should keep both their wives and their churches, as they did before in Lanfranc's days.

Then, after Anselm, followed Radulph, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time was no great stir against the priests that were married. About the time of this archbishop, King Henry the First called a council at London, where he obtained of the spirituality a grant to have the punishment of married priests (which the spirituality afterwards did much repent); whereby the priests, paying a certain sum to the king, were suffered to retain their wives still, as is above storied.

Next after this Radulph, then succeeded William Corbeil, surnamed De Turbine, who renewed again the constitution of Anselm against married priests, especially by the help of Johannes, priest, and cardinal of Crema, the pope's legate, sent the same time into England, A. D. 1125. Of which cardinal of Crema, because enough hath been before declared, how, after his stout replying, in the council of London, against the married state of priests, exclaiming what a shameful thing it was to rise from a polluted bed, to make Christ's body, the night following he was shamefully taken with a notable whore, &c., as is apparent before.

I will therefore pass over that matter, returning again to William the archbishop, who, with the cardinal legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himself in reproving the matrimony of priests, insomuch that he would give them no longer respite to put away their wives but from Michaelmas to St. Andrew's day following, yet could he not bring his purpose to pass, but that the priests still continued with their wives by the king's leave, as the Saxon story plainly recordeth in these words: "This William, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops who were in England, did command, and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all held their wives by the king's leave, even so as they before did." So hard was this cause to be won, that the archbishop at length gave it over, and left the controversy wholly unto the king. Whereupon he decreed that the priests should remain with their wives still. And so continued they after that, in the time of Theobald after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard, Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and others, during well-near the time, after Anselm, of two hundred years.

And, lest the quarrelling adversaries, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the spiritual men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any law of this realm: to avoid, therefore, what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this story, and for the further

satisfying of the reader's mind herein, to make known, by good record, not only the liberty of marriage, amongst spiritual men, continued within this realm during the time said, to wit, two hundred years, or thereabouts after Anselm; and that not in secret wise, but openly; and being known, the same to be as and lawfully allowed of, in such sort as both their wives, children, and assigns, might inherit and enjoy lands, tenements, and other hereditaments by way of feoffment, deed of gift, or any other assurance, in such sort, manner, and form, as by their heirs and assigns, at this day lawfully made, as by divers writings and instruments, shew us at the writing hereof, by divers men whose names hereafter follow, (some to this day remain sealed, some by antiquity and long keeping worn, and their seals mouldered and wanting) very evident and manifest to be seen.

First, about the year of our Lord 944, the profession of single life, and displacing of married men began to come into example here in England, for reason of St. Benedict's monks, which then began to increase; and also about the time of King Edgar, especially by the means of Oswald, archbishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, that in divers cathedral churches and bishoprics, monks, with their professed singleness of life, began to prevail, and married ministers, (who were then called secular priests,) with their wives, out of such churches were dispossessed, not from wives only from their places: and yet not in all churches but only in certain, whereof read before.

Not long after that, about the time of Nicholas the Second, A. D. 1059, of Alexander and Hildebrand, came into the see of Canterbury another monk, called Lanfranc, who also, being promoter of this professed chastity, made the decree more general, that all prebendaries being married, in any churches, should be displaced; yet such priests in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they would.

Last of all followed monkish Anselm, A. D. 1104; by whom was made this law at Winchester aforesaid, that priests, archdeacons, deacons, subdeacons, which had wives and spiritual lives, should be put from them both; and also that such as after should be admitted to their orders, but who first profess single life, that is, to live without wives. And thus much concerning priests' marriage forbidden.

The sixth article : touching auricular confession.

Of confession, three kinds we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our confession privately or publicly made unto God alone; and this confession is necessary for all men at all times. Wherefore St. John speaketh, If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive, &c.

The second is the confession which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confession, also, hath place when any such thing is committed, whereof riseth a public offence and slander to the church of God; as examples there be of penitentiaries in the primitive church, as Melchisedech and others, &c.

The third kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damnified our neighbour, whether he be rich or poor; whereof speaketh the Gospel, Go and reconcile thyself first unto thy neighbour, &c. Also St. James, Confess yourselves one to another. Or else this confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our conscience, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind superstition: first, that we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, that we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, that we tie not ourselves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, who we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

But as there is nothing in the church so good and so ghostly, which, through peevish superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted, so this confession, also, hath not lacked its abuses. First, the secret confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient, so hath it been but lightly esteemed by many. The public confession to the congregation hath been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for assoiling of his sins. In which auricular confession, first, of the free liberty of the penitent in uttering his griefs, they have made a mere necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, they require withal an

enumeration and a full recital of all sins whatsoever, both great and small. Also besides the necessity of this ear-confession, they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year, for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making, moreover, of the same a sacrament. And lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man, to open his heart to what spiritual brother he thought best, for an easement of his grief, and for ghostly consolation, they bind him to a priest, (unless some friar come by the way to be his ghostly father,) to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done; and though he lack the key of knowledge, and, peradventure, of good discretion, yet none must have power to assoil him, but he, through the authority of his keys.

And this manner of confession, they say, was instituted by Christ and his apostles, and hath been used in the church ever since to this present day: which is a most manifest untruth, and easy by stories to be convinced.

For Socrates, lib. v. c. 19, and Zozimus, lib. vii. c. 16, in the Book of Ecclesiastical History, do give us plainly to understand, that this auricular confession never came of Christ, but only of men.

Item, In the time of Tertullian, Beatus Rhenanus testifieth, that there was no mention made of this auricular confession: which may well be gathered hereof, for that Tertullian, writing upon repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Item, In the time of Chrysostom, it appeareth there was no such assoiling at the priest's hands, by these words, where he saith, "I require thee not that thou shouldest confess thy sins to thy fellow servant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them."

Item, The said Chrysostom, in another place, writing upon repentance and confession, "Let the examination of thy sins and thy judgment," saith he, "be secret and close without witness; let God only see and hear thy confession," &c.

Item, In the time of Ambrose, the gloss of the pope's own decrees reporteth, that "this institution of penance was not then begun, which now, in our days, is in use."

Item, It is truly said, therefore, of the gloss in another place, where he testifieth that "this institution of penance began rather of some tradition of the universal church, than of any authority of the New Testament, or of the Old," &c.

The like also testifieth Erasmus, writing upon Jerome, in these words, "It appeareth that in the time of Jerome, this secret confession of sins was not yet ordained, which the church afterwards did institute wholesomely, if our priests and laymen

would use it rightly. But herein, divines, not considering advisedly what the old doctors do say, are much deceived. That which they say of general and open confession, they wrest, by and by, to this privy and secret kind of confession, which is far diverse, and of another sort," &c.

The like testimony may also be taken of Gratian himself, who, speaking of confession used then in his time, leaveth the matter in doubtful suspense, neither pronouncing on the one side nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the readers, which the Act of these Six Articles here enjoineeth as necessary, under pain of death.

Briefly, in few words to search out and notify the very certain time when this article of ear-confession first crept into the church, and what antiquity it hath, in following the judgment of Johannes Scotus and of Antoninus, it may well be supposed that the institution thereof took its first origin by Pope Innocent the Third, in his council of Lateran, A. D. 1215; for so we read in Johannes Scotus: *Præcipua autem specificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo capite*, Extrav. de Pœnit. et Remiss. *Omnis utriusque sexus*, &c. And after, in the same article, it followeth, For at the first institution of the church it does not appear that there were distinctive priests. By which words it appeared that there was no institution of any such confession specified before the constitution of Pope Innocent the Third.

But more plainly the same may appear by the words of Antoninus. "Pope Innocent the Third, in his general council aforesaid, touching the sacraments of confession and the communion, made this constitution, as followeth: 'That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confess all their sins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary priest; and shall endeavour to fulfil, by their own strength, their penance to them enjoined, &c.; or else, who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the church, being alive, nor, being dead, shall enjoy Christian burial. Wherefore this wholesome constitution we will to be published often in the churches, lest any men, through the blindness of ignorance, may make to themselves a cloak of excuse,'" &c. And thus much hitherto we have alleged, by occasion incident, of these six articles, for some part of confutation of the same, referring the reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of divines, who professedly write upon those matters.

In the mean time, forasmuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned epistle of Philip Melancthon, written to King Henry the Eighth, against these six wicked articles above specified, I thought not to

defraud the reader of the fruit thereof, for his better understanding and instruction. The tenor and effect of his epistle translated into English thus followeth:

"Most famous and noble prince! there were certain emperors of Rome, as Adrian, Pius, and afterwards the two brethren, Verus and Marcus, which did receive gently the apologies and defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate princes, that they assuaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel decrees: even so, forasmuch as there is a decree set forth of late in your realm, against that doctrine which we profess as both godly and necessary for the church, I beseech your most honourable Majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint; especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the church, directed this my writing unto you. For, seeing those heathen princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it beseeeming for a king of Christian profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy histories, to hear the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the church! And so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my letters with a singular declaration of your benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope, that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing do plainly declare, not yourself, but only the bishops to be the authors of those articles and decrees there set forth: albeit, through their wily and subtle sophistications, they have induced you (as it happened to many other worthy princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them; as the rulers persuaded Darius, being otherwise a wise and just prince, to cast Daniel unto the lions.

"It was never unseemly for a good prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous laws, to have (as it is commonly said) a second view and oversight of things before passed and decreed.

"The wise Athenians made a decree, when the city of Mitylene was recovered, (which before had forsaken them,) that all the citizens there should be slain, and the city utterly destroyed: whereupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commandment to the army. On the next morrow, the matter was brought again before the same judges, and, after better advice taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude should not be put to the sword, but a few of the chief authors of their rebellion should be punished, and the city saved. There was, therefore, another ship sent

forth with a countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former ship, as also it happened : neither was that noble city, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the church especially, princes have many times altered and reformed their decrees, as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. There was a decree set forth in the name of Ahasuerus, concerning the killing of the Jews ; that decree was afterwards called in again. So did Adrian and Antoninus, also, correct and reform their decrees.

“Therefore, although there be a decree set forth in England, which threateneth strange punishments and penalties, disagreeing from the custom of the true church, and swerving from the rules and canons thereof ; yet I thought it not unseemly for us to become petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and severe proceedings ; the which, when I consider it, grieve my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them that profess the same doctrine that we do, but, also, I do lament for your cause, that they should make you an instrument and a minister of their bloody tyranny and impiety. And partly, also, I lament to see the course of Christian doctrine perverted, superstitious rites confirmed, whoredom and lecherous lusts maintained.

“Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in doctrine and virtue, to be there detained in prison, as Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, than to give their lives in the confession of the manifest truth and verity ; yet would I wish that you should not distain your hands with the blood of such men ; neither would I wish such lanterns of light in your church to be extinguished ; neither these spiteful and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish antichrist, which laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his bishops, to recover again his former possession, which of late, by your virtues and godly means, he lost. He seeth your bishops, for the time, loyal unto you, and obsequious to obey your will ; but, in heart, he seeth them linked unto him, in a perpetual bond of fidelity and obedience. In all these feats and practices the Romish bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by

bearing and suffering : they see that great things be brought to pass in time.

“Many good and learned men in Germany conceived of you great hope, that, by your authority and example, other princes also would be provoked to surcease, likewise, from their unjust cruelty, and better to advise themselves for the reformation of errors crept into the church ; trusting that you would be as a guide and captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now, seeing these your contrary proceedings, we are utterly discouraged ; the indignation of other princes is confirmed ; the stubbornness of the wicked is augmented ; and old and great errors are thereby established.

“But here your bishops will say again, no doubt, that they defend no errors, but the very truth of God’s holy word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both against the true word of God, and the apostolic church, yet, like crafty sophisters, they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly show outwardly, to colour their errors and abuses.

“And this sophistication not only now in England is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom ; neither in Rome only reigneth, where the Cardinals Contarini, Sadolet, and Cardinal Pole, go about to paint out abuses with new colours and goodly glosses ; but also in Germany, divers noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication : and therefore I nothing marvel that so many there, with you, be deceived with these crafty jugglings. And although you, for your part, lack neither learning nor judgment, yet sometimes we see it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable persuasions, from the verity. The saying of Simonides is praiseworthy : ‘Opinion,’ saith he, ‘many times perverteth verity.’ And many times false opinion hath outwardly a fairer show than simple truth ; and especially it so happeneth in cases of religion, where the devil transformeth himself into an angel of light, setting forth, with all colourable and goodly shows, false opinions. How fair seemeth the gloss of Samosatenus, upon the Gospel of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, &c. ! and yet is it full of impiety. But I omit foreign examples.

“In these articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised ! ‘Confession,’ saith the article, ‘is necessary, and ought to be retained.’ And why say they not plainly, that the rehearsing and numbering up of sins, is necessary by God’s word ? This the bishops knew well to be very false, and therefore, in the article, they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the simple people ; that when they hear confession to be necessary,

they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by God's word.

"The like legerdmain, also, they use in the article of private masses, albeit the beginning of the said article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessary to retain private masses. What man in all the primitive church, more than four hundred years after the apostles' time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private masses used? But afterwards, in the process of the article, follow other blind sophistications, to make the people believe that they should receive by them divine consolations and benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what consolations and benefits those be? The bishops here do name no application and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they dally, with glossing words, whereby they may wind out and escape, if any should improve their application. And yet, notwithstanding, they would have this their application to be understood and believed of the people. They would have this idolatrous persuasion confirmed, to wit, that this sacrifice doth merit unto others remission *a pœna et culpa*: release of all calamities, and also gain and lucre in common traffic; and, to conclude, whatsoever else the careful heart of man doth desire.

"The like sophistication they use also, where they say that priests' marriage is against the law of God. They are not ignorant what St. Paul saith, A bishop ought to be the husband of one wife: and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to priests by the law of God. But, because now they say, they have made a vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that priests for their vows' sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the article after this sort, that marriage of priests is utterly against the law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they show moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death, which will not put away their wives, and renounce their matrimony! whereas the vow of priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the ministry, if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the councils and canons.

"O cursed bishops! O impudent and wicked Winchester! who, under these colourable fetches, think-est to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole world. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policy, of these bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the truth, they would not use these crafty collusions and deceitful jugglings.

"This sophistication, as it is in all other pernicious and odious, so, above all things specially it is to be avoided in matters of religion wherein it is a heinous impiety to corrupt or the pure word of God. And hereof the devil is called Diabolus, specially taketh his advantage cause he wresteth the word of God out of men's hearts by such false juggling and sophistications. And why do not these bishops, plainly utter and confess, that they will abide the reformation of doctrine and religion in the church, that it shall make against their dignity, power, and pleasure? Why do not their adherents, as such as take their part, plainly say that if they retain still the present state of the church, for their own profit, tranquillity, and maintenance? Why do they not confess, were true and plain dealing.

"Now, while they pretend, hypocritically, zeal and love to the truth and sincere religion, they come in with their blind sophistications, whereby they cover their errors. For their articles in this act be erroneous, false, and impious, and glorious soever they seem outwardly. What if it were to be wished, that these bishops would remember God's terrible threatening in the prophet Isaiah: Woe to you, saith he, which make laws! What will you do in the day of visitation, when calamity to come? &c. Woe unto you that say evil good! &c.

"Now, to come more near to the matter we have in hand, this cannot be denied, but long and horrible darkness hath been in the church of Christ. Men's traditions not only have yoked to good men's consciences, but also (which is much worse) they have been reputed for God's service, to the great disworship of God. Wherefore were vows, things bequeathed to churches, dissolution of garments, choice of meats, long babbling prayers, pardons, image-worship, manifest idolatry, committed to saints, the true worship of God and good works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the Christian and heathen religion, as still is yet at Rome to this present day to be seen. The true doctrine of repentance, confession of sins which cometh by the faith of Christ, of justification, of faith, of the difference between the law and the gospel, of the right use of the sacraments, was hid and unknown. The keys of the kingdom were abused to the maintenance of the pope's usurped tyranny. Ceremonies of men's invention were preferred before civil obedience and duties due to the commonwealth.

"Unto these errors, moreover, was joined a corrupt life, full of all lecherous and filthy lusts, by reason of the law forbidding priests to marry. Out of

miserable darkness, God something hath begun to deliver his church, through the restoring again of true doctrine. For so we must needs acknowledge, that these so great and long-festered errors have not been disclosed and brought to light by the industry of man; but this light of the gospel is only the gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the church. For so doth the Holy Ghost prophesy before, how in the latter times the godly should sustain sore and perilous conflicts with antichrist, foreshowing that he should come, environed with a mighty and strong army of bishops, hypocrites, and princes; that he should fight against the truth, and slay the godly.

"And that now all these things are so come to pass it is most evident, and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the bishop of Rome hath partly brought errors into the church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the same with force and violence, as Daniel well foreshowed; and much we rejoice to see you divided from him, hoping and trusting well, that the Church of England would now flourish. But your bishops be not divided from the Romish antichrist: his idolatry, errors, and vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all human traditions, in that they establish solemn vows, single life, and auricular confession. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private mass.

"Thus have they craftily provided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience itself doth plainly teach us. Now what man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? for, as I said before, this matter concerneth not only these articles which be there enacted, but all other articles of sound doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such traditions of men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, For they worship me in vain with the precepts of men? or why doth St. Paul so oft detest men's traditions?

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his word, or to defend the same: such presumption God doth horribly detest, which will be known in his word only. He will have none other religions invented by man's device; for else all sorts of religions, of all nations, might be approved and allowed. Lean not, saith he, to thine own wisdom. But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politic heads, which apply religion to their own lucre and commodity.

"Furthermore, private masses, vows, the single life of priests, numbering up of sins to the priest, with other things more, being but mere ordinances of men, are used for God's true service and worship. For although the supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private mass is a wicked profanation of the Lord's supper: for in the canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is said, that Christ is offered, and that the work itself is a sacrifice, which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ; yea, manifold ways they are repugnant to the gospel. Christ willeth not himself to be offered up of priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a sacrifice. This is manifest idolatry, and overthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true use of the sacraments. By faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the priests. And the supper is ordained that the minister should distribute to others, to the intent that they, repenting for their sins, should be admonished firmly to believe the promises of the gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his blood. And this is the true use of that supper which is ordained in the gospel, and was observed in the primitive church three hundred years and more, from the which we ought not to be removed: for it is plain impiety to transfer the Lord's institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second commandment. Wherefore these private masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right institution of Christ manifold ways, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other ways besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. Flee, saith St. Paul, from all idolatry. In these private masses much idolatry is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvel: for, in the latter times, the Scripture plainly sheweth that great idolatry shall reign in the church of God; as Christ himself also signifieth, saying, When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand. And Daniel saith, And he shall worship the God Mauzzim in his place, and shall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and precious stones. Both these places do speak of mass.

"This kind of worship and horrible profanation of the sacrament, God abhorreth: for how many and sundry kinds of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the mass! First, it is set forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive, whether they will or no. Thirdly,

it is applied as meritorious and satisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for man and beast, with other infinite more. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be others, also, no less to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping and serving of God is not to be set up after the fantasy of man.

"Wherefore they do wickedly, when they offer sacrifice to God without his commandment: for when of this work they make a sacrifice, they imagine that private masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that masses are bought with gold and silver, great riches, and sumptuous charges: also that the sacrament is carried about in gold and silver to be worshipped; whereas the sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore, seeing the commandment of God biddeth to flee from idolatry, private masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that, in the old time, there were none such. Shall we think that things pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the primitive church, three hundred years after the apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

"We see these private masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear lest their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people, (which think to have great succour thereby, and therefore are loth to leave it,) rather than for any just cause or reason to leave them. But, howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is, why these private masses ought to be abolished. For first, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the priest merit any grace to any person, but every one is justified by his own faith. Neither again would God have any man to trust upon any ceremony, but only to the benefit of Christ: and most certain it is, that the application of these masses for the dead, is full of great error and impiety.

"But here come in blind glosses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally, among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole church? yea, the canon of the mass itself declareth no less. And why then do some of these crafty sophisters dally out the matter with their glossing words, denying that they make any appli-

that the error of the people is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit, how few be there, in very deed, which do otherwise think!

"We ought not to dissemble in God's matters. Let us use them as the Holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custom of the primitive church doth lead us. Why should any man be so presumptuous as to swerve from ancient custom? Why now do they defend the errors of others which have perverted the institution of Christ?

"Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his masses, yet, notwithstanding, he so dealeth in handling the ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high service done to God, and such as God requireth: which is also erroneous and to be reprov'd. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by man's device, without the commandment of God.

"Wherefore, I beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you will not defend the article of this act concerning these private masses, but that you will suffer the matter to be well examined by virtuous and learned men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantial testimony of the primitive church; which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgments of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the ancient and old rites, with manifold errors.

"As touching the other articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, feigned, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common persuasion of all men touching vows, that all these will-works devised by man, are the true service and worship of God; and so think they, also, which speak most indifferently of them. Others add thereunto more gross errors, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, They worship me in vain with the precepts of men; and Paul saith, that these observations be the doctrine of devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worshipping of God. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, Let no man deceive you by feigned humility, &c. Why make you decrees, &c.? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

"Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuses. The whole order of monkery, what superstition doth it contain! What

profanations of masses, invocation of saints, colours and fashions of apparel, choice of meats, superstitious prayers without all measure! of which causes every one were sufficient, why these vows ought to be broken. Besides this, a great part of men are drawn to this kind of life chiefly for the belly's sake, and then, afterwards, they pretend the holiness of their vow and profession.

"Furthermore, this vow of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, All men do not receive this. Such vows, therefore, which without sin cannot be performed, are to be undone: but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

"But this causeth me much to marvel, that this vow of priests, in your English decree, is more strait and hard than is the vow of monks, whereas the canons themselves do bind a priest no further to single life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the ministry. And certainly it made my heart to tremble, when I read this article which so forbiddeth matrimony, and dissolveth the same, being contracted, and appointeth, moreover, the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly priests, who, in certain places, have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold as to establish any such law. For every man in a manner well perceived, that all well-disposed and reasonable persons would abhor that cruelty; and also they feared lest posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the godly ought most principally to be showed, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody laws, to be executed upon the godly for lawful matrimony?

"'But they brake their vows,' will the bishops say. First, as I said, that vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them that forsake the ministry. Finally, if the bishops, here, would have a care and regard to men's consciences, they should then ordain priests without any such profession or vow-making; as appeareth by the old canons, how that many were admitted to the ministry without professing of any vow; and the same afterwards, when they had married their wives, remained in the ministry, as is testified in the Distinctions.

"Certainly, of what I may here complain, I cannot tell. First, in this article I cannot impute it to ignorance, which they do; for no man is ignorant of the commandment of God, which saith, Let every man have his wife, for avoiding of fornication.

Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried priests do live? The complaints of good men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too, too manifest. But, peradventure, your bishops, holding with the sect of epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts: which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtless a hard cause, where such must be judges.

"I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of bishops, and colleges of priests, and to maintain their wealth and portly state; and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhor so much that priests should be married. But, O lamentable state of the church! if laws should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the will of God, but the private gain and commodity of men! They err which think it lawful for them to make laws repugnant to the commandment of God, and to the law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain wealth and riches. And, of truth, from my very heart I do mourn and lament, right noble prince, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christ's church. You pretend to impugn and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish bishop, and truly do call him antichrist, as indeed he is; and, in the mean time, you defend and maintain those laws of that Romish antichrist, which be the strength and sinews of all his power, as private masses, single life of priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good men, and to the members of Christ; you violently oppress and bear down the verity of the gospel, beginning to shine in your churches. This is not to abolish antichrist, but to establish him.

"I beseech you, therefore, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye defile not your conscience in defending those articles which your bishops have devised and set forth, touching private masses, auricular confession, vows, single life of priests, and prohibition of the one half of the sacrament. It is no light offence to establish idolatry, errors, cruelty, the filthy lusts of antichrist. If the Roman bishop should now call a council, what other articles chiefly would he devise and publish unto the world, but the very same which your bishops have here enacted?

"Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtle trains and deceits of the devil, who is wont first to set upon, and assail, the chief governors. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the world, so his chiefest purpose is, by all crafty and subtle means, to work contumely against Christ, by sparsing abroad wicked opinions, and setting up idolatry; and also in polluting mankind with bloody murders and fleshly lusts: in the working whereof he abuseth the policies and wits of hypocrites, also

the power and strength of mighty princes; as stories of all times bear witness, what great kingdoms and empires have set themselves, with all might and main, against the poor church of Christ.

"And yet, notwithstanding, God hath reserved some good princes at all times out of the great multitude of such giants, and hath brought them to his church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worship; as Abraham taught Abimelech, Joseph the Egyptian kings: and after them came David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, excelling in true godliness. Daniel converted to the knowledge of God the kings of Chaldea and Persia: also Brittany brought forth unto the world the godly prince Constantine. In this number I wish you rather to be, than amongst the enemies of Christ, defiled with idolatry, and spotted with the blood of the godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

"Yet again therefore, I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this decree of the bishops; in doing which you shall advance the glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your own soul, as for the safeguard of your churches.

"Let the hearty desires of so many godly men through the whole world move you, so earnestly wishing that some good kings would extend their authority to the true reformation of the church of God, to the abolishing of all idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the gospel. Regard also, and consider, I beseech you, those godly persons who are with you in bands for the gospel's sake, being the true members of Christ.

"And if that cruel decree be not altered, the bishops will never cease to rage against the church of Christ, without mercy or pity: for them the devil useth as instruments and ministers of his fury and malice against Christ. These he stirreth up to slay and kill the members of Christ: whose wicked and cruel proceedings, and subtle sophistications, that you will not prefer before our true and most righteous request, all the godly most humbly and heartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompense to you great rewards for your piety; and your excellent virtue shall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the godly, while the world standeth. For Christ shall judge all them that shall deserve either well or evil of his church: and while letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such noble deserts shall never die or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that our churches are the churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the right-

eous cause, and magnify, with due commendation, such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

"Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, prisoned, complaining of the raging fury of shops, and of the wrongful oppression and of divers kings and princes, entreating that the members of his body be not rent in pieces, but that his churches may be defended, and his gospel maintained. This request of Christ to hear, to receive, to embrace, is the office of a godly king, and most acceptable unto God."

Treating a little before, of certain old inquests for proof of priests' lawful marriage in time past, I gave a little touch of a certain record made of an old martyrology of the church of Canterbury touching Livingus a priest, and his wife, in the reign of Lanfranc: wherein I touched, also, of lands and houses restored again by the said king to the church of St. Andrew. Now, forasmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully contained in the hands; and partly considering the restoring of said lands to be to Christ's church in Canterbury and not to St. Andrew's in Rochester; and for that I have found some other precedents touching the lawful marriage of priests, and legitimizing of their children, I thought good, for the satisfaction of the reader, to enter the same, followeth:

A note out of an old martyrology of the church of Canterbury.

"After the death of William king of England, the said Lanfranc restored again to Christ's church in Canterbury all the lands which from the memory unto these latter days have been taken away from the right of the said church. The names of which lands be these: in Kent, Reculver, Sandwich, Richborow, Wootton, the abbey of Iglesham, with the lands and customs unto the same monastery belonging, Saltwood, &c., (Stoke and Deventon) because they belonged of old time to the church of St. Andrew, them he restored to the same church in Surrey, Mortlake; the abbey of St. Martin in London, with the lands and houses which Livingus a priest, and his wife, had in London. All which the said Lanfranc restored again for the health of his soul, freely, and without money," &c.

A note, for the legitimization of priests' children.

"Note, that in the nineteenth year of this king's reign, in an assize at Warwick, before Sir Guy Fitz-Peter and Sir John Vavasour, it was found, by verdict, that the father of the tenant had taken the order

deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue; the tenant died, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter, as next heir collateral to the father of the tenant; Upon whom he did re-enter, &c.; and, for difficulty, the justices did adjourn the assize. And it was debated in the exchequer chamber: 'If the tenant shall be a bastard,' &c. And here, by advice, it was adjudged that he shall not be a bastard, &c. Frowick, chief justice, said to me, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh, in the Common Pleas, that he was of counsel in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before; which Vavasour did grant. And Frowick said, that if a priest marry a wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherit; for that the espousals be not void, but voidable. 'Vavasour: If a man take a nun to wife, this espousal is void.'

Note, that in the latter impression of Henry the Seventh's Years of the Law, this word "priest," in this case aforesaid, in some books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the reader to judge.

Concerning these six articles passed in this Act aforesaid, in the twenty-first year of this King Henry the Eighth, sufficiently hitherto hath been declared; first, what these articles were: secondly, by whom, and from whom chiefly they proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true doctrine, Christian religion, and the word of God, to nature also itself, all reason and honesty, and finally to the ancient laws, customs, and examples of our fore-elders, during the days of a thousand years after Christ, they were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what unreasonable and extreme penalty was set upon the same, that a man may deem these laws to be written not with the ink of Stephen Gardiner, but with the blood of a dragon, or rather the claws of the devil; the breach whereof was made no less than treason and felony, and no less punishment assigned thereto than death.

Besides all this, the words of the Act were so curious and subtle, that no man could speak, write, or cipher against them, without present danger; yea, scarcely a man might speak any word of Christ and his religion, but he was in peril of these six articles. Over and besides, the papists began so finely to interpret the Act, that they spared not to indict men for abusing their countenance and behaviour in the church: so great was the power of darkness in those days. And thus much concerning this Act.

Besides these six articles in this aforesaid Act concluded, there was also another constitution an-

nexed withal, not without the advice (as may seem) of the Lord Cromwell, which was this: that priests and ministers of the church, seeing now they would needs themselves be bound from all matrimony, should therefore, by law, be likewise bound to such honesty and continency of life, that carnally they should use and accustom no manner of woman, married or single, by way of advoutry, or fornication; the breach whereof for the first time, was to forfeit goods, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made felony, as the others were.

In this constitution, if the Lord Cromwell, and other good men of the parliament, might have had their will, there is no doubt but the first crime of these concubinary priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalty as the other six articles had, and should have been punished with death. But Stephen Gardiner, with his fellow bishops, who then ruled all the roast, so boasted this extraordinary article with their accustomed shifts, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their not *catès*, nor *cautè*, at first time it was but forfeit of goods. Also, for the second conviction or attainder they so provided that, the next year following, that punishment and pain of death, by act of parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? "Because," saith the statute, "that punishment by pain of death is very sore, and much extreme; therefore it pleaseth the king, with the assent of the lords, that that clause above written, concerning felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainder of any priest or woman for any such offences aforesaid, shall be from henceforth void, and of none effect," &c. So that by this statute it was provided, for all such votaries as lived in whoredom and adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all his spiritual promotions, except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the king; for the third conviction, to sustain continual imprisonment.

In these ungodly proceedings of the pope's catholic clergy, two things we have to note.

First, The horrible impiety of their doctrine, directly fighting against the express authority of God and his word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they restrain; that which he bids they forbid. Let a man have, saith he; Let him not have, say they; taking exceptions against the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call heresy; that which he commandeth and instituteth, they punish with pains of death. Not only the priests that marry, but them also that say

or cipher that a priest may marry, at the first they kill as felons; neither can any *miserere* take place for chaste and lawful wedlock; whereas, contrariwise, a spiritual man may thrice defile his neighbour's wife, or thrice his brother's daughter, and no felony at all be laid to his charge. What is this in plain words to say, but that it is less sin thrice to commit advoutry, than once to marry?

The second to be noted is, how these painted hypocrites do bewray their false dissembled dealings unawares, with whom a man might thus reason: Tell us, you priests and votaries! which so precisely flee the state of matrimony, intend you to live chaste, and are you able so to do without wives? Do you keep yourselves chaste and honest without them, and without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those vows, which you cannot perform? or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking God's commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able, and so do intend, to continue an honest and a continent conversation without wives, then shall I ask of you according as Dr. Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge: "Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your laws beforehand, for a mischief to come, which you may avoid if you list? unless either ye listed not to stand, though you might; or else saw your own infirmity, that you could not, though ye would: and therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, you provide wisely for yourselves aforehand, that, where others shall suffer pains of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable adultery, and yet, by the law, have your lives pardoned."

And here cometh out your own hypocrisy, by yourselves bewrayed; for whereas you all confess, that you are able to live chaste if ye will, without wives, this moderation of the law, provided before against your adulterous incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpose willingly to fall, or, at least, ye fear and stand in doubt not to be able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take such vows upon you, standing in such doubt and fear for the performance thereof?

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that some keep their vow, though some viciously run to other men's wives and daughters: then herein again ask I you, seeing these vicious whore-hunters and adulterous persons among you do live viciously, (as you cannot not deny,) and may do otherwise, if they list, as you confess: what punishment then are they worthy to have, which may live continent, and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which

being so, then what iniquity is this in you, or, rather, impiety inexcusable against God and man, to procure a moderation of laws for such, and to show such compassion and clemency to these so heinous adulterers, whore-hunters, and beastly fornicators, that, if they adulterate other men's wives never so oft, yet there is no death for them; and to show no compassion at all, nor to find out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill them as felons and heretics, which honestly do marry in the fear of God, or once say, that a priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you children of iniquity? What reason is in your doing, or what truth in your doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confusion, unless by time ye convert and repent? And thus, being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

It was declared before, that what time these six articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being archbishop of Canterbury only, withstood the same, disputing three days against them; whose reasons and arguments I wish were extant and remaining. After these articles were thus passed and concluded, the king, who always bare especial favour unto Cranmer, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the lords of the parliament, and with them the Lord Cromwell, to dine with him at Lambeth (as is before declared); and, within few days also upon the same, required that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said parliament: which the said Cranmer eftsoons accomplished accordingly, drawing out his reasons and allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his secretary, was sent and delivered unto the king, and there remained.

Now, after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our story again, to declare those things which, after the setting out of these articles, ensued, which otherwise for the wicked cruelty thereof, are called The Whip with Six Strings, set forth after the death of Queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but specially by the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by King Henry. But therein, as in many other things, the crafty policy of Winchester appeared, who if he had not watched

and taken the king, coming out where it is thought he had not got the matter so easily subscribed. We come now to the time and of the Lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy deeds are worthy to live renowned in per-memory.

History concerning the life, acts, and death of the famous and worthy councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex.



THOMAS Cromwell although born of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellency of wisdom, and dexterity of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of mind, and deserts

rose to high preferment and authority; in that by steps and stairs of office and honour, ended at length to that, that not only he was earl of Essex, but also most secret and dear counsellor to King Henry, and vicegerent unto his person; which office hath not commonly been supposed at least not so fruitfully discharged within him.

As touching his birth, he was born at Putney thereabouts, being a smith's son, whose father married afterwards to a shearman. In the estate and rude beginnings of this man, as we see in others before him, we may see and that the excellency of noble virtues and heroical prowesses which advance to fame and honour, do not only upon birth and blood, as privileges bequeathed and appropriate to noble houses; but are bestowed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poor abject many times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with princes and peers.

As touching the order and manner of his coming into the world, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only, by way of story, it may be given a touch of certain particulars, and so proceed. Although the humble condition and low estate of this man was at the beginning (as it is in many others) a great let and hinderance for virtue to show herself; yet, such was the activity and forward ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, so ready he was, in judgment discreet, in tongue fluent, in service faithful, in stomach courageous, in pen active, that being conversant in the sight

of men, he could not be long unespied, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to set him forward in place and office; neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit. Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass: neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. This well appeared in canning the text of the whole New Testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and coming from Rome, whereof ye shall hear anon.

Thus, in his growing years, as he shot up in age and ripeness, a great delight came in his mind to stray into foreign countries, to see the world abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such tongues and languages as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus, passing over his youth, being at Antwerp he was there retained of the English merchants to be their clerk or secretary, or in some such-like condition placed, pertaining to their affairs.

It happened, the same time, that the town of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the greater pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of money, (for the pope's merchandise is always dear ware,) yet, notwithstanding, such sweetness they had felt thereof, and such gain to come to their town by that Romish merchandise, (as all superstition is commonly gainful,) that they, like good catholic merchants, and the pope's good customers, thought to spare for no cost, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good religion then, such was the lamentable blindness of that time.

This then being so determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston, to have their pardons' needs repaired and renewed from Rome, one Geffery Chambers, and another companion, were sent for the messengers, with writings and money no small quantity, well furnished, and with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable and costly exploit. Chambers, coming in his journey to Antwerp, and misdoubting himself to be too weak for the compassing of such a weighty piece of work, conferred and persuaded with Thomas Cromwell to associate him in that legacy, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the pope's court, for the unreasonable expenses amongst those greedy cormorants, yet, having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in judgment of religion in those his youthful days,

was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money; and again, perceiving that the pope's greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other, (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome,) began to cast with himself, what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in new-fangled strange delicates, and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England; which, to them of Rome, was not known nor seen before.

This done, Cromwell, observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he, with his companions, approached with his English presents, brought in with "a three man's song" (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope, suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty-handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell there, showing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, "such as kings and princes only," said he, "in the realm of England use to feed upon," desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors unto his Holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinal to take the assay; who, in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that, knowing of them what their suits were, and requiring them to make known the making of that meat, he, incontinent, without any more ado, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the town of Boston obtained, as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copy of these pardons, (which I have in my hands,) briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect:

"That all the brethren and sisters of the Guild of our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, should have free licence to choose for their confessor or ghostly father whom they would, either secular priest or religious person, to assoil them plenary from all their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

"Also, should have licence to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say them mass, or other divine service,

where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day, yea, and at three o'clock after midnight in the summer time.

"Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, which should resort to the chapel of our Lady in St. Botolph's church, at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity, or the Assumption of our Lady, or in the octaves of them, the feast of St. Michael, and the first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome.

"Provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood and a grammar school, six shillings and eight pence; and for every year after, twelve pence.

"And these premises, being before granted by Pope Innocent and Pope Julius the Second, this Pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other let, could not resort personally to the said chapel, notwithstanding, he should be dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other vows, irregularities, censures canonical whatsoever; only the vow of going the stations of Rome, and going to St. James of Compostella, excepted, &c.

"He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, from the penalty and crime, once in their life, or in the hour of death.

"Item, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, though it were unhalloved. Also in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered; and also, being departed, that they might be buried in Christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

"Extending, moreover, his grant, that all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the aforesaid chapel of our Lady upon the Nativity, or upon the Assumption of our Lady, giving supportation to the aforesaid chapel, at every such festival day should have full remission of all their sins. Or if they, for any impediment, could not be present at the chapel aforesaid, yet, if they came unto their own parish church, and there said one Pater-noster, and Ave Maria, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every Friday to the same chapel, should have as much remission, as if he went to the chapel of Our Lady called *Scala Cœli*.

"Furthermore, that whatsoever Christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spiritual or

temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the aforesaid guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

"Item, To all brothers and sisters of the same guild was granted free liberty to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their ghostly father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

"Item, That all partakers of the same guild, and being supporters thereof, which, once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chapel in St. Botolph's church, or any other chapel, of their devotion, shall say a Pater-noster, Ave Maria, and Creed, or shall say, or cause to be said, masses for souls departed in pains of purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to them which visit the chapel of *Scala Cæli*, or of St. John Lateran, but also, the souls in purgatory shall enjoy full remission, and be released of all their pains.

"Item, That all the souls departed of the brothers and sisters of the said guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, almshouses, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant for ever," &c.

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations, were given and granted by Pope Nicholas the Fifth, Pope Pius the Second, Pope Sixtus the Fourth, and Pope Julius the Second, of which Pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord 1510: which pardon again afterwards, through the request of King Henry, A. D. 1526, was confirmed by Pope Clement the Seventh. And thus much concerning the pardons of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell, of Pope Julius the Second.

All this while it appeareth that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont oftentimes to declare unto Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geffery Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardons of Boston every where in churches as he went; and so continued, till, at length, by learning without book the text of the New Testament of Erasmus's translation, in his going and coming from Rome, (as is aforesaid,) he began to be touched, and called to better understanding.

In this mean time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, began to bear a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the

king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardness, most commonly sought unto him; among whom was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in office and authority, till at length he was preferred to be solicitor to the cardinal.

There were also, about the same time, or not much different, in the household of the said cardinal, Thomas More, afterward knight and chancellor of England, and Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester and of the king's council. All these three were brought up in one household, and all of one standing almost together: whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither were their fortune and advancements greatly diverse, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though, peradventure, in More and in Gardiner, there was more art of the letters, and skill of learning, yet, notwithstanding, there was in this man a more heavenly light of mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and, as may be supposed in this man, more pregnant, and, finally, in him was wrought a more heroical and princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the commonwealth, and to the singular help of many.

It happened that in this mean season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be solicitor to the cardinal, the said cardinal had then in hand the building of certain of the colleges, namely, his college in Oxford, called then Frideswide's, now Christ's Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priors, in divers places of the realm, were, by the said cardinal, suppressed, and the lands seised to the cardinal's hands; the doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell: in the expedition whereof he showed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set to work by the cardinal, to suppress religious houses: which was about the year of our Lord 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long but the cardinal, who had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the chancellorship (in which room was placed Sir Thomas More, as is before said); then he fell into a *præmunire*; so that his household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell, amongst others, laboured also to be retained into the king's service.

There was at the same time one Sir Christopher Hales, knight, master of the rolls, who, notwithstanding, was then a mighty papist; yet bare he

such favour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly been complained of and defamed, by certain of authority about the king, for his rude manner and homely dealing, in defacing the monks' houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king, hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers-by, who, with reviling words, ceased not to increase and inflame the king's hatred against him: what their names were it shall not need here to recite. Among others, there present at the same hearing, was the Lord Russell, earl of Bedford, whose life Cromwell before had preserved at Bologna, through politic conveyance, at what time the said earl, coming secretly in the king's affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of Cromwell escaped.

This Lord Russell therefore, not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite what he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how, by his singular device and policy, he had done for him at Bologna, being there in the king's affairs in extreme peril. And forasmuch as now his Majesty had to do with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, who could say or do more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell: and partly gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge, incontinent, that the king would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore, providing beforehand for the matter, he had in a readiness the copy of the bishops' oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration: and so being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster; which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance, doing his duty to the king, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his Highness: how his princely authority was abused within his own realm by the pope and his clergy, who, being sworn unto him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn

anew unto the pope; so that he was but a king, and they but half his subjects in land; which (said he) was derogatory to his and utterly prejudicial to the common law realm. Declaring, thereupon, how his might accumulate to himself great riches, as all the clergy in his realm were worth; pleased him to take the occasion now offered king, giving good ear to this, and liking his advice, required if he could avouch that he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch certain so well, as that he had the copy of his own oath to the pope there present to show that no less, also, he could manifestly prove that his Highness would give him leave: and then he showed the bishops' oath unto the king.

The king, following the vein of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first, admitting to his service, sent him therewith to the council house, among the bishops. Cromwell, coming thither, took the king's signet boldly into the clergy-house, there placing himself among the bishops, (Warham being then archbishop,) began in his oration, declaring unto them the authority of the king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under the laws, necessarily provided for the profit and safety of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly abused in derogation of the king's royal estate, full of the law of *præmunire*, in that not only they had consented to the power legative of the pope, but also, in that they had all sworn to the pope, contrary to the fealty of their sovereign king; and therefore had forfeited to the king their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and soever livings they had. The bishops, hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to deny the fact. But after that Cromwell showed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, desiring respect and pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the king thereof so fell out, that to be quit of that *præmunire* by act of parliament, it cost them to the king for both the provinces, Canterbury and York, less than one hundred and eighteen thousand and four hundred and forty pounds; which was about the year of our Lord 1530, whereof before you may read more at large.

After this, A. D. 1531, Sir Thomas Cromwell, growing in great favour with the king, was made knight, and master of the king's jewel-house, and shortly after was admitted also into the king's council.

cil, which was about the coming in of Queen Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within three years after the same, A. D. 1534, he was made master of the rolls, Dr. Taylor being discharged.

Thus Cromwell, springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1537, a little before the birth of King Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made great chamberlain of England: over and besides all which honours, he was constituted also vicegerent to the king, representing his person; which office, although it standeth well by the law, yet seldom hath there been seen any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as Cromwell did. And thus much hitherto, concerning the steps and degrees of the Lord Cromwell, rising up to dignity and high estate.

Now somewhat would be said, likewise, of the noble acts, the memorable examples, and the worthy virtues, not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authority and place, to work more abundantly in the commonwealth: among the which his worthy acts and other manifold virtues, in this one chiefly, above all others, riseth his commendation, for his singular zeal and laborious travail bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of antichrist: the abbeyes, I mean, and religious houses of friars and monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by means of the said Lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till at length, all the abbeyes in England, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. This act and enterprise of his, as it may give a precedent of singular zeal to all realms christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow; so, to this realm of England, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of others who can infer any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out these abbeyes and cells of strange religion, what other men see I know not; for my part, I never yet saw in this realm any such Cromwell since Cromwell's time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the money and bribes of abbots, than he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

Of how great laud and praise this man was worthy, and what courage and stoutness was in him, it

may hereby evidently appear unto all men, that he alone, through the singular dexterity of his wit and counsel, brought to pass that which, even unto this day, no prince or king, throughout all Europe, dare or can bring to pass. For whereas Britannia alone, of all other nations, is and hath been, of her own proper nature, most superstitious; this Cromwell, being born of a common or base stock, through a divine method or policy of wit and reason received, suffered, deluded, brake off, and repressed, all the policies, trains, malice, and hatred, of friars, monks, religious men, and priests, of which sort there was a great rabble in England. Their houses he subverted throughout all the realm. Afterwards he brought the bishops and archbishops, and the bishop of Winchester himself, although he was the king's chief counsellor, to an order; frustrating and preventing all his enterprises and complaints by a marvellous providence, but, especially, in those things which did tend to the ruin and decay of good men, and such as favoured the gospel; unto whom Cromwell was always as a shield, against the pestiferous enterprises of Winchester.

Briefly, there was continual emulation and mortal dissension between them two, such as Flaccius writeth happened between the wolves and the lambs: for both of them being greatly in the king's favour, the one being much more feared, the other was much better beloved. Either of them excelling in dexterity of wit, howbeit the virtues in the one far exceeded the other; for whereas the bishop of Winchester seemed such a man, to be born for no other purpose but only for the destruction of the good, this man, contrariwise, the Divine Providence had appointed as a remedy to help and preserve many, and to withstand the fury of the bishops; even like as we do see the same ground which bringeth forth most pestiferous poison, the same again also doth bring forth most wholesome and healthful remedies.

It were too long and tedious a declaration here to declare, how many good men, through this man's help and defence, have been relieved and delivered out of danger; of whom a great number after his fall, being deprived of their patron, (as it were,) did shortly after perish: there are many of them, however, yet alive at this present day, who are witnesses of these things which we report, and greater things also than these. In this manner the Omnipotent God hath always accustomed, in all commonwealths, to moderate adversity with prosperity, and things hurtful with others more wholesome and healthful; whereby it happeneth, that as oftentimes good and fortunate planets are joined with the hurtful and noisome, they do either utterly dissipate their mad furies, or at least somewhat keep the—

back; whereby, if they be not utterly prohibited, yet they do less hurt than otherwise they would: which thing, if it were to be conferred with the histories of our old fathers, Jehu, the sharp punisher of superstitious idolatry in the sacred commonwealth, was not much unlike this man. Likewise, in profane commonwealths, Camillus, and Cicero, who, through his singular prudence, joined with eloquence, withstood and put off the wicked enterprises of Catiline. Albeit that the terror conceived upon the conspiracy of Catiline, was not so noisome unto the commonwealth of Rome, as the bloody and insatiable cruelty and slaughter of these our bishops, conspiracies which do every where vex and trouble the Christian commonwealth: for, albeit that Catiline, through his wicked enterprise, went about the death of all good men, and the destruction of the commonwealth, yet did he rather put it in fear, than wound the commonwealth. But all the life and doings of these men are nothing else but a conspiracy, according to the prophecy of Isaiah; so that they do seem twice worse than any Catiline: for whatsoever he went about, by any privy pretence of his mind, that these men do perform openly: neither was it to be doubted but that he, albeit he were ever so cruel or fierce of nature, yet if he had had the upper hand, he would at once have made an end of murdering and killing. But these men, although they daily, in every place, kill Christ in his holy members, yet they never appoint or ordain any end or measure of their slaughter: which kind of men, (albeit there be nothing in a manner by nature more cruel,) besides their natural cruelty, they are endued with craft and subtlety, which is far worse, not being so hurtful by the one, as detestable for the other: for an open enemy, be he ever so mighty or fierce, yet if he cannot be vanquished, he may be taken heed of. And it happeneth oftentimes that violence, which is foreseen, may easily, or with like violence, be repulsed; or at least the wound that is received by another man's violence, is less grievous than that which cometh by fraud or deceit. But these men do not kill with armour and weapon, but, going a privy way to work, yet do the same: being so much the more to be blamed, forasmuch as they themselves, being the authors of the murder, do so put off the matter from themselves to others, as though they were free from all suspicion of cruelty. But here a man may the more perceive the inveterate subtleties of the old serpent, besides that, the more to provoke cruelty, there are added most plausible and honest titles, whereby the better all mercy and pity might be excluded; and also that they, even in their greatest tyranny, when they have committed or done any thing most cruel or horrible,

yet they might deserve praise of the commonwealth, as for a most holy work, done *ex officio*, as they say. So, under the name of Christ, they do persecute Christ, and under the pretence and name of peace, they kill more than any murderers while they do take upon them the name and authority of the church, they do violently invade the church of Christ.

In foreign wars it happeneth oftentimes that great cruelties are taken; and where towns are yielded, the mercy of the conqueror spareth many; kindness hath his respect, and many are set at liberty either by entreaties or ransom. But these do exceed all measure of nature, humanity, and equity: they are so addicted to their pleasures, delight, ease, that they have no consideration or regard for any life, estate, or condition. The cruel Queen Mary, and of the bishops, did of late years sufficiently declare the same, when nature was by a manner set forth unto all men in this realm, were by a perfect example, what extremes of cruelty, joined with superstition, may do in any realm. That if all empires should be governed or ruled after that example, it were better that there were no society of commonwealths; yea, it were better that men should wander in the wilderness, and to lead a wild and savage life amongst the wild beasts. For what wild beast, upon what libbard, wolf, or panther, were it not better for a man to fall, than upon the hands of bishops? if at least the bishops of other nations be like unto our Bonner. They boast themselves to bear the name of Christ, to be Christians; neither do they deny them that title. But why, in their words and living, doth there no spark of his nature appear, whose denomination they bear? In all their words and profession, they pretend nothing else but piety, and whereupon happen so many complaints, and suspicions, so great hatred and prodigious articles, censures, condemnation, and peremptory sentences, in so quiet and peaceable a people.

They object also often, unto us the catholic church, that they are the true spouse, and the only daughter of Christ. I hear them well, but that meek dove Christ is without any gall, bile, or claws; that he say, lacketh all kind of wrath, suspicion, pride, and tyranny. Where, then, is the simplicity of a dove, whereupon hath happened so great blood and slaughter in the meek spouse of the Lord? Who ever heard tell, that a dove did kill or devour either kites or hawks? But, if they think that Christ so great and acceptable service through their raging slaughter, surely they must show another manner of Christ, than him whom the evangelists describe unto us, whom the apostles set forth in their writings.

But they cry out and say, "They are heretics!" "they are worthy to die!" Let them bring forth one article out of the Apostles' Creed which these heretics do deny. They do, indeed, deny the blessed body of Christ to be in the sacrament naturally; but again, they confess him to be in heaven, and there do reverence and worship him. Why have the apostles, then, left out that article of their creed, if it be so necessary as they teach it to be? Albeit they do not, by and by, take away Christ out of the sacrament, who confess the bread to be in the sacrament. And again, it is no contumely unto Christ, if a man do rather judge him to be worshipped in the heaven, than in the sacrament: for he who denieth the emperor to be at Brussels, doth not derogate any thing from the emperor's authority, as I think, but only contendeth upon the place. What grievous cause or quarrel is this, then, that should move and stir up the peaceable mind of this simple dove, to such rage and fury, that, notwithstanding the great slaughter of Christians which hath been already made, they can yet find no beginning to show favour, or make any end of their murder!

But, go to, let us feign with ourselves (which thing, notwithstanding, I would that all men should think it spoken by me, not to the reproof or contumely of any man: for here I declare no man's name, neither show any man's person; but only set it forth for an example): let us, as I say, freely think and feign, that Satan dwelleth upon earth amongst men, and leadeth a manly life. Thou sayest, "It cannot be by nature;" but yet it may so be supposed. Now I will ask of some of these papists, (but of such a one as is of an equal judgment,) or of the bishop of Rome himself, that he would clearly and distinctly answer me, by what means he doth think that he would rule and order his life: whether he would not, first, direct all his doings, according to his insatiable ambition, violently to get unto himself the dominion of the whole world; placing himself in the highest degree and dignity; distributing all other promotions according to his own will; he himself being subject unto no power, but exalting himself, if he might, even as high as God. Would he not convert all men's goods and substance, by what means soever he may lay hold of it, upon most extreme riot and filthy pleasure? Moreover, would he not foresee to lead a life wholly in idleness, without all sorrow, care, or trouble?

Furthermore, I do not think him so holy, that in this delicate life he would also live chaste; neither yet that he will be troubled with the care or charge of a wife, but rather choose a middle or mean way, which, through wanton lust, hath more delectation,

less charge, but no true holiness in it at all. Then, he, who from the beginning hath been a murderer and liar, and the father thereof, retaineth so the same nature still, that he rejoiceth in nothing more than in the continual slaughter and destruction of men: neither is it to be doubted but that, when he cannot be suffered openly to rage, he will, by all crafty means and ways, at last satisfy his cruel mind. And what way would Satan himself, if he were present, gentle reader! (if I may by your licence speak the truth,) find more crafty or subtle than the bishop of Rome hath now found; who, under the person and vicarage of the most meek and gentle Christ, under the beautiful shadow of the church and peace, doth practise his extreme cruelty and madness, mixing and confounding all things with blood? And, albeit that daily, with greater outrage, he exerciseth the same throughout all Christendom, yet the Christian princes and noble counsellors are so blind and void of judgment, that they do not see what difference is between Christ and antichrist, light and darkness, truth and falsehood. They do little regard it, and nothing at all seek to help it: so that either we may seem to be fallen on Isaiah's times, or those days to have come upon us. The just man, saith he, perisheth, and there is no man that taketh any care for him. This great rage and tempest of cruelty, required a public reformation of all good princes. Now, forasmuch as their power and authority do sleep in such necessary and weighty matters, by whom it were convenient the Christian commonwealth should be restored, I may not prognosticate that which my mind doth foreshow unto me. This only I do wish, that God do not bring that to pass by the Turk, which Christian princes ought to have done.

But now, to return to our Christian Camillus, being such a one as if the courts of princes had but a few such counsellors, the Christian commonwealths would, at this day, be in a far better estate. This Cromwell (as I have said) was but of a base stock, but of such virtue as, not without sorrow, we may wish for, even in the most noble families now-a-days. He was first brought up in the cardinal's court, where he did bear several offices, wherein he showed such tokens and likelihood of excellent wit and fidelity, that, in short space, he seemed more meet for the king than for the cardinal.

But here I must of necessity answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen: for so I hear of many, that the subversion of these monasteries is to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The buildings, say they, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning: the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much

ter and more godly use of the poor, and maintaining of hospitality. Neither do I deny but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of God's holy providence, than at the first blush, peradventure, to all men doth appear.

And first, to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all seditious, and found out by the king's visitors, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that no marvel it is, if God's vengeance from heaven, provoked, would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkery, and consider how, and to what end, they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons at the first foundation of them, about the year 666.

In the former part of this history, declaration was made, first by whom and at what time these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of St. Benedict, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded: as by Augustine the monk, Furseus, Maidulph, Aldune, Ceadda, King Ulfer, Oswy, Elfrida, King Oswy's daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botolph, Edeldrida, King Oswald, Edgar, Erkenwald, bishop of London, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Oskitell, archbishop of York, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, Leswine, bishop of Dorchester, Dunstan, and divers others.

The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, for the remission of sins and redemption of sinners, for the relief of souls, for the love of heaven, for the salvation and repose of the spirits of our fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, and all our benefactors, and in honour of the glorious Virgin; as may appear in ancient histories, in old charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

So King Athelstan, for killing his brother Edwin, builded two monasteries, Middleton and Michaelney, for his soul: which doctrine and institution, forasmuch as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of Christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil or worse than the life of the persons; and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvelled at rather, that God would

suffer it to stand so long. Albeit God's vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious foundations from the time of their first setting up. For the invasions of the Danes, (which may seem stirred up of God especially for the subverting of abbeyes,) let old histories be searched, what misery almost in all this realm was either left to the Danes, or re-edified again after the Danes, and some notorious casualty of fire, sent by God, it hath been burned up?

First, the monastery of Canterbury, called house of St. Gregory, was burned A. D. 1144. afterwards again burned A. D. 1174..

The abbey of Crowland was also twice burned.

The abbey of Peterborough was twice set on fire. A. D. 1070.

The abbey of St. Mary's in York burned the hospital also.

The abbey of Norwich burned.

The abbey of St. Edmund's Bury burned and destroyed.

The abbey of Worcester.

The abbey of Gloucester was also burned.

The abbey of Chichester burned.

The abbey of Glastonbury burned.

The abbey of St. Mary in Southwark burned.

The church of the abbey of Beverley burned.

The steeple of the abbey of Evesham burned.

These, with many other monasteries more, were brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the monastical foundations in all England, before the conquest, escaped the hands of the Danes and Scots, or else after the conquest, escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved, for, as the trade of their lives was too, too worldly and bestial, so the profession of their doctrine intolerable, fraught with all superstition, full of idolatry, and utterly contrary to the grace of the gospel and doctrine of Christ.

Furthermore, the more these abbeyes multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time they grew more corrupt, and corruption still they drew unto them. And if we read the names of monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet, notwithstanding, the manners of those days were not like the monks of our time, nor their houses then like to our abbeyes now. For we read of the monks of Bangor before the coming of Augustine: but those monks got their living by the toil and labour of their hands, and had no other lands or lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen, according as Rome describeth the monks of his time, saying, "A monk's office is not to preach, but to mourn; and again he saith, "The state of a monk is to

thing, and the state of a priest is another ;" " Priests feed the flock of Christ ;" " I am fed," &c. .

Also in the story of Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, thus I find : " Being installed in the abbey of Crowland, A. D. 1076, I found there to the number of sixty-two monks : of which monks, four of them were lay-brethren, besides the monks of other monasteries who were also professed to our chapter," &c.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, where it is provided, That monks may not mix themselves up with ecclesiastical affairs ; and Leo, epist. 62, forbids monks and laymen, especially if they glory in the name of science, to be admitted to the office of teaching and preaching. Whereof read more before.

Thus it appeareth, about or before the time of Jerome, that monks in the first persecutions of the primitive church were laymen, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterwards, in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the monks, yet keeping their name, and growing in super-

stition, would not join with other Christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of life and profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this, moreover, came in the rule of St. Benedict, enjoining to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying ; of silence, sole life, and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

Whereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus, growing up in opinion of holiness, of laymen and labourers they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all others in Christ's religion ; inso-much that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a monk : neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the church, but either he was a monk, or afterwards he put on a monk's weed. According as in the stories of this realm is to be seen, how in the time of Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,

of Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and of Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Pope John the Thirteenth, writing to King Edgar, willed him, in his letters, to see in his cathedral churches none to be promoted to be bishops, but such as were of the monastical religion; and willed him, moreover, to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monks; and that none of the secular clerks there should be chosen bishop, but either be taken out of the same convent of that church, or of some other abbey.

So was also King Henry the Second commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were removed out, and regular canons intruded. The same did Bishop Oswald with the church of Worcester; likewise in their sees did Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Oskitell, archbishop of York, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, (who in stories is reported to be *multorum fundator monasteriorum*.) Leofwine also, bishop of Dorchester; with other bishops more, about the time and reign of King Edgar. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury before Dunstan, after his election, A. D. 941, refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the habit of a monk in the abbey of Fleury in France, "because," as the story telleth, (if it be true,) "all the archbishops of Canterbury before him had been monks," &c. In like manner Baldwin also, A. D. 1184, after he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the Cistercian habit in Ford Abbey: and so Reginald, his next successor after him, also took the habit of a monkish order, &c.

As concerning therefore the origin of monks, ye have heard how first they began of laymen only, leading a straiter life from the society of other persons; who, then following the rule of St. Benedict, were called Regulars, and Votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to do with any ecclesiastical ministry, till the time of Pope Boniface the Fourth, A. D. 607; who then made a decree, that monks might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confession, and assoiling men of their sins; differing from priests only in this, that they were called *Regulares*, and priests were called *Seculares*: the monks were votaries: the priests had free liberty to have wives, till the time of Lanfranc and Anselm, as is before said. Albeit Athanasius, in his epistle Ad Dracontium, witnesseth also, that he knew monks in the old time, and bishops, who were married and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarm of monks still more and more multiplied, in such sort as not only they thrust out secular priests from their houses, but also out of them were made popes, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, to govern churches; of which number began Augustine, the

first archbishop of the see of Canterbury, most part of all other archbishops after him, at time of the conquest, and after.

All this while the friars were not yet neither the discipline of St. Dominic, nor the ment of St. Francis, nor the order of the Augustinian brothers, nor of the Carmelites, was yet begun, which, last of all, came in with their pages played their part likewise, A. D. 1240, being more full of hypocrisy, blindness, idolatry, superstition, than were the monks. So that with monks on the one side, and with the friars on the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of St. Benedict, by the canons of the church by the doctrine of St. Dominic, and by the testament of St. Francis, Christ's testament was trodden under foot, the rule of God's word neglected, true religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christ's servants persecuted, and the people uncomforted; yea, and the true church almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided another time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the roots the houses of them, that, otherwise, would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had made a great part already.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwell's doings, in suppressing these superstices of monks and friars, let him wisely consider with himself, first, the doctrine, laws, and true religion of these men, which he shall find rebelling against the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatory to Christ's glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these cloisterers, or at least search out the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in Henry the Eighth's days, against them; for here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak of Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of the monks "whose filthy stench," saith he, "did breathe forth the most pestiferous fume, even unto the clouds of heaven," &c.

All which things well considered, what manner of judgment it then, if God, of his just judgment, did send the aforesaid Lord Cromwell to destroy these houses, whom their own corruptions could no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipating their lands and possessions to the hands of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the Lord in bestowing those abbey-lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them again unto the place from whence they came, or else to gratify his bounty by that means of policy, not to mislike

doings, what is that to Cromwell? "But they might," say you, "have been much better employed to other more fruitful uses."

Briefly to answer thereunto: what may be done presently in a commonwealth, it is not enough to say; but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of abbeyes had happened in such free and reformed cities and countries as are amongst the Germans, where the state, governed and directed by laws, rather than by rulers, remaineth always alike and immutable, who doubteth but such houses there standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses above said, without any fear or peril? But, in such realms and kingdoms as this, where laws and parliaments be not always one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certain always what princes may come; therefore the surest way to send monkery and popery packing out of this realm, is to do with their houses and possessions as King Henry here did, through the motion and counsel of Cromwell. For else, who seeth not in Queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had been restored and replenished again with monks and friars, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility, scarce were able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeyes distributed to them by King Henry, from the devotion of Queen Mary seeking to build again the walls of Jericho, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlikely but that God's heavenly providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these abbeyes; whereupon, as often as he sent out any men to suppress any monastery, he used most commonly to send them with this charge: that they should throw down those houses even to the foundation. Which words, although they may seem, percase, to some, to be cruelly spoken by him; yet, contrariwise, do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without God's special providence and secret guiding. Or else we might, peradventure, have had such swarms of friars and monks possessed in their nests again before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells, afterwards, scarcely should have sufficed to have unhoused them. Wherefore, if the plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the roots, let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries go.

Furthermore, as touching the godly use of the poor, schools, and stipends of preachers, (for unto

these three, diligent respect is to be had in every commonwealth,) there are other means provided, which, as they are alike honest, so are they also much more sure, so that the ancient godliness do not slack in the nobility. And if the nobility, in times past, have been so liberal in bestowing so great costs and charges upon things wherein there is no godliness, how uncomely would it be, for the true gospellers to be more niggardly in preferring true godliness and the study of the gospel!

Now that you have seen what this *malleus monachorum* hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope, let us see how the same Cromwell again did travail, in setting up Christ's church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Rome's power and authority were banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how, either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at least to keep upright those things which yet remained; wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrated, yet had they brought much more to pass, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

It happened that after the abolishing of the pope, certain tumults began to rise about religion; whereupon it seemed good unto King Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, who should soberly and modestly treat and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure, all the learned men, but especially the bishops, assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, and, by chance, meeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the Convocation-house, where all the bishops were assembled together. This was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelates attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar-general, and he again saluted every one in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and, after him, every bishop in his order, and doctors. First, over against him, sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell, in the name of the king, (whose most dear and secret counsellor at that present he was, and lord privy seal, and vicar-general of the realm,) spake these words in manner following:

"Right reverend fathers in Christ! The king's

Majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved concerning the Christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations through the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you, and of his whole parliament. For, although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himself, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and his whole parliament: by which thing ye may perceive both his high wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you, for Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves of the controversies moved in the church; and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without all brawling or scolding: neither will his Majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any glosses, any papistical laws, or by any authority of doctors and councils; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough, that ye be bound to show this service to Christ and to his church; and yet, notwithstanding, his Majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy; which thing his Majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do."

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the king's Majesty, not only for his great zeal toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so Christian a prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, where Stokesley, bishop of London, first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees, (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities,) endeavoured himself, with all his labour and industry, out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church: the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich, also favoured his part and sect. On

the contrary part were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, and many others.

After much communication had on either side, and when they had long contended about the testimonies of the doctors, which, as it seemed, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury at last spake, and thus unto them:

"It beseemeth not men of learning and wisdom to make such babbling and brawling about words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about the property of sophisters, and such as men of subtlety, who delight in the debate and contention of the world, and in the miserable contention of the church; and not of them that should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the quietness of the church. There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true meaning of the law and of the right difference of the law and the gospel; of the manner and way how sinners are justified; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certain that they please God, seeing they feel the law accusing them of sin; of the true meaning of the sacraments, whether the outward work doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, the true service and honour which please God; whether the choice of meats, the difference of ceremonies, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no word of God to warrant them; whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect Christian man. Item, whether vain service and false honour, which God, and man's traditions, do bind men to, be necessary sciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremonial law, confirmation, of orders, and of annoying, and other, (which cannot be proved to be instituted by Christ, nor have any word in them to certify remission of sins,) ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or no?

"These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our Christian religion: wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but about weighty and earnest matters. Christ saith, Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God. And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto subversion and destruction of the hearers; and he monisheth him especially, that he should resist

the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the faith: and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, Doing this thou shalt preserve both thyself, and also them which hear thee. Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in the Holy Scripture; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose, and other authors, call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other things, sacraments; which I am sure you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments."

When he had ended his oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius, which stood by, (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was spoken,) to show his mind and opinion, declaring to the bishops before, that he was the king's scholar; and therefore desired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Alesius, after he had first done his duty unto the Lord Cromwell, and to the prelates of the church, said in this wise:

"Right honourable and noble lord, and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church! although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet, trusting in the aid of Christ, who promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness, (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be,) or whether ye mean every ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will not stick to grant you that there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, where he saith, that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith. This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all sacraments generally: for the Jews had but one sacrament only, as all the scholastical writers do grant. And he describeth baptism after the same manner, in the Ephesians, where he saith, that Christ doth sanctify the church; that is to say, all that be baptized, through the bath

of water, in the word of life. For here, also, he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ, also, requireth faith where he saith, Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.

"And St. Augustine describeth a sacrament thus: 'The word of God, coming unto the element, maketh the sacrament.' And, in another place, he saith, 'A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly salvation.' And the Master of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise: 'A sacrament,' saith he, 'is an invisible grace, and hath a visible form: and by this invisible grace I mean,' saith he, 'remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denieth that any man hath authority to institute a sacrament. Now, if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easy thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be instituted by Christ, to signify unto us the remission of our sins.

"St. Augustine saith, that there be but two such sacraments; his words be these, 'First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: That our Lord Jesus Christ (as he himself saith in the gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easy yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of this new people with sacraments, very few in number, very easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptism, and the supper of the Lord, and such others, if there be any more commanded in the Holy Scripture; those except, which were burdens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardness of their hearts,' &c. And again, in the third book of *The Learning of a Christian Man*, he saith, 'The Scripture hath taught us but few signs, as be the sacrament of baptism, and the solemn celebration and remembrance of the body and blood of the Lord.'"

Then the bishop of London, which could scarcely refrain himself all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: "First of all," saith he, "where you allege that all the sacraments which are in the church, instituted by Christ himself, have either some manifest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to show forth some signification of remission of sins, it is false, and not to be allowed."

Then said Alesius, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford, (which was then lately returned out of Germany, where he had been ambassador for the king to the protestants,) beir

moved with the bishop of London's frowardness, turning himself first to Alexander Alesius, willed him not to contend with the bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, forasmuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they stedfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. "Wherefore, if this disputation shall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scripture." This he spake unto Alesius. Then, turning himself unto the bishops, he likewise admonished them, with a grave and sharp oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

"Think ye not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain ever so much. The lay people do now know the Holy Scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that have been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, that before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true, but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falsehood.

"Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought tran-

sitory, or that it will ever fall. All things are not in painted eloquence, and strength or power for the truth is of so great power, strength and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with nor be overcome with any strength, but hath hidden herself long, at length she peepeth over her head and appeareth, as it is written in the Scripture. A king is strong; wine is strong; yet we are more strong: but truth excelleth all."

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, he speak and utter in that convocation, boldly and discreetly; through whose oration, being encouraged, proceeded to urge the bishops with this argument.

The argument in form.

"Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of God's good will.

"Without the word there is no certainty of God's good will.

"*Ergo*, Without the word there be no sacraments.

"The first part of this reason is St. Paul saying, in the fourth to the Romans, where he saith that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith: *ergo*, it requireth faith in the man's heart of the will of God. But the foundation of God is the foundation of faith, as St. Paul saith, Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God: for the mind must be instructed to the will of God by the word, as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul, by that saying, confirmeth this opinion, that the sacraments should make us righteous and just before God for the very work, without faith of them that receive them.

"And after this manner doth Paul speak in the Ephesians: that Christ doth sanctify his people through the bath of water, in the word of life, forasmuch as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifestly teach that the word of God is a principal thing, even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be indeed nothing else but a token of that lively illumination, which we receive through faith in the word and promise. St. Paul also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly use the words of Christ: He took bread, saith he, when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body. Item, Do ye this in my remembrance. But by this, he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and not man, but he, had power to institute a sacrament; and

neither have the apostles, nor hath the church, any authority to alter, or to add any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith, For I received of the Lord, that which I delivered unto you, &c. To what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministering the sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the apostles did alter the form of baptism."

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him, and said thus :

"Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are ye far deceived if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every souter and cobbler doth read in his mother tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the Christian faith, but that only which is written in the Bible, then err ye plainly with the Lutherans : for St. John saith, that Jesus did many things which be not written ; and St. Paul commandeth the Thessalonians to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders. Finally, we have received many things of the doctors and councils of by-times, which, although they be not written in the Bible, yet forasmuch as the old doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture ; and, finally, that they may worthily be called, the word of God unwritten."

Now when the right noble Lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop, to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the Lord Cromwell bade him be content, for the time began to go away, and it was twelve o'clock ; and thus he made an end with his protestation :

"Right reverend master bishop, you deny that our Christian faith and religion doth lean only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible : which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me, that there be no sacraments but those that have the manifest word of God to confirm them."

Unto this he did consent, and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day. The next

day, when the bishops were set again, the archbishop of Canterbury, sending his archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstain from disputation : whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterward showed the same unto the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throughout all England.

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was, in the cause of Christ's religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travail how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reform the house of God : as by so many proclamations above specified, by his means set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lord's Prayer and Creed in English. Then he procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every Englishman to understand. After that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the more gross pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, who get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle holidays were diminished. Item, He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat in Lent. Furthermore, it was by him also provided, for the better instruction of the people, that benefited men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach, and to keep hospitality, with many other things else, most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of religion and behoof of Christ's church : as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of Christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the king's name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Now, to adjoin withal his private benefits, in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religion's sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings ; and first, how he helped a poor woman with child, out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.

N the year of our Lord 1538, Sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn, dwelling in Paternoster Row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwell-

ing in Abchurch Lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, showed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too, which she went withal, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Frebarn, her husband, spake to a butter-wife which he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named goodwife Fisher, to help him to a pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig: unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised, that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Dr. Cox's, at that time being dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy Lane, who, at the time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, showed this pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof. And after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests, (being landlord unto Frebarn aforesaid, called Master Garter, and by his office, king at arms,) sent his man unto the said Frebarn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house: unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, It was told his master, that somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent: unto whom Frebarn made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her, he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again.

And, shortly after, his landlord sent for him. But before that he had sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of London's sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarn was come, he demanded of him if he had not a pig in his house; which he denied not. Then commanded Master Garter the said sumner called Holland, to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him, and the pig, unto Dr. Stokesley his master, being then bishop of London: and so he did. Then the bishop, being in his chamber with

divers other of the clergy, called this Frebarn before him, and had him in examination for this pig; laying also unto his charge, that he had eaten in his house, that Lent, powdered beef, and calves' heads. Unto whom Frebarn answered, "My Lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house, hath done as your Lordship saith, let me suffer death there-for." "You speak," said he, "against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, or holy water, nor yet go on procession on Palm Sunday; thou art no Christian man." "My Lord," said Frebarn, "I trust I am a true Christian man, and have done nothing either against God's law or my prince's."

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two hours, divers came unto the bishop; some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes: unto whom as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and show it them, saying, "How think you of such a fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent; yea, and also powdered beef and calves' heads too, besides this!"

After this, the bishop called his sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this Thomas Frebarn, and the pig, openly through the streets into the Old Bailey, unto Sir Roger Cholmley: for the bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarn carried, with the pig before him, to Sir Roger Cholmley's house in the Old Bailey; and he being not at home at that time, Frebarn was brought likewise back again unto the bishop's place with the pig, and there lay in the porter's lodge till it was nine o'clock at night. Then the bishop sent him unto the Compter in the Poultry, by the sumner and other of his servants.

The next day, being Saturday, he was brought before the mayor of London and his brethren, unto Guildhall; but, before his coming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the bishop's officer. Then the mayor and the bench laid unto his charge, (as they were informed from the bishop,) that he had eaten powdered beef and calves' heads in his house the same Lent: but no man was able to come in that would justify it, neither could any thing be found, save only the pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his wife's life, and that she went withal. Notwithstanding the mayor of London said, that the Monday next following he should stand on the pillory in Cheapside, with the

one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then spake the wife of the said Frebarn unto the mayor and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he; for it was the long of her, and not of him. After this they took a satin list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Frebarn to carry it, hanging on his shoulder, until he came unto the Compter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wife of this prisoner took with her an honest woman, the wife of one Michael Loble, who was well acquainted with divers in the Lord Cromwell's house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some help for this prisoner, desiring them to speak unto their lord and master for his deliverance out of trouble.

It happened that the same time came in Dr. Barnes and Master Barlow, who, understanding the matter by Loble's wife, went up to the Lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof; who, upon their request, sent for the mayor of the city of London: but what was said unto the lord mayor is unknown, saving that in the afternoon of the same day the wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the lord mayor, suing to get her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but only her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the mayor answered, "What come ye to me? You are taken up by the king's council. I supposed, that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillory in Cheapside on Monday next, with the one half of the pig on his one shoulder and the other half on the other." Also the mayor said unto her, that he could not deliver him, without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen: wherefore he bade her, the next day following, which was the sabbath day, to resort unto Paul's, to St. Dunstan's chapel, and when he had spoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could she not get at that time; wherefore she went unto Master Wilkinson, then being sheriff of London, desiring him to be good unto her, and that she might have her poor husband out of prison. Unto whom Master Wilkinson answered, "O woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no:" saying, moreover, unto her, that if the lord mayor had sent him to his Compter, as he sent him to his brother's, he should not of tarried there an hour: and so commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this woman resorted again to Master Wilkin-

son's according as he bade her, who also had bidden divers guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she saw the hot fish come in, she fell down in a swoon, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Paternoster-row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with, (but after that she came somewhat again to herself,) where she lay sick, and kept her bed the space of fifteen weeks after; being not able to help herself, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

Now, to show further what became of this pig, whereof we have spoken so much, it was carried into Finsbury field by the bishop of London's sumner, at his master's commandment, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the mayor of London, with the residue of his brethren, being at Guildhall, sent for the prisoner aforesaid, and demanded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge: but for lack of such sureties as they required, upon his own bond, which was a recognisance of twenty pounds, he was delivered out of their hands. But, shortly after he was delivered out of this his trouble, Master Garter, of whom we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in four years after he could not get another, but was constrained to be with other good folks, to his great hinderance and undoing.

Hard it were, and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them that felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembered the notable deliverance of one Gray, a smith of Bishop's Stortford, who, being accused for denying the sacrament of the altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to London, and there should have been condemned to be burned, but that, by the means of the Lord Cromwell, he was sent home again and delivered. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare: how he helped the secretary that then was to Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, which secretary is yet alive, and can bear present record of the same.

How the Lord Cromwell helped Cranmer's secretary.

Mention was made before, how King Henry, in the twenty-first year of his reign, caused the Six Articles to pass, much against the mind, and contrary to the consent, of the archbishop of Canterbury,

Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three days against the same, in the parliament-house, with great reasons and authorities. Which articles, after they were granted and passed by the parliament, the king, for the singular favour which he ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said and objected in the parliament against these articles, or what could be alleged by learning against the same, required a note of the archbishop of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell and other lords of the parliament, whom the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled spirits, as hath been above recited.

Whereupon, when this dinner was finished, the next day after, the archbishop, collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scripture, and doctors together, caused his secretary to write a fair book thereof for the king, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alleged; then the doctors; thirdly, followed the arguments deduced from those authorities. This book was written in his secretary's chamber; where, in a by-chamber, lay the archbishop's almoner. When this book was fair written, and while the secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his master, who was (as it then chanced) ridden to Croydon, returning back to his chamber, he found the door shut, and the key carried away to London by the almoner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the city, by whose occasion it so fell out, that he must needs go to London. The book he could not lay in his chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being straitly charged, in any condition, by the archbishop his master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his father, and to keep the book about him. And so thrusting the book under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where he entered into a wherry that went to London, wherein were four of the guard, who meant to land at Paul's wharf, and to pass by the king's Highness, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boats about him, then baiting of bears in the water, over against the bank.

These aforesaid yeoman of the guard, when they came against the king's barge, they durst not pass by towards Paul's wharf, lest they should be espied, and therefore entreated the secretary to go with them to the bear-baiting, and they would find the means, being of the guard, to make room, and to see all the pastime. The secretary, perceiving no

other remedy, assented thereto. When the wherry came nigh the multitude of the boats, they, with poleaxes, got the wherry so far, that being compassed with many other wherries and boats, there was no refuge if the bear should break loose and come upon them; as in very deed, within one Paternoster, the bear brake loose, and came into the boat where the yeoman of the guard were, and the said secretary. The guard forsook the wherry, and went into another barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The bear and the dogs so shook the wherry wherein the secretary was, that the boat, being full of water, sunk to the ground; and being also, as it chanced, an ebbing tide, he there sat in the end of the wherry up to the middle in water; to whom came the bear and all the dogs. The bear, seeking as it were aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the book was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames, out of his reach.

The flying of the people after that the bear was loose, from one boat to another, was so cumbersome, that divers persons were thrown into the Thames; the king commanding certain men that could swim to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the king, that he bade "away, away with the bear, and let us all go hence!"

The secretary, perceiving his book to fleet away in the Thames, called to the bearward to take up the book. When the bearward had the book in his custody, being an arrant papist, far from the religion of his mistress, (for he was the Lady Elizabeth's bearward, now the queen's Majesty,) ere the secretary could come to land, he had delivered the book to a priest of his own affinity in religion, standing on the bank, who, reading in the book, and perceiving that it was a manifest refutation of the Six Articles, made much ado, and told the bearward, that whosoever claimed the book should surely be hanged. Anon the secretary came to the bearward for his book. "What," quoth the bearward, "dare you challenge this book? Whose servant are you?" "I am servant to one of the council," said the secretary, "and my lord of Canterbury is my master." "Yea marry," quoth the bearward, "I thought as much: you be like, I trust," quoth the bearward, "to be both hanged for this book." "Well," said he, "it is not so evil as you take it, and, I warrant you, my Lord will avouch the book to the king's Majesty. But I pray you let me have my book, and I will give you a crown to drink." "If you will give me five hundred crowns, you shall not have it," quoth the bearward.

With that the secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the bearward, he learned that Blage, the grocer in Cheapside, might do much with the bearward, to whom the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the bearward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof; and besides that, rather than he would forego his book after this sort, the bearward should have twenty shillings to drink. The supper was prepared; the bearward was sent for and came. After supper the matter was treated of, and twenty shillings offered for the book. But do what could be done, neither friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money, could obtain the book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the council that would not so slightly look on so weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a supper, or a piece of money. The honest man, Master Blage, with many good reasons, would have persuaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but be laughed to scorn; getting neither penny nor praise for his travail. He, hearing that, rushed suddenly out of the doors from his friend Master Blage, without any manner of thanksgiving for his supper, more like a bearward, than like an honest man. When the secretary saw the matter so extremely to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any further practising of entreaty with the bearward, as with him that seemed rather to be a bear himself, than the master of the beast; determining the next morning to make the Lord Cromwell privy of the chance that happened.

So, on the next day, as the Lord Cromwell went to the court, the secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. "Where is the fellow?" quoth the Lord Cromwell. "I suppose," said the secretary, "that he is now in the court, attending to deliver the book unto some of the council." "Well," said the Lord Cromwell, "it maketh no matter; go with me thither, and I shall get you your book again." When the Lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the bearward, with the book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto Sir Anthony Brown, or unto the bishop of Winchester, as it was reported. To whom the Lord Cromwell said, "Come hither, fellow! what book hast thou there in thy hand?" and with that snatched the book out of his hand, and looking in the book, he said, "I know this hand well enough. This is your hand," said he to the secretary. "But where hadst thou this book?" quoth the Lord Cromwell to the bearward. "This

gentleman lost it two days ago in the Thames," said the bearward. "Dost thou know whose servant he is?" said the Lord Cromwell. "He saith," quoth the bearward, "that he is my Lord of Canterbury's servant." "Why then didst thou not deliver to him the book, when he required it?" said the Lord Cromwell. "Who made thee so bold, as to detain and withhold any book or writing from a councillor's servant, especially being his secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy bears, than with such writing; and were it not for thy mistress' sake, I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert knaves to meddle with councillors' matters. Had not money been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is? that knoweth not a councillor's man from a cobbler's man!" And with those words the Lord Cromwell went up into the king's chamber of presence, and the archbishop's secretary with him, where he found, in the chamber, the lord of Canterbury. To whom he said, "My lord! I have found here good stuff for you, (showing to him the paper book that he had in his hand,) ready to bring both you, and this good fellow your man, to the halter; namely, if the knave bearward, now in the hall, might have well compassed it." At these words the archbishop smiled, and said, "He that lost the book is like to have the worst bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the book fair again:" and, at these words, the Lord Cromwell cast the book unto the secretary, saying, "I pray thee, Morice! go in hand therewith, by-and-by, with all expedition, for it must serve a turn." "Surely, my Lord, it somewhat rejoiceth me," quoth the Lord Cromwell, "that the varlet might have had of your man twenty shillings for the book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaken him well up for his over-much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough," quoth he, "there is not a ranker papist within this realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princess." And so, after humble thanks given to the Lord Cromwell, the said Morice departed with his book, which, when he again had fair written it, was delivered to the king's Majesty by the said Lord Cromwell, within four days after.

The Lord Cromwell not forgetting his old friends and benefactors.

It is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also, with fortune, into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves, what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of remem-

brance all their old friends and former acquaintance, which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how far the courteous condition of this Christian earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear; as by a certain poor woman keeping some time a victualling-house about Hounslow, to whom the said Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the sum of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord Cromwell, with Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, riding through Cheapside towards the court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poor woman, brought now in need and misery, estoons caused her to be called unto him; who, being come, after certain questions, asked of her (if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place); at last, he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom, with reverent obeisance, she confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning, which was yet unpaid; whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him, to require her right. Then the Lord Cromwell, sending the poor woman home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the porter should let her in, after his return from the court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her a yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived.

The like courtesy the said Lord Cromwell showed also to a certain Italian, who, in the city of Florence, had showed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear; which story, set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Lucca, by Busdrago, A. D. 1554, I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

"Not many years past," saith the author, "there was in Florence a merchant, whose name was Fran-

cis, descended from the noble and ancient family the Frescobaldi. This gentleman was also endued with a noble and liberal mind, unto also, through prosperous success and fortune in his affairs and doings, much abundance of increased, so that he grew in great wealth, his coffers replenished with many heaps of treasure. According to the custom of men he used his trade into many countries, but into England, where long time he lived, sojourn in London, keeping house to his great commend and praise.

"It happened that Francis Frescobaldi, being in Florence, there appeared before him a poor man, asking his alms for God's sake. Frescobaldi as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but his countenance gave signification of much wisdom and virtue in him, with conformity of agreeing to the same, being moved with compassion, demanded of what country he was, and where born. 'I am, sir,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a merchant, and by his occupation a cloth-shearer. I strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy, with the camp of Frenchmen that were thrown at Garigliano, where I was the post-footman, carrying after him his pike and bag.' Frescobaldi, partly considering the present condition of this young man, and partly for the love he bore to the English nation, of whom he had received sundry times past, sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such courtesy entertained him, that at his departure, when he was in mind to turn to his country, he provided such necessaries as he in any way needed. He gave him both old and new apparel, and sixteen ducats of gold in purse, to bring him into his country. Cromwell rendering his hearty thanks, took leave of him, and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage, and heroical spirit, and enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a good councillor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, he advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobaldi (as it many times happeneth to merchants) was, by many misfortunes and great losses, cast back, and become very poor. For, according to conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any others from himself; but such debts were owing unto him, he could by no means recover yet, calling further to remembrance that in England by certain merchants, there was due to him the sum of fifteen thousand ducats, he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that money, he would

well content himself, and no longer deal in his trade of merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

"All things prepared for his journey, he, setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what courtesy long before he had showed to Cromwell; which is the property always of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath showed to others, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of others. Frescobald, thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him, by the way, to meet with this nobleman, as he was riding towards the court; whom, as soon as the said Lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought with himself that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands, in times past, he had received so gentle entertainment: and thereupon suddenly alighting, (to the great admiration of those that were with him,) in his arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice, scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald the Florentine. 'Yea, sir,' he answered, 'and your humble servant.' 'My servant?' quoth Cromwell. 'No, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwise than my great and especial friend; assuring you that I have just reason to be sorry, that you, knowing what I am, (or, at least, what I should be,) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land; which, known unto me, truly I should have paid part of that debt, which I confess to owe you: but, thanked be God! I have yet time. Well, sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome: but, having now weighty affairs in my prince's cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore, at this time I take my leave, desiring you, with the faithful mind of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner.' And then, remounting his horse, he passed to the court.

"Frescobald, greatly marvelling with himself who this lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence; and thereat he not a little joyed, especially considering how that, by his means, he should the better recover his due.

"The hour of dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of this honourable councillor, where, walking a while in his base court, he attended his coming. The lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admiral, and all the other noblemen

of the court, being then in his company, did not a little marvel thereat. Which thing when the Lord Cromwell perceived, he said, turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand, 'Do ye not marvel, my Lords,' quoth he, 'that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have achieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesy when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you.' And so there declared he unto them every thing in order, according as before hath been recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entered his house; and coming into the chamber where his dinner was prepared, he sat him down to the table, placing his best-welcomed guest next unto him.

"The dinner ended, and the lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Francis, in few words, opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only portion to maintain the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand ducats which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spain. Whereunto the Lord Cromwell, answering again, said, 'Touching the things, Master Frescobald! that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by man's power, nor by policy called again, which hath happened unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world, altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to yourself alone, but that, by the bond of mutual love, I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heaviness, yet, notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive, in this your heavy distress, some consolation for your old courtesy, showed to me in times past, the like courtesy now requireth of me again, that I, likewise, should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch on the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.

"Then, taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the door. Then, opening a coffer full heaped with treasure, he first took out sixteen ducats, and, delivering them to Frescobald, he said; 'Lo here, v'

friend! is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here are other ten which you bestowed on my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the horse I rode away on. But, considering you are a merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you, therefore, these four bags, and in every one of them are four hundred ducats: these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend.'

"Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb, and almost an utter decay, yet, expressing the virtue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the Lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindness showed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it. This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the sum that from every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the realm; and then straitly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so well performed his master's commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum; and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost, such commodity as the use of his money in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further; by which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the Lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

"And during all this time, Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in England, offering him the loan of threescore thousand ducats for the space of four years, if he would continue, and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into his country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where, richly arriving, he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died."

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits, full of singular gratitude and courtesy, that to re-

hearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many others I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at, the lowly mind of such a person in so high a state and place of honour. For as he, coming with others of the lords of the council and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certain monks, which there denied the king's supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, who there served to sweep their cells and cloisters, and to ring the bells: whom when the Lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and, before all the table, most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the lords, "My lords!" quoth he, "see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat." Then said he unto the poor man, "Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, being alive at the second edition hereof, report it to be true.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excellent wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of Christian faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Secondly, with his wisdom and policy no less singular, joined with his Christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with foreign realms, as may be well, by the king's letters and instructions, sent by this means to his ambassadors resident both with the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, and also with the pope, may well appear; in all whose courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling ever so little against the king and the realm, which he, by wit and policy, did not quench and keep down; and where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by money he bought it out; so that during all the time of Cromwell's prosperity, the king never had war with any foreign nation: notwithstanding, that

both the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

Thus, as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realm from foreign wars; so his authority was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: first, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their subtle devices; secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the laws; whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was he a terror to the evil-doers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell, brake many frays, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of ruffians in the street of London called Paternoster Row; where carts were set on both sides, prepared on purpose to enclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell, coming the same time from the court through Paul's Church-yard, and entering into Cheap, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the Little Conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier Alley. Thus, as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly, at the noise of the Lord Cromwell's coming, the camp brake up, and the ruffians fled, neither could the carts keep in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting; only through the authority of the Lord Cromwell's name.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain servingman of the like ruffianly order; who, thinking to dis sever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange new-fangleness of fashions by himself, (as many there be whom nothing doth please which is daily seen and received,) used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner, (counterfeiting belike the wild Irishmen, or else Crismus, the Trojan, whom Virgil speaketh of,) as one weary of his own English fashion; or else as one who, ashamed to be seen like a man, would rather go like a woman; or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himself; that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

As this ruffian, ruffling thus with his locks, was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should

meet him but the Lord Cromwell! who, beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the man, to question with him whose servant he was: which being declared, then was it demanded whether his master or any of his fellows used so to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no: which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered again, that forasmuch as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his vow, but until his vow should be expired, he should lie the mean time in prison: and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsea, where he endured; till at length this Intonsus Cato, being persuaded by his master to cut his hair, by suit and petition of friends, he was brought again to the Lord Cromwell, with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows; and so was dismissed.

Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Friar Bartley, who, wearing still his friar's cowl after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell, coming through Paul's Church-yard, and espying him in Rheines's shop, "Yea," said he, "will not that cowl of yours he left off yet? And if I hear, by one o'clock, that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for example to all others." And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after.

If the same Lord Cromwell, who could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangled fashions of attire, used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolical, barbarous breeches, (which seem rather like barrels than breeches,) would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excess of vesture this I have to marvel: First, how these servingmen, which commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years' wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their masters and lords (who shall yield to God account of their servants' doings) do not search and try out their servants' walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendiary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is

to be marvelled, that magistrates, who have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, "that England once had a Cromwell."

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy councillor, by his prudent policy, his grave authority, and perfect zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the public realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established, what wickedness and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions, and superstitious illusions, he detected and abolished out of the church. What posterity will ever think the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the people's eyes with an old rotten stock, called the Rood of Grace, wherein a man should stand enclosed, with a hundred wires within the rood, to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws, according as the value was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, the image would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then should his jaws go merrily. Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused, their souls seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgery, at last, by Cromwell's means, was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines, showed openly at Paul's Cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which, in like manner, by Cromwell was brought to Paul's Cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck. Who would have judged, but that the maid of Kent had been a holy woman, and a prophetess inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paul's Cross, to be a strong and lewd impostor. What should I speak of Darvel Gartheren, of the rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket, of our Lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? all which stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, removed them out of the people's way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.

While the Lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the commonwealth, and in purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of virtue appeareth, there envy creepeth in; and where true piety seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withal.

Thus, I say, as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poor afflicted, helping them out of trouble, the malice of enemies so wrought, continually hunting for against him, that they never ceased, till in by false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favour.

The chief and principal enemy against Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was diadaining and envying the state and felicity of Lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the marriage of Lady Anne of Cleves, being a foreigner, put in the king's ears what perfect thing it were for the quiet of the re-establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen, and prince that were mere Englishmen; so that, in conclusion, the king's affection, which it was diminished from the late married Lady Anne of Cleves, the less favour he bare unto Cardinal Gardiner. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other enemies also, and ill-willers in the court of the king, which little made for Cromwell, both in religion which they maligned, and for other grudges also, incident by the way.

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both; at what time the king, after the making of the Six Articles, sent the said Lord Cromwell vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Devon, with all the lords of the parliament, to London to dine with the archbishop, (who mightily had been reputed and alleged in the parliament against the said articles,) to cheer and comfort his daunted heart again.

There the said Cromwell, with the other lords, sitting with the archbishop at his table in the said hall, as every lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signify what good opinion both the king and they bare unto him; among the rest, one of the company, entering into a comparison between the said Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, declared that Cranmer, in his judgment, was much to be preferred before his mild and gentle nature, whereas the cardinal was a stubborn and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man. "And that," said

“know you well enough, my Lord Cromwell ! for he was your master,” &c. At these words the Lord Cromwell, being somewhat touched to hear the cardinal's service so cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, that he could not deny but he was servant some time to Cardinal Wolsey, neither did repent the same ; for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities : but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen pope, as he understood that *he* would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and showing, moreover, what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome, in case he had been elected bishop of Rome. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them ; which contention, although it was, through entreaty of the archbishop and other nobles, somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter root of grudge remained behind, which afterwards grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was A. D. 1539, in the month of July.

After this, the next year following, which was 1540, in the month of April, was holden a parliament, which, after divers prorogations, was continued till the month of July. On the tenth of June in the said year, the Lord Cromwell, being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London : whereat as many good men, who knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so more there were, on the contrary side, that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the church, and now, by his means, were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery, or of false religion creeping under hypocrisy ; and less could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy, which, professing all humility, was so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortening his days, and of bringing him to his end ; so that on the seventeenth day of the month aforesaid, he was attainted by parliament.

In that attainder, divers and sundry crimes, surmises, objections, and accusations, were brought against him : but chiefly, and above all others, he was charged and accused of heresy, for that he was a supporter of them whom they recounted for here-

tics ; as Barnes, Clark, and many others, whom, by his authority, and letters written to sheriffs and justices in divers shires, he had rescued, and discharged out of prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad among the king's subjects great numbers of books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much heresy, diffidence, and misbelief. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar ; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and Christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses, (what they were, the attainder expresseth not,) which most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with heinous words spoken against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign ; which words if they be true, as the attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hasty speed, in all post haste to have him despatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation ? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleared himself thereof.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard those words in St. Peter's church in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, conceal the said words of such treason so long, the space almost of two years, and now uttered the same in the two-and-thirtieth year of the king's reign, in the month of July.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had known or believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had been indeed such a traitor to his person, why then did the king, so shortly after, lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive again ? What prince will wish the life of him whom he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and person ? Whereby it may appear what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himself, howsoever the parliament, by sinister information, was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Such malicious makebates about princes and parliaments never lacked in commonweals. By such King Athelstan was incensed to kill his brother Edwin. So was King Edward the Second deposed. So likewise, when King Richard the Second was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accusations were laid against him in the parliament ! So was Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester,

the king's uncle, by Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, and others, in the parliament holden at Bury, arrested as a traitor, and falsely made away. What great treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, said merrily to his son, that if he lived, he would make him heir to the crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a traitor. In the time of King Henry the Eighth how was that parliament incensed, wherein both Queen Anne was falsely condemned, and Queen Elizabeth her daughter as falsely disherited? To omit here the attainder of the duke of Buckingham, wrought by the cardinal of York; of the Lord Cobham likewise, and Sir Roger Acton: if the cause of the Lord Henry, late earl of Surrey, were well tried out, peradventure no such heinous purpose of any treason should be found therein, as then was made. Who incensed the late duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such makebates as these? and afterwards, when the said duke himself was attainted for a traitor, and condemned for a felon, a briber, and extortioner, how was the parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip received of Cardinal Pole at Rome but a silly crown in way of alms, and there-for, by means of Stephen Gardiner, was attainted for a traitor. George Egles did but read sometimes in woods, and by the said Gardiner was also condemned, and suffered as a traitor. Not that I here speak or mean against the high courts of parliaments of this our realm, necessarily assembled for the commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due reverence and authority. But, as it happeneth sometimes in general councils, which, though they be ever so general, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of religion; so, likewise, they that say that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politic, do not therein derogate or impair the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsel they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such general councils, and into prince's courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making mountains of molehills, or else too much extenuating things that be of themselves great and weighty, according as it is truly said by the poet Juvenal, "As a man is friended, so is his matter ended;" and "Where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large heaps;" or rather, to speak after the French phrase, "He that is disposed to

have his dog killed, first maketh men believe he is mad." And thus much having touching the matter of his accusation, we refer to the high parliament of that Mighty who shall one day bring all things to perfection.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of Lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is that Stephen Gardiner lacked not a head, and privy assisters, which cunningly could find matter about, and watch their time, when being disposed to marry another wife, viz. the Lady Katharine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the Lord Cromwell, did marry the Lady Anne of Cleves, which otherwise it might have been thought, during the life of Cromwell could well be brought to pass.

But these things being now done and passed, we will pass them over, and return again from where we digressed, that is, to the Lord Cromwell, now attainted and committed to the Tower. So long as he went with full sail of fortune, moderately and how temperately he did manage himself in his estate, before hath been said. So now the said Lord Cromwell, always overcome by the contrary wind of adversity being overcome, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a Christian heart; neither yet was he unprovided of counsel and forecast, but that he foresaw this tempest long before it fell, and was prepared for the same; for two years before, knowing the conspiracy of his adversaries, and what might happen, he called unto him his children, and there, showing unto them in what a state he stood, and also perceiving some storm weather already to gather, required them to be diligently to their order and doings, lest, by their default, any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he took for his servants, that he left them, especially the younger brethren, which had little else to take unto, had honestly left for their friends' hands to relieve them; which should him befall.

Briefly, such a loving and kind master he was to his servants, that he provided aforehand almost for all of them; insomuch, that he gave to twelve children, which were his musicians, twenty pounds a year, and so committed them to their friends, of which some yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being in the Tower a prisoner, quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himself, how gravely and discreetly he answered the commissioners sent unto him, and how worthy noting. Whatsoever articles and interrogations

gatories they propounded, they could' put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition, than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners who came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king; which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor, then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords, what he had promised, "You shall commend me," said he, "to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so well tried and throughly proved you as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the king, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir Ralph Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful unto him) went unto the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which when the king had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, insomuch that the king seemed to be moved therewith.

At last, three years after all this was done, Cromwell being circumvented with the malicious craft and policy of divers, that, by occasion of mention made touching the king's divorce with the Lady Anne of Cleves, he had said these words, "That he wished his dagger in him that had dissolved or broken that marriage;" hereupon it was objected against him by Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and others, that it was spoken against the king, who, at that time being in love with Katharine Howard, was the chief cause and author of that divorce. Whereupon divers of the nobles conspiring against him, some for hatred, and some for religion's sake, he was cast into the Tower of London; where, as it happened, (as it were by a certain fatal destiny,) that whereas he, a little before, had made a law, that whosoever was cast into the Tower, should be put to death without examination, he himself suffered by the same law. It is said, (which also I do easily credit,) that he made this violent law, not so much for any cruelty or tyranny, as only for a certain secret purpose, to have entangled the bishop of Winchester, who, albeit he was, without doubt, the most violent adversary of Christ and his religion, notwithstanding, God, peradventure, would not have his religion set

forth by any wicked cruelty, or otherwise than was meet and convenient.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament before passed, the worthy and noble Lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, on the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1540, was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he said these words following:

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some think, peradventure, that I will: for if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am, by the law, condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great travailler in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereunto I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. O Father, forgive me! O Son, forgive me! O Holy Ghost, forgive me! O three persons in one God, forgive me! And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions; which is untrue: but I confess, that like as God, by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us; and I have been seduced. But bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king's Grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, Prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith."

And so making his prayer, which was long, but not so long as both godly and learned, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell said at the hour of his death.

"O Lord Jesu! which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed

unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt, in better wise, restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesu Christ! that thou wilt, by thy grace, make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord! wast born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour! let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord! thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant: that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me: that love wax not cold in me; and finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour! that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesu! receive my spirit. Amen."

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God; and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, which very ungoodly performed the office.

This valiant soldier and captain of Christ, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, as he was most studious of himself in a flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the gospel, seeking all means and ways to

beat down false religion and to advance the true, he always retained unto him and had about him such as could be found helpers and furtherers of the same; in the number of whom were sundry and divers fresh and quick wits, pertaining to his family; by whose industry and ingenious labours, divers and excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad, concerning the suppression of the pope and all popish idolatry. Amongst which, omitting a great sort that we might here bring in, yet this small treatise here following, called *The Fantassie of Idolatrie*, we thought not to pass over, containing in it, as in a brief sum, the great mass of idolatrous pilgrimages; for the posterity hereafter to understand, what then was used in England.

A Booke entitled the Fantassie of Idolatrie.

All Christen people
 Beyng under the steeple
 Of Jesu Christes faith!
 Marke and drawe nere,
 And ye shall here
 What the Holy Scripture sayth.

First, I wyll begyn
 Your hartes to wyn
 With nother fable nor lye;
 But with God's testament,
 As is moste expedient,
 Concerning idolatrie:

Wherin we myght se
 Great authoritie,
 Sauyng it were to long
 For to rehearse,
 Nowe, verse by verse,
 In this same lytle song.

But I shall shewe,
 In wordes fewe,
 The summe of the whole effecte,
 To them of good mynde,
 That be wylling to fynde
 The trade of idolatrous sect.

Fyrst, we will gather,
 Of our heavenly Father,
 Among his commaundmentes, ten;
 Written as no fables,
 But as in Moyse's tables,
 To be kept of all Christen men.

Where that he sayth,
 To the chyldren of fayth,
 'I am your God and Kyng;
 Other gods haue ye none,
 But me alone,
 To love aboue all thing.'

'Idols and images
 Haue none in vsage,
 (Of what mettel so euer they be,)
 Graued or carued;
 My wyle be obserued,
 Or els can ye not loue me.'

'Then I, a jealous God,
 Wyll scourge with my rod;
 I may not forbear my hand:
 And specially
 For idolatry.
 My power who can withstand!'

The prophetes all,
 In generall,
 Of idols, as ye may se,
 Put us from doubtte,
 And set them out,
 In their colours, as they ought to be.

Saynt Paule also,
 With many saintes mo,
 Against idols, with al their myght,
 Perceiuing suche swarmes,
 Did blase their armes,
 And brought them out to lyght.

This should suffice
 All those that be wyse;
 But we, of a stoubourne mynde,
 Be so harde harted,
 Wyll not be conuerted,
 But rather styll be blynde.

Ronnyng hyther and thyther,
 We cannot tell whither,
 In offryng candels and pence
 To stones and stockes,
 And to olde rotten blockes,
 That came, we know not from whense.

To Walsyngham * a gaddyng,
 To Cantorbury a maddyng,
 As men distraught of mynde;
 With fewe clothes on our backes,
 But an image of waxe,
 For the lame and for the blynde.

To Hampton, to Ipswyche,
 To Harforth, to Shordyche,
 With many mo places of pryce;
 As, to our Lady of Worcester,
 And the weete rode of Chester,
 With the blessed Lady of Penryce.

To Leymster, to Kyngstone,
 To Yorke, to Donyngton,
 To Redyng, to the chyld of grace;
 To Wynsore, to Waltam,
 To Ely, to Caultam,
 Bare foted and bare legged apace.

To Saynt Earth, a right,
 Where, in the dark nyght,
 Many iuglyng casts hath be done;
 To Saynt Augers rotten bones
 That ran away for the nones;
 To the crosse that groweth at Chaldon.

To the good Holy Ghoste,
 That paynted poste,
 Abyding at Basynghstoke;
 Whiche doth as muche good
 As a god made of wood,
 And, yet, he beareth a great stroke.

To the holy bloud of Hayles,
 With your fyngers and nayles,
 All that we may scratche and wyne;
 Yet it woulde not be seen,
 Except you were shryven,
 And cleue from all deadly synne.

There, were we flocked
 Lowted and mocked;
 For, nowe, it is knowen to be
 But the bloud of a ducke,
 That long did sucke
 The thriste, from euery drege.

To Pomfret, to Wylsdon,
 To Saynt Anne of Bucston,
 To Saynt Mighels Mount also;
 But, to reken all,
 My wyttes be too small,
 For, God knoweth, there be many mo!

* "The image of our Lady at Walsingham was so famous in former times that even foreigners came on pilgrimage to visit it. Erasmus has given us a description of the chapel or shrine in which it was contained, and which appears to have been a distinct building from the priory church. Henry the Third went thither in his twenty-sixth year. Edward the First in his ninth and twenty-fifth years. Edward the Second in his ninth year. Edward the Third in his thirty-fifth year. John de Mountford, earl of Breitaine, came over to visit it in the thirty-fifth of Edward the Third. David Bruce, king of Scotland, in the thirty-eighth year of Edward the Third. Henry

the Sixth went there in 1455. Henry the Seventh ordered an image of silver, gilt, to be set up before it, in his will; and Henry the Eighth and his first queen made more than one visit to it. Sir Henry Spelman says, that when he was a youth, the tradition was that Henry the Eighth had walked barefoot from the town of Barham to the chapel of our Lady, and presented her with a necklace of great value. This famous image, however, upon the change of belief, was taken from Walsingham to Chelsea, near London, and there burnt, the thirtieth year of Henry the Eighth." See Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 71, Lond. 1825.—FOX'S MARTYRS SEELEY.

To Saynt Syth for my purse ;
 Saynt Loye saue my horse ;
 For my teth to Saynt Apolyne :
 To Saynt Job for the poxe ;
 Saynt Luke saue myne ox ;
 Saynt Anthony saue my swyne !

To Maister John Shorne,
 That blessed man borne ;
 For the ague to hym we apply,
 Whiche juggleth with a bote :
 I beshrowe his herte rote
 That wyle truste him, and it be I !

Suche was our truste,
 Suche was our luste,
 Upon creature to call and crye ;
 As men did please,
 For every disease,
 To haue a god peculiarly.

Blessed Saynt Sauour,
 For his noughty behauiour,
 That dwelt not far from the stewes ;
 For causyng infidelitie,
 Hath lost his dignitie :
 Of him we shall heare more newes.

The swete rode of Rambisbery,
 Twenty myle from Maumbysbery,
 Was oft times put in feare ;
 And now, at the laste,
 He hath a brydling caste,
 And is become, I wote not wheare.

Yet, hath it been saide,
 His virtue so wayde,
 That sixteen oxen and mo,
 Were not able to carry
 This rode from Rambisbery,
 Though he toke seuen horses also :

Whiche is a great lye,
 For, the truth to trye
 His virtue is not worth a beane ;
 For one man toke hym downe,—
 From his churche and towne
 Thre men conueyed him cleane.

Thus ran we about
 To seke idols out,
 Wandryng farre and nere ;
 Thynkyng the power
 Of our blessed Sauour
 In other places more then there.

But now some may ronne,
 And, when they haue done,
 Their idols they shall not finde ;

They haue had such checkes,
 That hath broke their neckes :
 Holde fast that be left behynde !

For the rode of grace
 Hath lost his place,
 And is rubbed on the gall ;
 For false deuotion
 Hath lost his promotion,
 And is broken in peces small.

He was made to jogle,
 His eyes would gogle,
 He wold bend his browes and frowne
 With his head he wold nod
 Like a proper young god,
 His shaftes would go up and downe.

The saying was :
 That this rode of grace
 And our Lady of Walsyngham,
 Should haue bene married,
 Sauing they taried
 To spie a tyme howe and whan.

For some time in the nyght,
 If the peeple say ryght,
 As two lovers eche others loue to proue
 They did mete very oft :
 Whereby it was thought,
 That our Lady and he had bene sure.

Now the rode is dead,
 And can not her wed,
 Death gaue him so sore a stroke,
 That it cost him his lyfe,
 And lost hym his wyfe,
 The rychest of all Northfolke.

But if he hadde lyued,
 She had prouided,
 With suche goodes as she wan,
 (Though *he* neuer had worked
 But like an idoll lurked,)
 To finde hym lyke an honest man.

And the rode had a gyfte
 To make great shyfte,
 With his bowget under his cote ;
 To haue gotten their lyuing,
 Euen with false iugling,
 Though *she* had neuer erved grote.

Also Delver Gathaerne,
 As (saieth the Welchman)
 Brought outlawes out of hell,
 Is come with spere and shelde,
 In harneys to burne in Smythfelde :
 For in Wales he may not dwell.

Then Forest the fryer
That obetynate lyer,
That wyllingly is dead;
In his contumacy,
The gospell dyd deny,
And the kyng to be supreme head.

At Saynt Marget Patens,
The rode is gone thens,
And stoele away by nyght;
With his tabernacle and crosse,
With all that there was,
And is gone away quygte.

Yet haue we thought,
That these idols haue wrought
Myracles, in many a place,
Upon age and youth;
When, in very truth,
They were done by the deuils grace.

For the cursed deuyll,
The mayster of euyl,
To get us under his winges,
Hath such a condicion,
By God's permission,
To worke right wonderful thinges.

For when they bored holes
In the roodes' back of poles,
Which, as some men saye, dyd speake,
Then lay he still as a stocke,
Receyued there many a knocke,
And did not ones crie 'creake.'

Yet offer what ye wolde,
Were it otes, sylver, or golde
Pyn, poynt, brooche, or rynges,
The church were as then,
Such charitable men,
That they would refuse nothyng.

But now may we see,
What gods they be,
Euen puppets, maumats and elves:
Throw them downe thryse,
They can not aryse,
Not onse, to helpe them selues.

Thus were we poore soules
Begyled with idolles,
With fayned myracles and lyes,
By the deuyll and his docters,
The pope and his procters:
That, with such, haue blerid our eyes.

For they were the souldiers
Of those idols and wonders,
In euery abbey and towne,

Like a syght of false deacons:
Wherefore all men rekyns,
For suche juglyng, 'they shall downe.'

For it was great reuth,
To se age and yeuth
To be blynde after this facion;
But, thanke we our Lorde,
That them hath abhorde,
And had upon us compassion!

Besydes these stockes and stones,
Haue we not had, of late, traytors bones,
Thus their trompery to maintain?
Whiche is a token, verely,
They go about most earnestly
To bryng in superstition again!

With dyvers other trickes,
Whiche sore in mens' consciences stickes:
But to Christ let us all pray!
To plucke it up, by the hard rote,
(Seeing there is none other bote,)
And utterly to banyshe it away.

And now, to make an end:
Lorde! we beseeche Thee to sende
Us, peace and tranquillitie;
And, that of thy mere mercy and grace,
Within short tyme and space,
To illumine us with thy sincere veritie!

Of the Bible in English, printed in the large volume; and of Edmund Bonner, preferred to the bishopric of London by means of the Lord Cromwell.

BOUT the time
and year when Ed-
mund Bonner, bi-
shop of Hereford,
and ambassador re-
sident in France,
began first to be
nominated and pre-
ferred, by means of
the Lord Cromwell,
to the bishopric of

London, which was A. D. 1540, it happened that the said Thomas Lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the university of Paris; because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready despatch

of the same. And in like manner, at the same time the said king wrote unto his ambassador, who then was Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof in all their reasonable suits: the which bishop, outwardly, showed great friendship to the merchants that were the printers of the same; and, moreover, did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons to be in a manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper; and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the printer's house, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed. And further, the said Bonner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the mean time, while the said Bible was in printing, that King Henry the Eighth preferred the said Bonner from the bishopric of Hereford, to be bishop of London; at which time the said Bonner, according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterwards, upon the change of the world, he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom the said Bonner said, when he took his oath, "Master Grafton, so it

is, that the king's most excellent Majesty hath by his gracious gift, presented me to the bishopric of London; for the which I am sorry, for, if it would have pleased his Grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old bishopric of Hereford. Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to hear of it; and so I am sure will be a great number of the citizens of London; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard so much goodness of you for hence, as no doubt they will heartily rejoice of your placing." Then said Bonner, "I pray God I may do what may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God, (for that was commonly his oath,) the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokely was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as Lobley the bookbinder, and others, for having the Scripture in English; and, God willing, he did not so much hinder it, but I will as much further it, and I will have of your Bibles set up in the church of Paul's, at least in sundry places six of them, and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks." Which words he then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile, grocer, and others. "But now, Master Grafton, at this time I have specially called you to be a witness with me, that upon this translation of bishops' sees, I must, according to the statute, take an oath unto the king's Majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and so think him to be; and beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his

ce." "Hold the book, sirrah! and read you oath," said he to one of his chaplains; and he put his hand on the book, and so he took his oath: after this he showed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch; especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

Now after that the aforesaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof; and so the printer went forward, and printed forth the book, even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked with the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresy. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, which was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning of what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could, to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred, (called the Bible of the great Volume,) and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant-criminal, having them delivered unto him to burn in a place in Paris, (like Smithfield,) called Maulbert Place, as somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold up great dry-fats of them to a haberdasher, to lap up in, and those were bought again; but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss, after they had recovered some part of the aforesaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the Lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the aforesaid printer, and brought them to London; and there they became printers themselves, (which before they never attended,) and printed out the said Bible in London, and, after that, printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely, Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, who mightily did stomach and malign the printing thereof.

Here, by the way, for the more direction to the story, thou hast, loving reader, to note and understand, that in those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places: the first was called Thomas Matthewe's Bible, printed at Hamburgh, about A. D. 1537; the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall hear more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer

was indeed William Tyndale, who, with the help of Miles Coverdale, had translated all the books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and certain notes in the margin, which were added after. But, because the said William Tyndale, in the mean time, was apprehended, before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them that had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name then was odious, and to father it by a strange name of Thomas Matthewe; John Rogers, at the same time, being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes thereto in the margin: and thereof came it to be called Thomas Matthewe's Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Matthewe, after it was imprinted and presented to the Lord Cromwell, and to the Lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his subjects with his Grace's licence: so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters, with these words, "Set forth with the king's most gracious licence."

The setting forth of this book did not a little offend the clergy, namely, the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and, especially, because in the same book was one special table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the same; and chiefly about the supper of the Lord, and marriage of priests, and the mass, which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this aforesaid Bible of Thomas Matthewe, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, A. D. 1540; which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The printers thereof were the aforesaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch, who bare the charges. A great helper thereto, was the Lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who, taking the translation of Tyndale, conferred the same with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

The king's brief, for setting up the Bible of the Greater Volume in English.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head of the church of England; to the reverend father in Christ, Edmund, bishop of London, or, in his absence, to his vicar-general, health.

"We command you, that immediately upon the receipt of these presents, in every cathedral, collegiate, and other parish churches and chapels, you

cause, on our behalf, to be solemnly published and read, a certain decree made by us, by the advice of our council, which we have sent you by the bringer, imprinted in certain schedules annexed to this brief: charging you moreover, that immediately upon the publishing of the said decree so by you made, you cause the said decree to be set up upon every church door through your diocess, that it may more largely appear unto our subjects and liege people; and that with all diligence you perform the same, as you will answer us for the contrary.

“Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign.”

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Matthewe were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed on the sides, which meant that in those places should be made certain notes, wherewith also the clergy were offended, though the notes were not made.

After this the bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the Lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death; and, not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same; and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Matthewe's Bible, but he, being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make: to which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was, to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when he perceived the king's Majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out, was bound, in three hundred pounds, that he should neither sell, nor imprint, nor cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed, during the reign of King Henry the Eighth.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued suitors to Bonner, as is aforesaid, to be a mean to obtain of the French king their books again: but so long they continued suitors, and Bonner ever fed them with fair words, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till, at last, Bonner was dis-
 charged of his ambassade, and returned home, where

right joyfully welcomed home by the Lord

Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies; as namely, at that time to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell, and therefore Bonner could not favour *him*, but he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be. But, so soon as Cromwell fell, immediately Bonner and Winchester pretended to be the greatest men that lived; and no good word could Bonner speak of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived. And then, such as the said Bonner knew to be in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight: inso-much that the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above-named Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met with the said Bonner suddenly, and said unto him, that he was sorry to hear of the news that then were abroad. “What are they?” said he. “Of the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell,” said Grafton. “Are ye sorry for that?” said he. “It had been good that he had been despatched long ago.” With that Grafton looked upon him, and knew not what to say, but came no more to Bonner. Howbeit afterwards, the said Grafton, being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of Cromwell, was called before the council, where Bonner was present; and there Bonner charged him with the words that he spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the Lord Audley, who then was lord chancellor, right discreetly and honourably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

The history of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, divines.

Like as in foreign battles the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain, even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, whereof we have now (Christ willing) to entreat. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that Calydonian wild boar, or, as the Scripture speaketh, that extraordinary wild beast, what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom, in the very same month, within two

gatories they propounded, they could' put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition, than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners who came unto him, one there was, whom the Lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king; which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor, then the Lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the Lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords, what he had promised, "You shall commend me," said he, "to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so well tried and thoroughly proved you as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the king, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, Sir Ralph Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful unto him) went unto the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which when the king had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, insomuch that the king seemed to be moved therewith.

At last, three years after all this was done, Cromwell being circumvented with the malicious craft and policy of divers, that, by occasion of mention made touching the king's divorce with the Lady Anne of Cleves, he had said these words, "That he wished his dagger in him that had dissolved or broken that marriage;" hereupon it was objected against him by Thomas, duke of Norfolk, and others, that it was spoken against the king, who, at that time being in love with Katharine Howard, was the chief cause and author of that divorce. Whereupon divers of the nobles conspiring against him, some for hatred, and some for religion's sake, he was cast into the Tower of London; where, as it happened, (as it were by a certain fatal destiny,) that whereas he, a little before, had made a law, that whosoever was cast into the Tower, should be put to death without examination, he himself suffered by the same law. It is said, (which also I do easily credit,) that he made this violent law, not so much for any cruelty or tyranny, as only for a certain secret purpose, to have entangled the bishop of Winchester, who, albeit he was, without doubt, the most violent adversary of Christ and his religion, notwithstanding, God, peradventure, would not have his religion set

forth by any wicked cruelty, or otherwise than was meet and convenient.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament before passed, the worthy and noble Lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, on the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1540, was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he said these words following:

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some think, peradventure, that I will: for if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am, by the law, condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great travailler in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereunto I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. O Father, forgive me! O Son, forgive me! O Holy Ghost, forgive me! O three persons in one God, forgive me! And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions; which is untrue: but I confess, that like as God, by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us; and I have been seduced. But bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king's Grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, Prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith."

And so making his prayer, which was long, but not so long as both godly and learned, kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth.

A prayer that the Lord Cromwell said at the hour of his death.

"O Lord Jesu! which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed

had been before,) and Master Foxe, master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes, your man that is accused of heresy?" "Yea, and please your Grace; and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What! Master Doctor," said the cardinal; "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage, than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves, (I should say bloody gloves, quoth you,) that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors."

And then did Barnes deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings. The cardinal received them smiling on him, and saying, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your Lordship's favour."

The cardinal answered, "Such as you are do bear us and the catholic church little favour. I will ask you a question: Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's Majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us? to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, who shortly will cast it against the walls? and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?" He answered, "I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the king's Majesty maintained by your pomp and pole-axes; but by God who saith, "Kings and their majesties reign and stand by me."

Then answered he, "Lo, Master Doctors! here is the learned wise man, that you told me of." Then they kneeled down and said, "We desire your Grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

Then said he, "Stand you up! for your sakes, and the university, we will be good unto him."

How say you, Master Doctor; do you not know that I am *Legatus de latere*, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university." He answered, "I thank your Grace for your good will; I will stick to the Holy Scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me." "Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then Dr. Barnes required him that he might have justice with equity; and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Foxe became his sureties that night: and so he came home to Master Parnell's house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not; Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers. And in the morning he came to York Place, to Gardiner and Foxe, and by and by he was committed to the serjeant-at-arms, to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the cardinal, there were five Still-yard men to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy; but, after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the serjeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said, he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy: and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately, after a little talk, they sware him, and laid his articles to him; who, like as he answered the cardinal before, so said he unto them. And then he offered the book of his probations unto them; who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said, "Yea," showing it unto them: who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's Majesty, which they had to do; and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Still-yard men again, one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no; and he subscribed willingly: and then they committed him, and young Master Parnell, to the Fleet also, with the others. There they remained till Saturday in the morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again before them into

the chapter-house, and there, with the Still-yard men, remained till five o'clock at night; and after long disputations, threatenings, and scorning, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Foxe, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do more in time to come; and with divers other persuasions, that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil, all that they commanded him: and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots, for Dr. Barnes and the four Still-yard men. The fifth Still-yard man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen, in Paul's; and all these things to be ready by eight o'clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could make, with bills and glaves, and the knight-marshal, with all his tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to Paul's, and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready, by their hour appointed, in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and he, in his whole pomp, mitred, (which Barnes spake against,) sat there enthronised, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple; even like a bloody antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them, within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, there to be burned; and these heretics, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their faggots. Now, while the sermon was a doing, Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down, and ask forgiveness of God, of the catholic church and of the cardinal's Grace: and, after that, he was commanded, at the end of the sermon, to declare, that he was

more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy; his heresies were so horrible and so detestable. And once again he kneeled down on his knees, desiring of the people forgiveness and to pray for him. And so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's; and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor men, being commanded to come down from the stage, (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church,) the bishops sat them down again, and commanded the knight-marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire. And so were they brought to the bishops, and there, for absolution, kneeled down; where Rochester stood up and declared unto the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being at that sermon; and there did he assail Dr. Barnes with the others, and showed the people that they were received into the church again.

This done, the warden of the Fleet, and the knight-marshal, were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet, as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them; and there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After Barnes there, in the Fleet, had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, was committed to be free prisoner at the Austin Friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to their lord cardinal; whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain, and continue in free prison; at last one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be desperate; and that he should write a letter to the cardinal, and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself; and to leave his clothes in the same place; and another letter to be left there, to the mayor of the town, to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him.

Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel; and so tarried not there, but took shipping, and went by long seas to Antwerp, and so to Luther; and there fell to study till he had made

an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had made a book entitled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another book with a supplication to King Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, *Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu* : but this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the mean season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ, and with foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Æpinus, and with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark ; which king of Denmark, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him, with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to King Henry the Eighth. He lay with the Lubecks' chancellor, at the Still-yard.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth ; and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittenberg, to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there, to set forward his works in print that he had begun ; from whence he returned again in the beginning of the reign of Queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent ambassador by King Henry the Eighth to the duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, between the king and her, and well accepted in the ambassade, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France : but, after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's Majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers ; who, after the marriage of the Lady Anne of Cleves, never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king's Majesty to Hampton Court, and there he was examined ; where the king's Majesty, seeking the means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop, to confer with him : and so he did. But, as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his co-partners sought, by all subtle means, how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass ; for, by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following, at the Spittal ;

at the which sermons, besides other reporters who were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the Pharisees came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if they had spoken any thing awry. When these three had thus preached their sermons, among whom Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him, in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand ; and the said Gardiner thereupon held up his finger. Yet notwithstanding, shortly after, by means of the said reporters, they were sent for to Hampton Court ; who from thence were carried to the Tower, by Sir John Gostwike. From thence they never came out till they came to their death, as, Christ willing, shall more hereafter appear.

Then the protestants went again beyond the seas : the priests were divorced from their wives ; certain bishops were deposed from their bishoprics ; and other good men denied Christ and bare faggots at Paul's Cross. Then immediately, without judgment, they were put to death, as it is manifest ; but the death was in such form, that a papist and a protestant were laid upon one hurdle, to be drawn to Smithfield. This was Winchester's device, to colour his own tyranny, and to make the people doubtful what faith they should trust to.

At his death, Dr. Barnes gave great commendations to the king's Majesty, that he should fear God, and maintain religion, and keep marriage undefiled most honourably ; and then declared his faith and his articles. Then they prayed together, and Barnes said to Master Priest, being sheriff, " Know ye wherefore I die, seeing I was never examined nor called to any judgment ? " He answered, He knew nothing, but thus we are commanded. Then he took Master Sheriff by the hand, and said, " Bear me witness, and my brother, that we die christianly and charitably ; and I pray you and all the people to pray for us : and if the dead may pray for the quick, we will pray for you." And so he, and the rest, forgave their enemies, and kissed one another, and stood hand in hand at the stake, praying continually until the fire came : and so rested in Christ Jesus.

And thus, hitherto, concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the story and doings of Thomas Garret.

" About the year of our Lord 1526, Master Garret, curate in Honey Lane, in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of *Unio Dissidentium*, and Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English ; which books he

ld to divers scholars in Oxford, whose names, for s accountable memory, belike, he wrote in a small bok of accounts.

“ After he had been there awhile, and had deatched those books, news came from London that e was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling of those heretical books, (as they termed them,) because they spake against the usurped authority and erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome, and his no less impure and filthy synagogue. For it was not unknown to Cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others of that ungodly generation, that Master Garret had a great number of those heretical books, as the world then accounted them; and that he was gone to Oxford, to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be the lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined to make forthwith a privy search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his aforesaid books, and him too if they could: so burning hot was the charity of these holy fathers. But yet at that time, one of the aforesaid proctors, called Master Cole, of Magdalene College, who afterwards was cross-bearer unto Cardinal Wolsey, was well acquainted with Master Garret; and, therefore, he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Master Garret's, of this privy search; and willed, therefore, that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford: for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

“ The Christmas before that time, I, Anthony Dalaber, then scholar of Alban's Hall, who had books of Master Garret, had been in my country in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother parson of that parish, who was very desirous to have a curate out of Oxford, and willed me, in any wise, to get him one there, if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the brethren, (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another,) that Master Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Dorsetshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself from thence some whither over the sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all haste possible unto my brother, for Master Garret to be his curate, but not declaring what he was indeed; for my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had, for the gospel's sake.

“ So the Wednesday, in the morning, before Shrovetide, Master Garret departed out of Oxford

towards Dorsetshire, with my letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he so soon returned, I know not. But, the Friday next, in the night time, he came again to Radley's house, where he lay before, and so, after midnight, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors; and, on the Saturday, in the morning, was delivered unto one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln College, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists for his apprehension, and especially with Dr. London, warden of the New College, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, two arch-papists, who immediately sent their letters, in post-haste, unto the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic; for the which their doing, they were well assured to have great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Master Garret's so sudden return, neither that he was so taken; for after I had sent him out of Oxford with my letters, as before is said, the same week having taken a chamber in Gloucester College, for the purpose of studying the civil law, because the scholars in Alban's Hall were all sophisters, I removed all such poor stuff as I had, from thence unto Gloucester College; and there was I much busied in setting up in order, my bed, my books, and such things else as I had, so that I had no leisure to go forth any where those two days, Friday and Saturday. And having set up all my things handsomely in order the same day before noon, I determined to spend that whole afternoon, until even-song time, at Frideswide College, at my book in mine own study; and so shut my chamber door unto me, and my study door also, and took into my hand to read Francis Lambert, upon the Gospel of St. Luke, which book only I had then within there; all my other books written on the Scripture, of which I had a great number, as of Erasmus, of Luther, of Oecolampadius, &c., I had yet left in my chamber at Alban's Hall, where I had made a very secret place to keep them safe in, because it was so dangerous to have any such books. And so, as I was diligently reading in the said book of Lambert upon Luke, suddenly one knocked at my chamber door very hard, which made me astonished, and yet I sat still, and would not speak; then he knocked again more hard, and yet I held my peace; and straightway he knocked yet again more fiercely, and then I thought this: peradventure it is somebody that hath need of me; and therefore I thought myself bound to do as I would be done unto: and so, laying my book aside,

I came to the door, and opened it, and there was Master Garret as a man amazed, (whom I thought then to have been with my brother,) and one with him.

"As soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly, in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not; but he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber; and thereupon desired his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me; and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the privy search, as ye have heard; and that now, when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he, hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Gloucester College, to speak with that monk, if he had been within, who had also bought books of him.

"Then said I unto him, 'Alas, Master Garret! by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him, why he went not unto my brother, with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto Oxford; and so he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken as ye heard before. But now, with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priest-like, such as his own was.

"Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God, our heavenly Father, desired him, with plenty of tears, so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will so were. And then we embraced, and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all-be-wet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another: and so he departed from me, appareled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father.

"When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and taking the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did, with much deliberation, read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also, that he would endure his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength, by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand, to his glory, all their fierce enemies; and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, without the great help of his Holy Spirit.

"This done, I laid aside my book safe, folded up Master Garret's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel; and so, having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber doors, and went toward Frideswide's to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church, to go first unto Corpus Christi College, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalene College, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for Master Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the privy search, and was in prison with the commissary. I said, it was not so. He said, it was so. I told him, it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me and said, 'I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, and was taken in his bed at Radley's, this night, in the privy search; for,' quoth he, 'I heard our proctor, Master Cole, say and declare the same this day in our college, to divers of the house. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did: and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto our other brethren, whom he should meet withal,

and to give God hearty thanks for this his wonderful deliverance, and to pray him, also, that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies. And I told him that I was going unto Master Clark of Frideswide's, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily, that he, and divers others there, were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswide's, and even-song was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there in their grey amices; they were almost at Magnificat before I came thither. I stood at the choir door and heard Master Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing, with and among whom I myself was wont to sing also; but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing.

“As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. Cottisford, the commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed, as pale as ashes (I knew his grief well enough); and to the dean he goeth into the choir, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what, I know not; but whereof, I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the choir door, to see and hear more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed for keeping his prisoners so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow. And it was known abroad that Master Garret was escaped, and gone out of the commissary's chamber at even-song time; but whither, no man could tell.

“These doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where. Master Clark, about the middle of the compline, came forth of the choir: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened that afternoon, of Master Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his fore-taking. Then he sent for one Master Sumner, and for Master Bets, fellows and canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very godly exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, *Prudentiam serpentinam et simplicitatem columbinam*: for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Master Sumner and Master Bets were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two; and they were very glad that Master Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then, desiring them to tell unto our other brethren what had happened, (for there were divers other in that college,) I went to Corpus

Christi College, to comfort our brethren there, being in like heaviness. When I came to Corpus Christi College I found together, in Sir Diet's chamber, tarrying and looking for me, Fitzjames, Diet, and Udal. They knew all the matter before by Master Eden, whom I had sent unto Fitzjames; but yet I declared the matter unto them again. And so I tarried there, and supped with them in that chamber, where they had provided meat and drink for us, before my coming: at which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and peril at hand. When we had ended our supper and committed our whole cause, with fervent sighs and hearty prayers, unto God our heavenly Father, Fitzjames would needs have me to lie that night with him, in my old lodging at Alban's Hall; and so I did. But small rest, and little sleep, took we both there that night.

On the Sunday, in the morning, I was up and ready by five o'clock; and as soon as I could get out at Alban's Hall door, I went straight towards Gloucester College to my chamber. It had rained that morning a good shower, and with my going I had all besprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Gloucester College, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut; whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the mean while, my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so, when the gate was opened, thinking to shift myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and, going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it; whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered: yet, at last, with much ado, I opened the lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to be tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open; whereat I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Master Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

Now was there lying in the next chamber unto me a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Master Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary, and the

two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my bed-straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Garret: and albeit his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, unto the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown; and therefore so all be-dirted as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the said prior's chamber, where I found the said prior standing, and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at Alban's Hall, with my old bed-fellow Fitzjames; but he would not believe me. He asked me, if Master Garret were with me yesterday. I told him, Yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him, I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock. For so (said I) he had showed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there, his friend, had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withal the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver, very well double gilt, with two letters A. D. engraved in it for my name: I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name: an A, for Anthony, and a D, for Dunstan. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

"Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, were come unto Master Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto Lincoln College, to the commissary, and to Dr. London: whither when I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary; Dr. Higdon, then dean of the cardinal's college; and Dr. London, warden of the New College, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought unto them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Da-

laber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the university, and I told them almost three years. And they asked me what I studied; I told them that I had read sophistry and logic in Alban's Hall, and now was removed unto Gloucester College, to study the civil law, which the aforesaid prior of the students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Garret, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me, when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

"Now by this time, while they had me in the talk, one came unto them who was sent for, with pen, ink, and paper; I trow it was the clerk of the university. As soon as he was come, there was a board and tressels, with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass book laid before me; and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it a while at first, but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me: but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath, and, that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then made they great courtesy between them, who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest papistical Pharisee of them all, Dr. London, took upon him to do it.

"Then he asked me again, by my oath, where Master Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him, I had not conveyed him, nor yet wist where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock, (as I had before said,) as he showed me he would. Then he asked me again, when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about evening time; and that one brought him unto my chamber door, whom I knew not; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry withal this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a paper book.

"Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely, they said, I brought him going some whither this morning; for that they might well perceive, by my foul shoes

and dirty hosen, that I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly, that I lay at Alban's Hall, with Sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them, at Frideswide's, and that I saw first Master Commissary, and then Master Doctor London, come thither at that time unto Master Dean of Frideswide's; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth, where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease. But Master Commissary prayed me, with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straightway. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and toss me almost two hours in the chapel, sometimes with threatenings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me. Then was he that brought Master Garret unto my chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what Master Garret said unto me, at his coming to my chamber: but I said plainly, I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my nay to be as good as his yea, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

"At last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of the which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber over Master Commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they, (I think to their abominable mass,) locking fast the chamber door, and leaving me alone.

"When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who, well nigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wheresoever he should teach or preach, (the which he did daily,) said unto me much after this sort, 'Dalaber! you desire you wot not what, and that which you are, I fear me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you,

because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you withal, whether you can, as pure gold, abide the fire, or, as stubble and dross, be consumed therewith. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by St. Paul, *Quod omnes qui pié volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patientur*. Yea, you shall be called and judged a heretic; you shall be abhorred of the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you; and you shall be cast into prison; and no man shall dare to help or comfort you; and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops, to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clark, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore, rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this doctrine, and desire not to be, and continue, in my company.'

"At which his words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, showed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired; saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me, would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, took me up in his arms, and kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me, 'The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.' Now were there at that time in Oxford divers graduates and scholars of sundry colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted unto Master Clark's disputations and lectures in divinity at all times as they might; and when they might not come conveniently, I was, by Master Clark, appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture; that by me, from him, they might have the true understanding of the same; which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the Holy Scriptures, which I most desired.

"This aforesaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God Master Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me, with deep sighs, to cry unto God from my

heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him, of his fatherly love, to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all: for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be blessed! I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Master Garret was, and, if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was: no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat: I told him, 'Yes, right gladly.' He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so departed, locking the door fast upon me."

Thus far Anthony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who, before the finishing, departed, A. D. 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury; the residue whereof, as we could gather it out of ancient and credible persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended and taken by Master Cole the proctor, or his men going westward, at a place called Hinxsey, a little beyond Oxford, and so, being brought back again, was committed to ward: that done, he was convented before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, (now called Christ's College,) into St. Mary's church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic, (as they said,) and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswide's, and Dalaber likewise with him; Garret having his red hood on his shoulders, like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

There were suspected, besides, a great number to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Garret sold unto them; as Master Clark, who died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the communion, being in prison, and saying these words, *Crede, et manducasti*: Master Sumner, Master Bets, Taverner the musician, Radley, with others of Frideswide College; of Corpus Christi College, as Udal and Diet; with others of Magdalene Col-

lege; one Eden, with others of Gloucester College, and two black monks, one of St. Augustine's of Canterbury, named Langport, the other of St. Edmund's Bury, monk, named John Salisbury; two white monks of Bernard College; two canons of St. Mary's College, one of them named Robert Ferrar, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and burned in Queen Mary's time. These two canons, because they had no place in the university with the others, went on the contrary side of the procession beheaded, and a beadle before them, to be known from the others. Divers others there were, whose names I cannot remember, who were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges, and sought their friends. Against the procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfax, whereinto all such as were in the said procession, either convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded, in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every one to cast a book into the fire, as they passed by.

After this, Master Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended, and burned with Dr. Barnes; with whom also William Jerome, sometime vicar of Stepney, was likewise drawn to Smithfield, and there, together with them, constantly endured martyrdom in the fire. Now let us add to these the story of Jerome.

The life and story of William Jerome, vicar of Stepney, and martyr of Christ.

HE third companion which suffered with Barnes and Garret was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, he

preached divers and sundry sermons; wherein, to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere truth of Christian religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirpate and weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that the said Jerome, preaching at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent last past, made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of Hagar and Sarah, declaring what their

two signified : in process whereof he showed further how that Sarah and her child Isaac, and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified : contrary, they that were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound and under the law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that which St. Paul himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the Galatians, or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound doctrine, and the vein of the

gospel ? Now see what rancour and malice, armed with crafty and subtle sophistry, can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the king at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Percase thou wilt muse, gentle reader ! what erroneous doctrine here could be picked out. Note therefore, for thy learning ; and he that listeth to study how to play the sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this rush was this : for that he preached erroneously at Paul's Cross,

teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah were freely justified, speaking there absolutely, without any condition either of baptism, or of penance, &c. Who here doubteth, but if St. Paul himself had been at Paul's Cross, and had preached the same words to the Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians in this behalf, *ipso facto*, he had been apprehended for a heretic, for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance ?

Furthermore it was objected against him touching matter against magistrates, and laws by them made. Whereunto he answered again and affirmed, (as he had before preached,) that no magistrate of himself

could make any law or laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior people, unless it were by the power, authority, and commandment of his or their princes to him or them given, but only the prince. And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the prince make laws consenting to God's laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make laws repugnant to the laws of God, and be an evil and wicked prince, yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his sermons, one Dr. Wilson entered into disputation with him, and defended,

that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to salvation. To whom Jerome answered again, that all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God direct the workers thereof; and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them: which, to be true, Dr. Wilson neither could, nor did, deny.

And thus much concerning the several stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Ye heard before, how Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, were caused to preach at Easter at the Spittal; the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by Stephen Gardiner writing against George Joye, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Stephen Gardiner, hearing that the said Barnes, Jerome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, A. D. 1540, at Paul's Cross, to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Paul's; which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner therefore, determining to declare the gospel of that Sunday containing the devil's three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ; and so, alluding to the temptation of the devil, wherein he alleged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

"Now-a-days," quoth he, "the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no 'forward' in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward, insomuch that men must now learn to say their Pater-noster backward. For where we said, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; now it is, As thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debtors; and so God must forgive first; and all, I say, is turned backward," &c.

Amongst other things, moreover, Gardiner noted "the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man; who, envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness with a vain hope to live merrily at his

pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath, for that purpose, procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money; and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers. Now they be gone, with all their trumpery; but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be borne to buy and sell heaven by the friars, he hath excogitated to offer heaven, without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need for heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work: marry! if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing else," &c.

This sermon of Stephen Gardiner finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next following, to make his sermon; who, taking the same text of the gospel which Gardiner had done before, was, on the contrary side, no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of Christian religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to antichrist. In the process of which sermon he proceeding, and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegory to a cock-fight; terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself to be another: but the garden cock (he said) lacketh good spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules; thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools, so as he had there preached at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes: declaring furthermore what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of God's Scripture, &c.

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the spleen, that he immediately went to the king to complain, showing how he, being a bishop and prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Paul's Cross.

Hereupon the king, giving too much ear to Gardiner's grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet; having with him the earl of Southampton, who was the Lord Wriothesley, and the master of the horse, who was Anthony Brown; also Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom when Barnes had submitted himself, "Nay," said the king, "yield thee not to me; I am a mortal man;" and therewith rising up and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the Master of us all, the author of truth: yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend; and

otherwise yield thee not unto me." Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barnes. In conclusion this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. Cox, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two others also to them assigned, who should be reporters to the king of the disputation; at the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose; which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached.

The question between them propounded, by Gardiner's narration, was this: "Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not?" This question arose upon a certain contention which had been between them before: for Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet, he said, that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else, to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the text which saith: All that is not of faith, is of sin, &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner, to prove the contrary, came forward with his arguments two or three: to the which arguments (saith Gardiner) Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning, Gardiner with the hearers being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assail his arguments. To his solutions Gardiner again replied: and thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. In the end of this cock-fight, Winchester thus concludeth this glorious tale, and croweth up the triumph; declaring how Barnes besought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his scholar: whom then the said Winchester (as he himself confesseth) receiving, not as his scholar, but as his companion, offered to him a portion out of his living, to the sum of forty pounds a year, which if he be true, (as Stephen Gardiner himself reporteth,) why then doth this glorious cockatrice crow so much against Barnes afterwards, and cast him in the teeth, bearing all the world in hand that Barnes was his scholar? whereas he himself here refuseth Barnes to be his scholar, but receiveth him as his companion, fellow-like: but to the story.

This done, the king being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house at London the Monday following: which he did, with a certain other companion joined

unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not express, only he saith that it was neither Jerome nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the bishop, upon the aforesaid Monday, the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchester's articles against Barnes.

"I. The effect of Christ's passion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's passion.

"II. They that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion must fulfil the condition.

"III. The fulfilling of the condition requireth first knowledge of the condition; which knowledge we have by faith.

"IV. Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this faith: ergo, by the gift of God, I may do well before I am justified.

"V. Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.

"VI. There is ever as much charity towards God as faith: and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.

"VII. To the attainment of justification are required faith and charity.

"VIII. Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at liberty, without any cause of provocation.

"IX. Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in Christ, (if I fulfil the condition,) and love must accomplish the condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to God's truth.

"X. A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification."

These articles, forasmuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joye, in his joinder and rejoinder against Winchester, I shall not need to cumber this work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these popish articles.

I told you before, how the king was contented that Barnes should resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the bishop: which Barnes then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned men, within two days after his coming to

the bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so coming to the bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more; and so clean gave over the bishop.

This being known unto the king, through sinister complaints of popish sycophants, Barnes again was sent for, and convented before the king; who, being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, Jerome, and Garret, at the solemn Easter sermons at St. Mary Spittal, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they before had taught; at which sermon Stephen Gardiner also himself was present, to hear their recantation.

First Dr. Barnes, according to his promise made to the king, solemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he, with much circumstance and obtestation, called upon the bishop, (as is above touched,) and, asking of him forgiveness, required him, in token of a grant, to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his charity before the world, the bishop also would declare his charity in like manner. Which when the bishop at first refused to do as he was required, Barnes again called for it, desiring him to show his charity, and to hold up his hand; which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little, then Barnes, entering into his sermon, after his prayer made, beginneth the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted; insomuch that the mayor, when the sermon was finished, sitting with the bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit send him to ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching, contrary to his recantation. The like also did Jerome, and Garret after him.

The king had before appointed certain to make report of the sermons. Besides them, there was one, who, writing to a friend of his in the court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to satisfy the recantation, and also in the same sermons to utter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore, partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the Lord Cromwell's hands, saith Gardiner, Barnes with his other fellows, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Stephen Gardiner, in his aforesaid book against George Joye, would needs clear himself, that he was no party to nor cause of their casting into the Tower; and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as Cromwell's time lasted, to the king's secret counsel: yet, notwithstanding, the said Gardiner cannot persuade us to the contrary,

but that his privy complaining to the king, and his secret whisperings in his friend's ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great sparkle to set their faggots afire.

Thus then Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the thirtieth day of July, which was two days after the death of the Lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them, by the king's council in the parliament, to the which process Gardiner confesseth himself that he was privy, amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good saints of God, the thirtieth day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they, preparing themselves to the fire, had there at the stake divers and sundry exhortations: among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following:

"I am come hither to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection, although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron-bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary; which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ: and now hearken to my faith.

"I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that created and made all the world: and that this blessed Trinity, sent down the second person, Jesu Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here, bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I be-

Believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell; and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only; and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification: for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and imperfect." [And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.] "For although perchance," said he, "you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord! not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord: and in another place, Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment? Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not, shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered for and confessed his name be saints; and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express: and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born."

Then said Master Sheriff, "You have said well of her before." And, being afraid that Master Sheriff had been or should be aggrieved with any thing that he should say, he said,

"Master Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace; for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey."

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he,

"Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said before somewhat that I think of them: how that I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But, I say, throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any

saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Master Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

"Well, have you any thing more to say?" Then spake he to Master Sheriff, and said, "Have ye any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." And no man answered. Then said he,

"Well! I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but unlike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any others, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all, to pray for the king's Grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly Prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's Majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient unto him; and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it."

Then spake he to the sheriff and said,

"Master Sheriff, I require you, on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the king's Grace, and to show him that I require of his Grace these five requests: first, that whereas his Grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the

abbeyes :”—Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, “Master Sheriff! I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away, and the king’s Grace hath well done in taking it away. But his Grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king, (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him, ever had,) and that, through the preaching of us, and such other wretches as we are, who always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well! it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you! Would to God it might please his Grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them.

“The second that I desire his Grace is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men, for every light cause invented, cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

“The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished and straitly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths.”

Then desired he Master Pope to have him commended to Master Edgar, and to desire him, for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

“The fourth request, that his Grace would set forth Christ’s true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward, and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do. And that it would please his Grace to look on God’s word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now,” said he, “how many petitions have I spoken of?” And the people said, “Four.” “Well,” said he, “even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the king’s Grace may be certified of; and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his Grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers, and evil counsel; for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambs’ skins.”

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that

evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesu Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death, yielding his soul unto the hands of Almighty God.

The like confession made also Jerome and Garret, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would suffer; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned: protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear son Prince Edward: which done, Jerome added this exhortation in few words following:

“I say unto you, good brethren! that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, nor other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to Christian men belongeth, to fulfil his commandments, that is, Love your brethren. Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if thou wert in necessity, thou wouldst gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam’s breaking of God’s precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break God’s commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may constantly depart in the true faith of Christ.”

In much like sort Garret also, protesting and exhorting the people, after his confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth:

"I also detest, abhor, and refuse, all heresies and errors, and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy. Or if I have been too vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath

taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire of him, and all other persons whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to

the true faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws, and also the king's accordingly: and if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord! if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire of thee pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the king's Grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield up my soul unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that he, of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour Jesu Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously, from my youth, offended his Majesty: wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die stedfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity."

And so, after their prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort

and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they, taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors; and so took their death both Christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such as causeless suffer, with a guiltless conscience, for religion's sake, above others who suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as malefactors, commonly are wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the others, with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them: example whereof we have right well to note, not only in these three godly martyrs above mentioned, but also in the Lord Cromwell, who suffered but two days before, the same no less may appear; who, although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a guiltless conscience he bare to his death, his Christian patience well declared; who, first calling for his breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and, after that, passing out of his prison down the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the Lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution, (who, for other matter, here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned,) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; "for," said he, "there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent, and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who, for Christ's sake, will forgive you; and therefore be not dismayed. And though the breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet, trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful dinner." And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their death patiently, July 28th, 1540.

A note of three papists, executed the same time with Barnes, Jerome, and Garret.

The same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three others also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the king's supremacy; whose names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel: the which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrary parts

or factions, brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for popery, the other against popery, both at one time. Inasmuch that a certain stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, *Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt gentes? hic suspenduntur papistæ, illic comburuntur antipapistæ.* But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from posterity, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed; which happened by reason of a certain division and discord among the king's council, who were so divided among themselves in equal parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, the other half with the contrary; the names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands.

PROTESTANTS.

Canterbury,	Russel, Treasurer.
Suffolk,	Paget,
Viscount Bewchamp,	Sadler,
Viscount Lisle,	Audeley.

PAPISTS.

Winchester,	William Paulet,
Durham,	John Baker,
Norfolk,	Richard, Chancellor of the
Southampton,	Augmentation.
Anthony Brown,	Wingfield, Vice-chancellor.

This division and separation of the council amongst themselves, caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For, as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Garret, and Jerome; so the other part, likewise, called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel; which six, being condemned and drawn to the place of execution, two upon a hurdle, one being a papist, the other a protestant, thus, after a strange manner, were brought into Smithfield, where all the said six together, for contrary doctrine, suffered death; three, by the fire, for the gospel; the other three, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, for popery.

Alan Cope, in his worshipful Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, Powel, Fether-

Stone, and Abel, amongst others who died in King Henry's days in the like popish quarrel, that is, for the like treason against their prince, (being in all to the number of twenty-four,) extolled them not only in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of heaven, among the crowned martyrs and saints of God. To the which Cope, because in this haste of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing) another time, to join in this issue with him more at leisure. In the mean time, it shall suffice at this present to recite the names only of those twenty-four rebels, whom he, of his popish devotion, so dignified with the pretended title of martyrs: the names of thirteen of which monkish rebels be these here following:

John Houghton,	John Stone,
Robert Laurence,	John Traverse,
Augustine Webster,	William Horne,
Reginald of Sion,	Powell,
John Haile,	Fetherstone,
John Rochester,	Abel.
Jacobus Wannere,	

Besides these there were other nine Carthusian monks which died in the prison of Newgate; to which number if you add Master More and the bishop of Rochester, the *summa totalis* cometh to twenty-four, whom the said Cope unjustly crowned for martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Thus, having discoursed the order of the six articles, with other matter likewise following in the next parliament, concerning the condemnation of the Lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes, and his fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this history) consider what great disturbance and vexations ensued after the setting forth of the said articles, through the whole realm of England, especially among the godly sort: wherein first were to be mentioned the strait and severe commissions sent forth by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs in every shire, and other commissioners by name in the same commissions expressed; and, amongst others, especially to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the same, to inquire diligently after all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire after all such persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the aforesaid act, set forth, of the six articles. The tenor of the said commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient records, and in the bishops' registers, and also partly touched before,

therefore, for tediousness I here omit: only showing forth the commission directed to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, to take the oath of the mayor of London, and of others, for the execution of the commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth:

"Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the church of England, unto the reverend father in Christ, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and to his well-beloved the bishop's chancellor, health. Know we that we have given you, jointly and severally, power and authority to receive the oaths of William Roche, mayor of London; John Allen, knight; Ralph Warren, knight; Richard Gresham, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight, serjeant-at-law; John Gresham; Michael Dormer, archdeacon of London, the bishop's commissary and official; Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and John Morgan, and every of them, our commissioners for heresies, and other offences done within our city of London and diocese of the same, according to the tenor of a certain schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore we command you that you receive the oaths aforesaid; and when you have received them, to certify us into our chancery, under your seals, returning this our writ.

"Teste me ipso at Westminster the twentieth of January, in the thirty-second year of our reign."

What the oath was of these commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A note how Bonner sat in the Guildhall in commission for the six articles: also of the condemning of Mekins.

Upon this commission given unto Edmund Bonner, he, coming to the Guildhall, with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute of the six articles, began eftsoons to put in execution his authority after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first, he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute aforesaid, who, being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict: at which day they indicted sundry persons, which, shortly after, were apprehended and brought to ward; who, after a while remaining there, were, by the king and his council, discharged at the Star-chamber, without any further punishment.

Not long after this, Sir William Roche being mayor, Bonner with other commissioners sat at the Guildhall aforesaid, before whom there were a cer-

tain number of citizens warned to appear ; and after the commission read, the said parties were called to the book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said persons, being call to the book, Bonner seemed to mislike, and said, " Stay awhile, my masters," quoth he ; " I would you should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the wealth of the realm ; and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here." Then communed the commissioners with Bonner about that man, so that at length he was called to the book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two juries were sworn, Bonner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his charge, he brought forth to the bar a boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes ; and produced into the said court two witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the court. So a day was assigned upon which the juries aforesaid should give up their verdict ; at which day both the commissioners, and the said juries, met at Guildhall aforesaid. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of that jury, whose name was William Robins ; " My Lord," with a low courtesy, " we have found nothing : " at which words he fared as one in an agony, and said, " Nothing? have ye found nothing? what nothing? By the faith I owe to God," quoth he to the foreman, " I would trust you upon your obligation ; but by your oath I will trust you nothing." Then said some of the commissioners ; " My Lord, give them a longer day." " No," quoth he, " in London they ever find nothing. I pray you, what say you to Mekins? " " My Lord," quoth the foreman, " we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony ; and the other, nothing but a signification." " Why," quoth Bonner, " did he not say that Barnes died holy? " Then pausing awhile, he bade call the other jury. " Put in your verdict," quoth he. " My Lord," said one, " we have found nothing." " Jesus!" quoth he, " is not this a strange case? "

Then spake one of the same jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, and said, " My Lord, when you

gave us charge, we desired to have the parson or curates of every parish to give us instruction ; it was denied us." Then stood up the recorder and said, it was true indeed that he had done so, and therewithal said, " This last year were there two juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to stir up an uproar among the king's people ; and it was thought not meet that they should give information to you." " Nay, nay," quoth Bonner, " this was the cause : If the parson or curate give information according to his knowledge, what will they say? ' I must tell my lord mayor to a knave-priest, and he shall go by-and-by and open it.' " " What!" said my lord mayor, " is no man, I trow, that will say so? " " My lord," quoth Bonner, " knave-priest, knave-priest." Then said my lord mayor, smiling, " There be some of them slippery as oil, and as men find them, so will they oftentimes find fault with Bonner, not well contented with those words he said to the jury, " My masters, what say you to this? " They answered, " The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." " Why," quoth Bonner, " this court hath allowed them." Then said one of the jury to the recorder, " Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them? " " Yes," said the recorder, " it is sufficient ; " and bade the jury go aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict. After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which at Bonner's hand was friendly received, and both they and the other jury were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the trial that day. Shortly after they sat for life and death, and Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him, " Mekins, confess thy truth, and submit thyself unto the king's justice, and thy death may be an example to all others."

This Richard Mekins, being a child that was not the age of fifteen years, (as Hall reported) he had heard some other folks talk, so came he to speak against the sacrament of the altar ; and coming to Bonner's ears, he never left him (as we doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother, for fear, durst aid him with any relief ; whereby he there endured in great misery. At what time he was brought unto the block, he was taught to speak much good of the bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, especially Dr. Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning of that heresy, which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would, for safeguard of

life, have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it him ; such was his childish innocency and fear. But for this deed many spake and said, " It was great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible execution ; seeing that he was such an ignorant soul, that he knew not what the affirming of heresy was."

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet, martyrs, who suffered at Salisbury.

About the same time also a certain priest was burned at Salisbury, who, leaving his papistry, had married a wife, and became a player in interludes, with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned ; against whom, and especially against Spencer, was laid matter concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the six articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to arise, and to be moved by the quest : whether they might inquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and cases of Lollardy, or for speaking against holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of Friar Ward, Sir Thomas Rose, &c. : whereupon great perturbation followed in all parishes almost through London in the year aforesaid, which was 1541, as here ensueth in a brief summary table to be seen.

A brief table of the troubles at London, in the time of the six articles, containing the persons presented, with the cause of their persecution.

In St. Alban's parish in London.

John Dixe was noted never to be confessed in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary.

Richard Chepeman ; for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mrs. Cicely Marshall ; for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Hawkes ; for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

Master John Browne ; for bearing with Barnes.

Anne, Bedike's wife ; for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, and Richard Manerd ; for disturbing the service of the church, with brabbling of the New Testament.

In the parish of Trinity the Less.

William Wyders denied, two years before, the sacrament to be Christ's body, and said that it was but only a sign.

William Stokesley ; for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy ; for speaking against worshipping of saints.

Master Blage ; for not coming to his parish church, not confessing, nor receiving.

St. John Baptist in Wallbrook.

William Clinch ; for saying, when he seeth a priest preparing to the mass, " Ye shall see a priest now go to masking." Item, For calling the bishop of Winchester, " False flattering knave." Item, For burying his wife without dirge, and causing the Scot of St. Katharine's to preach the next day after the burial.

William Plaine ; seeing a priest going to mass, said, " Now you shall see one in masking." Item, When he came to the church, with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the divine service.

St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosteman, Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Cowper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Philips, John Celos : these nine persons were presented, for that they were not confessed in Lent, nor had received at Easter.

St. Nicholas, in the Flesh Shambles.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, Roger Butcher : these four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy days.

Brisley's wife, for busy reasoning on the new learning, and not keeping the church.

St. Andrew's in Holborn.

Mrs. Castle ; for being a meddler, and a reader of the Scripture in the church.

Master Galias, of Bernard's Inn ; for withstanding the curate censuring the altars on Corpus Christi even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias ; for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions and reading the Bishop's Book, so that he had much ado to make an end.

St. Mildred in Bread Street.

William Beckes and his wife ; suspected to be

sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, William Beckes: these four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds; for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith, apprentice; for saying that he had rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

St. Magnus' Parish.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Symon, Ralph Clervis and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, Thomas Net: these eleven persons of St. Magnus' parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain preachers (as then it was called) of the new learning, as Wisdom, Rose, Friar Ward, and Sir William Smith, alias Wright.

Nicholas Philip; for maintaining heresies and Scripture books, and for using neither fasting nor prayer.

Richard Bigges; for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a bitch, and for not looking up to the elevation.

St. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street.

Mrs. Elizabeth Statham; for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Jerome, and divers others.

John Duffet; for marrying a woman which was thought to be a nun.

St. Owen's parish, in Newgate Market.

William Hilliard and Duffet; for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch; suspected not to have been confessed.

St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, Master David's apprentice: all these being of the parish of St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets, were presented for contemning the ceremonies of the church: also some for walking in the sacring time with their caps on: some for turning their heads away: some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, &c.

St. Michael's in Wood Street.

Robert Andrew; for receiving heretics into his house, and keeping disputation of heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, W. Hickson, Robert Daniel, Robert Smitton: these other six were suspected to be sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mayler; to be a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper; presented for saying these words, "That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament."

St. Giles's Without Cripplegate.

Henry Patinson and Anthony Barber: these two were detected for maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar: also Patinson came not to confession.

Robert Norman also refused to come to confession, saying, that none of his servants "should be shriven of a knave-priest."

John Humfrey; for speaking against the sacraments and ceremonies of the church.

William Smith and his wife, John Cooke and his wife: these two couple were presented for not coming to service in their parish church, and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, John Cooke: to these four it was laid, for saying, that the mass "was made of pieces and patches." Also for depraving of matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, Arnold Chest; all these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

St. Giles's Without Cripplegate.

John Crosdall, John Clerke, John Owel: these three labouring men, for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier and John Dictier; noted for common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar: these three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalingier, John Edmonds, John Richmond and his wife; for despising holy bread and holy water, and letting divine service.

Margaret Smith; for dressing flesh-meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham; for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

St. Thomas the Apostle.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Henrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Causy, William Pinchbeck and his wife: all these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for giving small reverence at the sacring of the mass.

St. Benet Finch.

Martyn Bishop's wife: she was presented by her curate, for being not shriven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter: also she did set light by the curate, when he told her thereof.

Robert Plat and his wife: these were great reasoners in Scripture, saying, that they had it of the Spirit; and that confession availeth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would use no beads.

St. Michael at Queenhithe.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke; the cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the sacraments.

The register saith, that they denied all the sacraments: but this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with popish practices, sitteth to be the judge.

John Cockes: this man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes; for forbidding his wife to use beads.

Thomas Kelde; he refused to take penance and absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

St. Mary Woolchurch.

Nicholas Newell, a Frenchman; presented to be a man far gone in the new sect, and that he was a great jester at the saints, and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlaine and his wife, John Curteys, Master Dissel, his wife and his servant: these eight were great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies.

St. Katharine Coleman.

The curate of St. Katharine Coleman: he was noted for calling of suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing of any bell; and when he preached, he left his matters doubtful.

Item, for preaching without the commandment of his parson.

Item, for that he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife and his son-in-law: these

were noted for coming seldom to the church, and many times were seen to labour upon the holy-days.

St. Matthew's Parish.

William Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, being a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield, and his son-in-law, Nicholas Russel; the good man of the Saracen's Head in Friday Street; William Callaway, John Gardiner, with three apprentices: against this company presentation was made for gathering together in the evening, and for bringing ill preachers, (that is to say, good preachers,) amongst the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented, for saying that the blessed sacrament was to him that doth take it, so; and to him that doth not, it was not so.

Shoreditch.

Shermons, keeper of the Carpenters' Hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, wherein priests were railed on, and called knaves.

Saint Benet at Paul's Wharf.

Lewes Morall, a servant; also James Ogule and his wife; noted not to have been confessed certain years before.

Saint Margaret in Fish Street.

Thomas Babam; accused not to have been confessed nor houseled in his parish church.

Saint Antholine's.

The parson and curate of St. Antholine's; for not using the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

Lewis Bromfield; for not taking his housel, and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Hill.

John Sempe and John Goffe; for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning *Te matrem*, &c.; saying that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey; for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Magdalene in Old Fish Street.

Thomas Cappes; for saying these words, "That the sacrament of the altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death."

Saint Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mailer, grocer; for calling the sacrament

of the altar "the baken god," and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, "miss," for that all is amiss in it.

Saint Martin's in Ironmonger Lane.

John Hardyman, parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger Lane; presented for preaching openly that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the butcherly ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, "What a mischief is this, to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue! for in so doing they take the glory of God from him:" and for saying, that faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other sacraments, to justify.

Saint Bridget's in Fleet Street.

Christopher Dray, plumber; for saying of the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

Saint Andrew's in Holborn.

Robert Ward, shoemaker; presented by three witnesses, for holding against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread Street.

Allhallows, Barking.

Nicholas Otes; for not coming to the housel at Easter, he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson and James Gosson; for not coming to shrift and housel at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread Street.

Saint Olave's in the Old Jewry.

Richard White, haberdasher; for saying, that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulchre, but in heaven above.

Saint Botolph's Without Aldgate.

Giles Harrison, being in a place without Aldgate, merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbours, where some of them said, "Let us go to mass:" "I say tarry," said he; and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lifted it up over his head; and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a cross over the cup, and so taking the said cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head, saying these words, "Have ye not heard mass now?" For the which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London; against whom came these, namely, Thomas Castle, William Greene, Andrew Morice, and John Margetson, as witnesses against him.

Richard Bostock, priest; for saying that auricular

confession hath killed more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters have done since King Henry was king of England, &c. Also for saying, that the water in the Thames hath as much virtue, as the water that the priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth; for having no reverence to the sacrament at sacring time. Item, for instructing of maids, and being a great doctress.

In Aldermanbury.

John Leicester, Christopher Townesend, Thomas Mabs, Christopher Holybread, W. Raynold, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Starckey, Martyn Donan, and W. Derby: all these noted and presented for maintaining of Barnes, and such other preachers; and many of their wives, for not taking holy bread, nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwell, bricklayer; for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

Saint Martin's the Great.

John Coygnes, or Livelonde; for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Saint Clement's Without Temple Bar.

Gerard Frise; presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached, is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he had rather go to hear a sermon, than to hear a mass.

Saint Katharine's.

Dominick Williams, a Frenchman; for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter.

Thomas Lancaster, priest; he lay in the Compter in the Poultry, for compiling and bringing over books prohibited.

Item, Gough, the stationer; troubled for resorting unto him.

Friar Ward; laid in the Compter in Bread Street: for marrying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chastity.

Wilcock, a Scottish friar; prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession, holy water, against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory, and holding that priests might have wives, &c.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity; presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet Street, that it is as profitable to a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, who kissed Christ our Saviour, &c.

W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholine's; presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church.

having no licence of his ordinary; and also for allowing the sermons of the said Alexander Seton, which he preached against Dr. Smith.

To the said Tolwine, moreover, it was objected, that he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism, beginning *Exorciso te*, &c.; using these words for the same, *Benedicite, Domine: ab eo sit benedicta, a cujus latere fluxit sanguis et aqua*: adjoining thereto, *commixtio salis et aquæ fiat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti*.

The like usage of making holy water was also used in Aldermary church, where Dr. Crome was, and in Honey Lane.

Against this objection thus Tolwine defended himself, saying, that he took occasion so to do by the king's injunctions, which say, that ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.

In the end this Tolwine was forced to stand at Paul's Cross, to recant his doctrine and doings.

The same time also Robert Wisdom, parish priest of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, and Thomas Becon, were brought to Paul's Cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Little Allhallows.

Sir George Parker, priest and parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and convented before the ordinary, for certain books; especially for having *Unio dissidentium*, &c.

Sir John Byrch, priest of St. Botolph's Lane, was complained of by one Master Wilson, for being a busy reasoner in certain opinions which agreed not with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scottish man, and a worthy preacher, was denounced, detected, and presented, by three priests, of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself.

This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, and by him was made free denizen. In his sermon preached at St. Antholine's, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which, for example, I thought here to exhibit to the reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving what is right, or in wresting what is well meant, or in carping at what they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none are; as by these their sinister cavillations may appear.

Certain places or articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's sermons by his adversaries.

The sayings and words of Alexander Seton, spoken and preached by him in his sermon, made the thirteenth day of November, at afternoon, in the parish church of St. Antholine's in London: "Paul saith, Of ourselves we can do nothing; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than Paul, James, Peter, and all the apostles? Hast thou any more grace than they? Tell me now, if thy will be any thing or nothing: if it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say, to do ill, I will grant thou hast a great deal. If thou say, to do good, I ask whether is more, somewhat or nothing? for Paul said, he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more grace than Paul and his companions."

"Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will, the other two are consent and deed. The first, that is will, God worketh without us, and beside us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us."—And here he alleged St. Augustine, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, "Thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle, to do any good."

"There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, than can be any mean towards our justification; nor yet can nor may any man satisfy God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his blood."

"He that preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our salvation, or any part of our justification, preacheth a doctrine of the devil."

"If any thing else, save only Christ, be any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justify us."

"I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier; and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two servants: the one is called John, and the other Robert; and I promise to send you such a day twenty pounds by John my servant, and at my day I send you by John my servant nineteen pounds nineteen shillings and eleven pence three farthings, and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pounds, every penny and farthing: yet will I ask, if I be true of my promise, or no; and thou mayst say, 'Nay.' And why? Because I promised to send thee that whole twenty pounds by John, and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or

tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, which said that he would do all together."

"One scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ only was promised to be our only justifier, our only mean; and that is in the twenty-second of Genesis, where it is written, In thy seed shall all people be blessed; meaning thereby only Christ: and he said not, in thy seeds, nor, in the works of thy seeds. Wherefore, all they that preach that works be any part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise."

"They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice, wrought by him that is already a just man, which cannot choose but bring forth good fruit."

"I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad; for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot choose but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he can bring forth no fruit but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit."

"He that saith that works do merit any thing towards our salvation, doth make works checkmate with Christ, and plucketh from Christ what is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, Wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, Good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that saith that good works are to be done for no other cause than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say, he lieth, and believe him not."

"He that can show me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first scripture I will (without any further judgment) lose both mine ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck. For of this I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle. Wherefore believe them not."

"Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie on us: we deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a popish doctrine."

"If you ask me, when we will leave preaching only Christ: even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, and only mean to our justification; and, till then, we will not cease, in God's cause, to set forth only Christ, to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction."

"If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I

say, Yea, and with no less than eternal glory; but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise's sake; and he will not break his promise."

Other articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's sermons.

Touching reconciliation, spoken of by Dr. Smith, preaching in the forenoon at Paul's Cross, Alexander Seton, preaching at afternoon at St. Antholine's, and, reciting his sayings and scriptures, reproved him for alleging this saying, Reconcile yourselves to God; because it is there spoken passively, and not actively; so that there should be no thing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also, reproving the said Dr. Smith, for that the said doctor said, that man, by his good works, might merit: which saying of Dr. Smith the said Alexander Seton reproved in the pulpit at St. Antholine's, the thirteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord 1541, as naughtily spoken.

Moreover the said Alexander Seton said, in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous doctrine as to say that works should merit; adding, When ye shall have done all those things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

Finally Seton said, "Peradventure ye will say the church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say," quoth he, "that it is *ecclesie malignantium*, so determining any thing against Scripture."

To these pretended objections of his adversaries he made his answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented, taking upon his conscience, that he never spake divers of those words, and again many things that he never meant to such end or purpose; as in the said register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (after the popish course) to the number of ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him was for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesu; against false confidence in good works; and man's free-will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers, profited not the souls departed: so that in the end, he, with Tolwine aforesaid, was caused to recant at Paul's Cross, A. D. 1541.

Add to these aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, parson of St. Peter's in Corn Hill; South, parish priest of

Allhallows in Lombard Street; Some, a priest; Giles, the king's beer-brewer, at the Red Lion in St. Katharine's; Thomas Lancaster, priest: all which were imprisoned likewise for the six articles.

To be short, such a number out of all parishes in London, and out of Calais and divers other quarters, were then apprehended, through the said inquisition, that all prisons in London were too little to hold them, insomuch that they were fain to lay them in the halls. At last, by the means of good Lord Audeley, such pardon was obtained of the king, that the said Lord Audeley, then lord chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the Star-chamber, the next day after All-Souls, there to answer, if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did there any appear.

The story of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Paul's.

In the number of these before-named cometh the remembrance of John Porter, who, in the same year, (A. D. 1541,) for reading the Bible in Paul's church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. It was declared in this history above, how Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the days of the Lord Cromwell, being then ambassador at Paris, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in the great volume; promising moreover, that he would, for his part, have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which, also, at his coming home, he no less performed, according to the king's proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read before.



he Bibles thus standing in Paul's by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, many well-disposed people used much to

resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as the days of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly-disposed persons, who frequented there the reading of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying as well of

himself, as of others. This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature; who, by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters-forth of God's truth, became very expert. The Bible then being set up, by Bonner's commandment, upon divers pillars in Paul's church, fixed unto the same with chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains, being grieved withal, (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers,) sent for the said Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements, which he had fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid unto his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But, in fine, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon; being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his, whose name is also Porter, a man yet alive, and can testify that it is true, and dwelleth yet without Newgate. He, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons; and so, through friendship and money, had him up among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murder; where Porter, being amongst them, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his so doing he was complained on, and so carried down, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where, within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

It is signified to us, by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the prison where Porter lay, did hear him piteously to groan, and make a lamentable noise, where some suppose that he was put in certain strait irons which be there in the house, called, "the devil on the neck;" being after a horrible sort devised; straining and wrenching the neck of a man with his legs together, in such sort as the more he stirreth in it, the straiter it presseth him; so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a man's back and body in

pieces: in which devilish torment, whether John Porter was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforesaid) in the dungeon, with such groaning and piteous noise heard the night before the said dungeon, as is declared.

A note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the gospel.

Amongst these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also, (though a little out of place,) another note of a merchant, called Thomas Sommers, who died in the Tower of London, for confessing of the gospel; which Thomas, being a very honest merchant and wealthy, was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luther's books (as they termed them); and after great suit made for him to the said cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the Tower into Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hanging round about him, with three or four other merchants after the same order; which was done. And when Master Sommers should be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow prisoners were, a friend of his, called Master Copland, brought him a very good gelding, fair dressed with bridle and saddle; and when the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment, to have thrust the strings of

the books therein; "Nay," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel." and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar, and being on horseback, rode foremost through the streets, till they came about the Standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a basin, at the noise whereof Master Sommers's horse, being a lofty gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he who rung the basin, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any horseman followed after. At length, when they came to the fire, every of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire, which was seen by some of God's enemies, and brought to him again, commanding him to cast it into the fire, which he would not do, but cast it through the fire; which thing was done three times; but at last a stander-by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said Master Sommers was again cast into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, who

soon after, died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly brethren in London for the six articles, hitherto we have discoursed: albeit neither have I comprehended all which were molested through all the parishes of London, nor again did this rigorous inquisition so cease within the precincts of this city only, but also extended further to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all other shires and quarters of the realm; so that where any popish prelate most bare stroke, there persecution most increased. The bishop of Lincoln, the same time, was John Longland, and Dr. Draycot, his chancellor; of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all popish quarrels, as it never lacked before, so now, in the execution of these six articles, it was not far behind: in whose diocese divers good men and women, especially about Buckingham and Amersham, and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the register; as for instance:

Elenore Godfrey, of Great Marlow,

For laughing and speaking certain words against one Thomas Collard, who, like a pope-holy hypocrite, in the church of Marlow, used at mass-time to crouch behind the children; and when the priest crossed his head with the saucer, (as she termed it,) he would cross his head likewise. And for these words she was convented before the bishop, and miserably vexed.

William Hart, of Great Brickhill,

For saying these words: "Thinkest thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave priest's head?"

Christopher Erles, of Risborough,

Because he did no reverence unto the sacrament, coming to the church: and for looking upon his book at the time of elevation; and that he would not come to see the elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of fustian on a holy-day, and being asked why he kept not the holy-day, he answered that that was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to sit at the alehouse drinking drunk.

William Fastendich, of Woburn,

For speaking certain words against the sacrament of the altar, and because he believed not that it was the very body of Christ.

William Garland, of West Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extreme unction, said that those things were godly signs, but there were but two sacraments, &c.

William Web, of the same parish,

Because he set the image of a headless bear in the tabernacle of St. Roke.

About the same time John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two upon one day, the one named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton; the one for teaching the Lord's Prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of St. James translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one Master Barber, master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned; who, being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them that yet be alive, and were present thereat) neither Cranmer himself nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Augustine; wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the archbishop, with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time, and danger of the six articles, at last he relented, and, returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but wore away.

A merry and pleasant narration, touching a false fearful imagination of fire, raised among the doctors and masters of Oxford, in St. Mary's church, at the recantation of Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge.

ITHERTO, gentle reader, we have remembered a great number of lamentable and bloody tragedies of such as have been slain through extreme cruelty: now I will

here set before thee again a merry and comical spectacle, whereat thou mayest now laugh and refresh thyself, which, forasmuch as it did neces-

sarily accord with our present enterprise, I have not thought it good to pass it over with silence. For God hath oftentimes, by divers manifest means, deluded the craft and subtlety of the bishops and their vain hypocrisy; as, for example, in Joan of Mentz, who, being a woman, and secretly concealing her sex, ruled the bishopric of Rome; but, by being delivered of a child before her time, even in the midst of open procession, she defiled that see, that the note or blot thereof will never be wiped out again. Besides that, how great reproach and derision, even of children, was in that pompous and ridiculous ambassade of Thomas Wolsey and Lawrence the cardinal, whereof we have before spoken. And now again the Divine wisdom deluded the cruel toils of the bishops; for this recantation of Master Barber aforesaid, in the university of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said university, which I thought here not to overpass.

There was one Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge, scholar of Christ's College, who, for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the catholic determination of holy mother church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Christ's gospel, was convented before the bishops, and, in the end, sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that university. The time and place were appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church upon a Sunday; where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were together assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens and town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual sermon for the holding up of the mother church of Rome, Dr. Smith, reader then of the divinity lecture, was appointed to make the sermon at this recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this sermon there was assembled a mighty audience of all sorts and degrees, as well of students as others. Few almost were absent which loved to hear or see any news; insomuch that there was no place almost in the whole church, which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth poor Malary with his faggot upon his shoulder. Not long after, also, proceedeth the doctor into the pulpit, to make his sermon, the purpose and argument whereof was wholly upon the sacrament; the which doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the

holy catholic cake, and the sacrament of the altar, there to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor, with his god-almighty, entering his godly sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, the people giving great silence with all reverence unto his doctrine, but suddenly was heard into the church the voice of one crying in the street, "Fire, fire!" The party who thus cried first in the street was called Heuster. This Heuster coming from Allhallows parish saw the chimney on fire, and so passing through the street by St. Mary's church, cried "Fire, fire!" as the fashion is; meaning no hurt.

This sound of fire being heard in the church, first of them that stood outermost next to the church door, so increased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself; who, as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the church, and to behold the walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they, in the midst of the audience, to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire, fire!" "Where?" saith one: "Where?" saith another. "In the church!" saith one. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when, as in one moment, there was a common cry amongst them, "The church is on fire! the church is set on fire by heretics!" &c. And, albeit no man did see any fire at all, yet, forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse, and tumult of people, through the whole church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

And as in a great fire, (where fire is indeed,) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles a-burning; so here, upon a small occasion of one man's word, kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion, running in every man's head within the church, thinking the church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders; that is, that these great doctors and wise men of the schools, who think themselves so wise in God's matters as though they could not err, should see, by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were, in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them, to make it seem most true, which

was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic there bearing his faggot, which gave them to imagine that all other heretics had conspired with him, to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it showed as it had been the smoke of fire; which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men so afraid, that, leaving the sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For, while they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that neither they that were without could get into the church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So then, one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the north side, toward the college called Brasenose, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people, clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or sides. There was yet another door towards the west, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened, yet now ran they to it with such sway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of men's hands, the door, notwithstanding, could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly-burly rising so of nothing heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if Democritus, the merry philosopher, sitting in the top of the church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad-men, now hither, now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves or tempests; trembling and quaking, raging and fuming, without any manifest cause; especially if he had seen those great rabbins, the doctors, laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in; gasping, breathing, and sweating,

and for very horror being almost beside themselves; I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life-time; or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said, that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed, that he saw it with his eyes, and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance; who, casting his faggot off from his shoulders upon a monk's head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the others did.

All the others, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor that preached, (who was, as I said, Dr. Smith,) who, in manner first of all, cried out in the pulpit, saying, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me: Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" But might not God, as it had been (to speak with Job) out of a whirlwind, have answered again unto this preacher thus: "Thou dost now implore my mercy, but thou thyself showest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren! How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire! But you think it a sport to burn other simple innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning and to suffer a torment of fire seem so grievous a matter unto you, then you should also have the like consideration in other men's perils and dangers, when you do burn your fellows and brethren! Or, if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go to now, do you also, with like courage, condemn, and, with like patience, suffer now, the same torments yourselves. And if so be I should now suffer you, with the whole church, to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore, since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you." With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or human charity, in the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea, if there had been a fire indeed, (as they were more feared than hurt,) who would have doubted, but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now, worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those Catholics either were deluded, or how their cruelty was reprov'd, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might here-

after learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themselves here so much abhorred.

But, to return again to the description of this pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads. In all this great maze and garboil, there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason and counsel out of their minds, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only Democritus and Heraclitus also to laugh, but rather a horse well near to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed greatest wise men, saving that in one or two, peradventure, somewhat more quietness of mind appeared; among whom was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College, (whom, for reverence, and learning's sake, I do here name,) and a few other aged persons with him, who, for their age and weakness, durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the sacrament. The others, who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the incivility of men, and waxed angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room unto the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent-masters. But, as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did there nothing avail the doctor; neither the master's hood, nor the monk's cowl, was there respected.

Yea, if the king or queen had been there at that present, and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways, and saw no remedy, neither by force nor authority to prevail, they fell to entreating and offering of rewards; one offering twenty pounds of good money, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears!

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead: others, being without money, and unprovided of all shifts, knew not which way to turn them. One, being a president of a certain college, (whose name I need not here to utter,) pulling a board out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the

church. Now what a laughter would this ministered unto Democritus amongst other that beheld there a certain grand paunch, who the doors stopped, and every way closed up, by another compendious means, to get out a glass window, if it might be by any shift here the iron grates letted him; notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt, if he could bring his purpose to pass. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the grates where he should creep out, first he pressed his head with the one shoulder, and it went out well enough. Then he laboured to get his other shoulder after; but there was a great labour that, and long he stuck by the shoulders with ado; for what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten; but, for the part of his body he did stick fast, I am not sure neither may I feign, forasmuch as there be many necessities who did see these things, who would have me, if I should so do. Notwithstanding, this was certain, that he did stick fast between the grates and could neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man, being indeed a man having but short hose, by the which way he was disposed soonest to escape, by the same he was exposed to further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For, if the fire or lead had fallen on the parts of those parts which did hang out of the window, he had been in danger; and, contrariwise, if the fire had raged within the church, all his other parts had been open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the window, so did the rest stick as fast in the press, that sooner they might have been burned, than could once stir or move one foot: through the press, at last, there was a way found, that they going over their heads, got out.

Here also happened another pageant in a church, whereat Calphurnius might well laugh with a merry mouth. So it happened, that there was a young man in this tumult, who, seeing the doors fast closed with the press or multitude, and that he had no way to get out, climbed up upon the door, there, staying upon the top of the door, was forced to tarry still: for, to come down into the church again he durst not for fear of the fire, and to go down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there awhile, he advised himself what to do; neither did he know what to serve his purpose: for, by chance, seeing them that got out over men's heads, he saw a man coming towards him, who had a great wide cloth hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the

came near unto him, the boy, who was on the top of the door, came down, and prettily conveyed himself into the monk's cowl; thinking (as it came to pass indeed) that if the monk did escape, he should so get out with him. To be brief, at last the monk gat out over men's heads, with the boy in his cowl, and, for a great while, felt no weight or burden.

At last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his cowl, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking, in very deed, that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had flien into his cowl. By and by he began to play the exorcist: "In the name of God," said he, "and all saints, I command thee to declare what thou art, that art behind at my back!" To whom the boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy," said he; for that was his name. "But I," said the monk, "adjure thee, in the name of the unseparable Trinity, that thou, wicked spirit! do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get thee hence." "I am Bertram's boy," said he, "good master! let me go:" and with that his cowl began, with the weight, to crack upon his shoulders. The monk, when he perceived the matter, took the boy out, and discharged his cowl. The boy took to his legs, and ran away as fast as he could.

Among others, one wiser than the rest ran with the church door key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to break a hole through to escape out.

In the mean time those that were in the street, looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But, forasmuch as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the church, those signs made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the church; and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following, there was an incredible number of bills set upon the church doors, to inquire for the things that were lost, in such variety and number, as Democritus might here again have had just cause to laugh. "If any man have found a pair of shoes yesterday in St. Mary's

church, or knoweth any man that hath found them," &c. Another bill was set up for a gown that was lost. Another entreated to have his cap restored. One lost his purse and girdle, with certain money; another his sword. One inquired for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there were few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left, something behind them.

Thus have you heard a tragical story of a terrible fire, which did no hurt; the description whereof, although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth some shadow thereof, whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the heretic, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of this hurly-burly, therefore the next day following he was reclaimed into the church of St. Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenary penance.

The king divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves, and married to the Lady Katharine Howard, his fifth wife.

The same year, and in the month following next after the apprehension of the Lord Cromwell, which was August, 1540, the king immediately was divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleves; the cause of which separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the king, being freed from that pretended matrimony, (as they called it,) might marry where he would, and so might she likewise; who, also, consenting to the same divorcement herself, by her own letters, was after that taken no more for queen, but only called Lady Anne of Cleves. Which things thus discussed by the parliament and convocation-house, the king the same month was married to his fifth wife, which was the Lady Katharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the Lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

In the same month of August, and the same year, I find, moreover, in some records, besides the four and twenty Charterhouse monks above recited, whom Cope doth sanctify for holy martyrs, for suffering in the pope's devotion, against the king's supremacy, other six which were also brought to Tyburn, and there executed in the like case of rebellion; of whom the first was the prior of Doncaster; the second monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Gi

Horn (some call him William Horn); the third one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster, who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in King Henry's days that did wear that monkish weed; the fourth one Philpot: the fifth one Carew; the sixth was a friar. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind superstition, once rooted in man's heart by a little custom.

Now, as touching the late marriage between the king and the Lady Howard, ye heard how this matrimony endured not long; for, in the year next following, 1542, the said Lady Katharine was accused to the king of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with Francis Dereham, but also of spousebreach, after her marriage, with Thomas Culpepper. For this both the men aforesaid, by act of parliament were attainted, and executed for high treason; and also the Lady Katharine, late queen, with the Lady Jane Rochford, widow, late wife to George Bullen, Lord Rochford, brother to Queen Anne Bullen, were beheaded for their deserts, within the Tower.

After the death and punishment of this lady, his fifth wife, the king, calling to remembrance the words of the Lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the ways of Winchester, began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the life of Cranmer,) yet now, the more he missed the Lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore, in the same year and in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king, understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about pilgrimages and idolatry, and other things besides, to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters unto the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy redress and reformation of the same; the tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth in these words:

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm;

but, also, by our injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacraments of the altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that, this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition; and also that our injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things; and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away as there remain no memory of it; but also, that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable, and to see that our injunctions be duly kept as appertaineth, without failing; as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet at our town of Hall, the fourth day of October, in the thirty-third year of our reign."

Furthermore, the next year after this coming, which was 1543, in the month of February, followed another proclamation, given out by the king's authority, wherein the pope's law, forbidding what meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behalf of the king's subjects.

The trouble and persecution of four Windsor men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Peerson, and John Marbeck: persecuted for righteousness' sake, and for the gospel.

COMING now to the story and time of the four Windsor men, troubled and persecuted for the true testimony of God's word, whereof three were martyred and sacrificed in fire, the

fourth (which was Marbeck) had his pardon: first I have to show the original of their troubles:

several parts; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was A. D. 1543; thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of myself, against certain clatterers which have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former edition of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of Marbeck, whom, in one place, I reported to have been burned; albeit, in the end of the story, correcting myself again, I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore, to stop the brawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here to set forth the full narration, both of the said Marbeck and of his fellows, in truth, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel thereat.

A full narration of the persecution at Windsor.

Persons persecuted at Windsor A. D. 1543:—Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Pearson, John Marbeck, Robert Bennet, Sir Philip Hobby and his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine and his wife, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon; Snowball and his wife, of the king's chamber; and Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter.

Persecutors:—Master Ely, Simons a lawyer, Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then secretary to the king, and afterwards lord chancellor; Southarne, treasurer of Exeter; Dr. Bruerwood, chancellor of Exeter; Master Knight, Winchester's gentleman; Dr. Oking; Dr. Capon, bishop of Sarum; Sir William Essex, knight; Sir Thomas Bridges, knight; Sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklin, dean of Windsor; Master Fachel, of Reading; Bucklayer, the king's attorney; Filmer's brother; Hide, a jurate dwelling beside Abingdon; Robert Ocham, a lawyer.

The original of Robert Testwood's trouble.

In the year of our Lord 1543, there was one Robert Testwood, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name, that the musicians in Windsor College thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson (being then their dean) of him. But, forasmuch as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he smelled of the new learning, (as they called it,) it would not be consented unto at first. Notwithstanding, with often suit of the aforesaid musicians, made to one Dr. Tate, (who, being half a musician himself, bare a great stroke in such matters,) a room being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the choir-men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in Windsor with his household, and

was had in good estimation with the dean and canons a great while. But when they had perceived him, by his often talk at their tables, (for he could not well dissemble his religion,) that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. And so, passing forth among them, it was his chance, one day, to be at dinner with one of the canons, named, Dr. Rawson. At that dinner, among others, was one of King Edward's four chantry priests, named Master Ely, an old bachelor of divinity; which Ely, in his talk at the board, began to rail against laymen, who took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English tongue) than they that had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their lives.

Then Testwood, perceiving he meant that against him, could forbear his railing no longer, but said, "Master Ely, by your patience, I think it to be no hurt for laymen, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures." "Which of you," quoth Ely, "that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; and, in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Now, sir," quoth Ely, "what meaneth St Paul by these coals of fire?" "Marry, sir," quoth Testwood, "he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning charity, that, with doing good to our enemies, we should thereby win them." "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "you are an old scholar indeed!"

After this they fell into further communication of the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the parliament-house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of the church or no? against which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But, when they were both well stricken in a heat, Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, that every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ: at which words Ely was so chafed, that he rose up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretic, and all that nought was; and so went brawling and chiding away, to the great disquieting of all the company that were there.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously: whereupon, after dinner, he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have been at one again; but ever as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would

not come nigh him, but did spit at him; saying to others that walked by, "Beware of this fellow! for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor."

Now began the matter to brew; for, after that Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely, at the dean's coming home, (if all things had chanced even,) to have put him to his trump. But see the fortune. It was not twelve days after, ere that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house. Whereupon the dean, Dr. Sampson, came home suddenly in the night, late, and forthwith sent his verger about to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the chapter-house by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons over-night, (as late as it was,) and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great plunge: "But he that layeth a snare for another man," saith Solomon, "shall be taken in it himself." And so was Ely; for when the dean and every man were come and placed in the chapter-house, and that the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in tending the choir, exhorting them also to continue in the same, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confounding the same, by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome, and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any manner of means, he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God and to the king. The canons, hearing this, were all stricken in a dump: yet, notwithstanding, Ely's heart was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered stomach against Testwood; but the dean (breaking his tale) called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hanged about the church, to be brought into the chapter-house, and cast into the chimney, and burned before all their faces; and so departed.

Another cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

As it chanced Testwood one day to walk in the church at afternoon, and to behold the pilgrims,

especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, here came in by plumps, with candles and images in their hands, to offer to good King Henry Windsor, as they called him, it pitted him to see such great idolatry committed, and how the people had spent their goods in coming to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; insomuch that he could not refrain seeing a certain company which had done offering and were standing gazing about the altar, he went unto them, and with all gentleness to exhort them to leave such false worship of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the living God aright; putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, how God many times had plagued his people for running a whoring to such stocks and stones, so would plague them and their posterity, if they would not leave it. After this sort he admonished them so long, till at the last his words, as God took such place in some of them, that they they never would go a pilgrimage more.

Then he went further, and found another picture, licking and kissing a white Lady made of alabaster, which image was mortised in a wall behind the altar, and bordered about with a pretty border of flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their eyes and faces, though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he up with his hand, in which he had a stone, and smote down a piece of the border about the image, and with the glance of the stroke did to break off the image's nose. "Lo! good people," quoth he, "you see what it is; nothing but dust and dust, and cannot help itself; and how can you have it to help you? For God's sake, be no more deceived." And so he gat him home to his house, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the image, how it was defaced. Among all others, came one William Simonds, a lawyer, who, seeing the image so bewrayed, and lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and falling down upon the pavement, he spied the image's nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his purse, saying it should be a dear nose to Testwood one day.

Now were many offended with Testwood; the canons, for speaking against their profit; the vintners and sellers, for hindering their market; and Simonds for the image's nose. And more than that, it was of the canons' men that threatened to kill him. Hereupon Testwood kept his house and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter

writing by his wife to Master Cromwell the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons, hearing that Testwood would send to Cromwell, sent the verger unto him, to will him to come to the church; who sent them word again, that he was in fear of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest petty canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, that he had no such trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then wist they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell; but sent, in post haste, for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who, being come, and hearing the matter, was very loth to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and had much ado to persuade him; but, at last, he did faithfully promise him by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harms, so that Testwood was content to go with him.

And when Master Ward, and Testwood, were come into the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, where the canons abode their coming, one of the canons' men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the chapter-house, causing the serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked by their masters, who straitly commanded him, upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house with the canons and Master Ward, was gently treated, and the matter so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come and go to the church, and do his duty as he had done before.

Third cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

Upon a Relic Sunday, (as they named it,) when every minister, after their old custom, should have borne a relic in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood; which relic (as they said) was a rochet of Bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it from him, saying, If he did give it to him, he would make sport withal; and so the rochet was given to another. Then came the verger down from the high altar with St. George's dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relic. "Marry," quoth Testwood, "give it to Master Hake," who stood next him, "for he is a pretty man of his hands:" and so the dagger was given unto him. Now Testwood perceiving the dagger in Master Hake's hand, and being merrily disposed, (as he

was a merry-conceited man,) stepped forth out of his place to Dr. Clifton, standing directly before him in the midst of the choir, with a glorious golden cope upon his back, having the pix in his hand, and said, "Sir! Master Hake hath St. George's dagger. Now, if he had his horse, and St. Martin's cloak, and Master John Shorn's boots, with King Harry's spurs, and his hat, he might ride when he would:" and so stepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say.

Fourth cause of Robert Testwood's trouble.

In the days of Master Franklin, who succeeded Dr. Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was, on a time, set up at the choir door, a certain foolish printed paper in metre, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, &c., to the great derogation of Christ. Which paper, one of the canons, called Master Magnus, (as it was reported,) caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood, coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the paper with him. The dean, being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the paper in his presence. Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his Mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up; beseeching him not to be offended with what he had done, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more papers set up, but poor Testwood was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meal; "and a heretic he was, and would roast a faggot for this gear one day."

Now Master Magnus, being sore offended with Testwood for plucking down his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the dean and the rest of the canons, to send their letters to Dr. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the king's physician, who lay, for the most part, at the court, to see what he would do against Testwood; which letters, being made, were sent with speed. But, whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of Cromwell, or what else, I cannot tell, their suit came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but

determined to let the matter sleep, till St. George's feast, which was not far off.

Now, in the mean time, there chanced a pretty story, between one Robert Philips, gentleman of the king's chapel, and Testwood; which story, though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man, (wherein he gloried,) that wheresoever he came, the best and longest song, with most counter-verses in it, should be set up at his coming. And so, his chance being now to be at Windsor, against his coming to the anthem, a long song was set up, called *Laudate vivi*, in which song there was one counter-verse towards the end, that began on this wise, *O redemptrix et salvatrix*: which verse, of all others, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that ditty. Now Testwood, knowing his mind well enough, joined with him at the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with *O redemptrix et salvatrix*! repeating the same, one in another's neck, Testwood was as quick, on the other side, to answer him again with *non redemptrix, nec salvatrix*! and so, striving there with *O* and *Non* who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse; whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were sore offended.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their custom is yearly to do) came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which feast the duke of Norfolk was president; unto whom the dean and canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood: who, being called before the duke, he shook him up, and all-to-reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet, nevertheless, Testwood so behaved himself to the duke, that, in the end, he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

Here you have heard the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked Haman, Dr. London, came, as shall be showed in the process following.

The original of Henry Filmer's trouble.

About the year of our Lord 1541, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one Sir Thomas Melster, who had been a friar before, and had changed his friar's coat, (but not his friar's heart,) to be vicar of Windsor. This priest, on a time, made a sermon to his parishioners, in which he de-

clared so many fond and friarish tales, as, that our Lady should hold out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such-like festival tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this Henry Filmer, then one of the churchwardens; who was so zealous to God's word, that he could not abide to bear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly, and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content, at his gentle admonition, to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Now there was one in the town, called William Simons, a lawyer, (as is aforesaid,) who, hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and had reproved him for his sermon, took pepper in the nose, and got him to the vicar, and did so animate him to his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons; who, meeting with Filmer afterwards, all-to-reviled him, saying, he would bring him before the bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then Filmer, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said, that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine; and so would he say to the bishop, whensoever he came before him. Then Simons slipped not the matter, but went to the mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signed with their own hands, in the priest's favour as much as could be devised: and so departed himself, with other his friends, to go to the bishop, (whose name was Dr. Capon,) and to take the priest with them; which was a painful journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore leg.

Now Filmer, hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foil, consulted with his friends what was best to do; who concluded to draw out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and to prepare themselves to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him, if it might be possible. Thus, both the parties being in a readiness, it chanced them to set forth from Windsor all in one day: but, by reason the priest, being an impotent man, could not endure to ride very fast, Filmer and his company got to the town an hour and more before Simons, went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill unto him; which bill, when the bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, it did behove him to look upon it; for the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished.

Then Filmer declared unto the bishop the form

of his talk he had with the priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his Lordship therewith. "Well," said the bishop, "ye have done like honest men: come to me soon again, and ye shall know more." And so they departed from the bishop to their inn; and, while they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the bishop in all post haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the vicar of the town, with others besides, he caused the vicar to be brought in; to whom he said, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yea, forsooth, my Lord," quoth he. "How chanceth it," quoth the bishop, "that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honest men of your town, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you: if it be so, I must needs punish you." And opening the bill, he read it unto him. "How say you," quoth the bishop, "is this true, or no?" The vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then was his company called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well, and said, "Wherefore come you, Master Simons?" "Pleaseth it your Lordship," quoth he, "we are come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town, called Filmer, who is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country. And truly, my Lord," quoth Simons, "there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to control it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your Lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busy fellow troubled him. And, that your Lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the town; and besides all that, a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same:" and so he held out the writing in his hand.

Then said the bishop, "So God help me, Master Simons! ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who hath preached heresy, and hath confessed it: wherefore I may not, nor will not, see it unpunished. And as for that honest man Filmer, of whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly, he hath in this

point showed himself a great deal more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church." And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited without, and delivered the priest's recantation unto them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed with a flea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foil. For this cause Simons could never brook Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger, (as his manner was, where he owed displeasure,) and say, "I will be even with you one day, trust me!"

The original of Anthony Peerson's trouble.

There was a certain priest, named Anthony Peerson, who frequented much to Windsor about the year of our Lord 1540, and, using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were sore offended, insomuch that Simons at the last began to gather of his sermons, and to mark his auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a minister of Satan, called Dr. London, warden of New College in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor, who, at his first coming to Windsor, began to utter his stomach and to show his affection. For, at his first residence-dinner which he made to the clerks, (which company, for the most part, at that time favoured the gospel,) all his whole talk to two gentlemen, strangers at his board, (till the table was a taking up,) was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm unto, if they might be so suffered. "And by St. Mary, masters!" quoth he to the clerks at last, "I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house." Some made answer, it was undeserved. "I pray God it be," quoth he, "I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Then spake Testwood, "By my troth, sir!" quoth he, "I think that was spoken of malice: for prayer, as your Mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yea, marry, sir," quoth he, "but the heretics will hav

no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers do allow." "What the old fathers do allow," quoth Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mean between you and God," quoth Dr. London. "Yes, sir," quoth Testwood, "our mean is Christ, as St. Paul saith, There is one Mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ." "Give us water," quoth Dr. London: which being set on the board, he said grace, and washed; and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the clerks took their leave and departed. When Dr. London had been at Windsor awhile, among his catholic brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons, (who showed him our Lady's nose, as he called it,) what sort of heretics were in the town, and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty priest, called Anthony Peerson, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil, to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the aforesaid Simons, a meet clerk to serve such a curate, and others of like sort, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabouts, indicted of heresy, and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the six articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First, they drew out certain notes of Anthony Peerson's sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, and their popish mass. That done, they put in Sir William Hobby, with the good lady his wife, Sir Thomas Cardine, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. Also they noted Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted Anthony Peerson's sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the gospel, or did but smell thereof.

Then had they privy spies to walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament, at the elevation-time, and to bring his name to Dr. London. And of these spies some were chantry priests; among the which there was one notable spy, whose name was called Sir William Bows, such a fleeing priest as would be in every corner of the church pattering to himself, with his portues in his hand, to hear and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus, when they had gathered

as much as they could, and made a book thereof, Dr. London, with two of his brethren more, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great charge against the heretics that were in Windsor, & unto him how the town was sore disquieted by their doctrine and evil example: wherefore he sought his Lordship's help, in purging the castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, and seeing their book, their doings, and bade them make friends forward, and they should not lack his help. They applied the matter with tooth and nail, for no money or pains-taking, as Marbeck and he himself heard one of them say, who was doer therein, and afterwards sorry for that done, that the suit thereof cost him that year, part only, a hundred marks, besides the three good geldings.

Now Bishop Gardiner, who had conceived ther fetch in his brain than Dr. London had, Wriothesley and others of the council on him, and spying a time convenient, went to the complaining what a sort of heretics his Grace in his realm, and how they were not only in every corner of his court, but even into his chamber; beseeching therefore his Majesty that laws might be prosecuted. The king, giving to the council's words, was content his laws be executed on such as were offenders. Then the bishop what he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a privy search to be had in Windsor for books and letters that Anthony Peerson should send abroad; which commission was granted to take place in the town of Windsor, not in the castle.

At this time the canons of Exeter (especially Sir John Arne, treasurer of the church, and Dr. Brunsell, the chancellor) had accused Dr. Haynes, then to the council, for preaching against holy bread, holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons (having occasion to speak of matrimony) marriage and hanging were destiny; upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester the same time) had also informed the council Master Hobby, how he was a hearer of Anthony Peerson, and a great maintainer of heretics: whereupon both he, and Dr. Haynes, were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of friends they both delivered.

Now, as touching the commission for search for books, Master Ward and Master Fache, of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who

to Windsor the Thursday before Palm Sunday, A. D. 1543, and began their search about eleven of the clock at night: in which search were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the six articles, who were kept in ward till Monday after, and then fetched up to the council, all save Testwood, with

whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison, Filmer and Bennet to the bishop of London's jail, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

The first examination of John Marbeck before the council, on the Monday after Palm Sunday, A. D. 1543.

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called The Concordance of the Bible; which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board; who, beholding the poor man awhile, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No, my Lord," quoth he. "No!" quoth the bishop; "that is a marvellous thing." "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be." "Then thou knowest the matter well enough," quoth the bishop: and, taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, he said,

"Understandest thou the Latin tongue?" "No, my Lord," quoth he, "but simply." "No!" quoth the bishop; and with that spake Master Wriothesley (then secretary to the king): "He saith, but simply." "I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance:" and so began to declare to the rest of the council the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin, by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so, casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the Book of Isaiah the Prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other, looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, my Lord, I wrote it." "Read it," quoth the bishop. Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my

footstool." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," quoth he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it," quoth the bishop. "I had written it," quoth he, "thus, 'Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstool.'" "Yea, marry," quoth the bishop, "that was thy meaning." "No, my Lord," quoth he, "it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your Lordship seeth, this word 'not' is blotted out." At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there awhile, one of the council, named Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying unto him on this wise: "Take this man and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure that he shall treat him gently; and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the prisoners do take it; and minister it unto him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission most faithfully and truly, both to the keeper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

The second examination of Marbeck, before the bishop's gentleman in the Marshalsea.

On the next day, which was Tuesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, there came one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such commandment," quoth he; "for the messenger which brought him yesternight from the council, said it was their pleasure, he should be gently used." "My Lord," quoth the gentleman, "will not be content with you:" and so taking the books of his man, he called for a chamber, up to which he carried the prisoner, and casting the books from him upon a bed, sat him down and said, "Marbeck! my Lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much harm. I assure thee, my Lord lamenteth thy case, forasmuch as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretics, as Hobby and Haynes, with others more, and knowest much of their secrets: if thou wilt now open them

at my Lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living."

"Alas! sir," quoth he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Master Hobby or Master Haynes, to know any part of their minds." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my Lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and Anthony Peerson, for your religion." "For Anthony Peerson," quoth he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life: and as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and showed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am."

"Peradventure," quoth the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they, hearing thereof, might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee; which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee more, nor any man else."

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepeth thou?" quoth the gentleman. "Oh, sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me: these men have done me good; wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted myself."

"Well," quoth the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books and asked him if he understood any Latin. "But a little, sir," quoth he. "How is it then," quoth the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?" "I will tell you," quoth he; "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the books, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the bed-side, (as before,) and said, "By my troth, Marbeck! my Lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with Haynes?" "Forsooth," quoth he, "about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him." "And what talk," quoth the gentleman, "had he at his board?" "I cannot tell now," quoth he. "No!" quoth the gentleman:

"thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space." "Yes, sir," quoth he, "such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten; and so it was with me." "Didst thou never," quoth the gentleman, "talk with him, or with any of thy fellows, of the mass, or of the blessed sacrament?" "No, forsooth," quoth he. "Now, forsooth," quoth the gentleman, "thou liest; for thou hast been seen to talk with Testwood, and others of thy fellows, an hour together in the church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you; and, ever as they have drawn near you, ye have stayed your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked." "I deny not," quoth he, "but I have talked with Testwood and others of my fellows, I cannot tell how oft; which maketh not that we talked either of the mass or of the sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best." "Well!" quoth the gentleman, "thou must be plainer with my Lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest." "How plain will his Lordship have me to be, sir?" quoth he. "There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his Lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," quoth the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayest, with a safe conscience, utter those that be heretics, and, so doing, thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," quoth he, "who were a heretic indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be a heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived! yea, it were a deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," quoth the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who be heretics of thy fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this paper to be in my hand. But it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they be, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth?" "Whatsoever," quoth he, "they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God: for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know." "Marry!" quoth the gentleman, "if thou wilt do so, my Lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now, peradventure, thy wits are troubled, so that thou canst not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee ink and paper, that

thou mayest excogitate with thyself, and write such things as shall come to thy mind." "O Lord!" quoth Marbeck, "what will my Lord do? Will his Lordship compel me to accuse men I wot not whereof?" "No," quoth the gentleman, "my Lord compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to say the truth: therefore make no more ado, but write; for my Lord will have it so." And so he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Now was Marbeck so full of heaviness and woe, that he wist not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the book to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he did accuse men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus, being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and said,

"O most merciful Father of heaven! thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that, to save this frail and vile body, which shall turn to corruption at its time, I may have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my Christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake."

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words:

"Whereas your Lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home, pleaseth it your Lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence: more than this I know not."

Now the gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," quoth he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, sir," quoth he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth the gentleman; and took up the paper: which, when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body, that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," quoth he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my Lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if his Lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," quoth the gentleman: and so putting up his penner and ink-horn, he departed with the paper in his hand.

The third examination of Marbeck before the bishop of Winchester himself, in his own house.

The next day, which was Wednesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house at St. Mary Overy's, and as he was entering into the bishop's hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a roll in his hand; and going toward the great window, he called the poor man unto him, and said, "Marbeck! wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my Lord," quoth he, "I trust." "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures? Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it." "Yes, my Lord," quoth he, "I do esteem it; and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," quoth the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he flung away from the window out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise: "Ah, sirrah," quoth he, "the nest of you is broken, I trow." And unfolding his roll, (which was about an ell long,) he said, "Behold, here be your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet wilt thou utter none of them." "Alas, my Lord," quoth he, "how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," quoth the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can let thee? What helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "none." "None!" quoth the bishop; "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help." "Truly, my Lord," quoth he, "I cannot tell in what part your Lordship doth take it, but, howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "I do not commend thy diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertained not to thee?"

And in speaking of these words, one of his chaplains, called Master Meadow, came up, and stayed himself at a window, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men at least, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt,"

quoth the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it." And so, going forth to a window where two great Bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?" "Nay, my Lord," quoth he, "I trow I be not so cunning to give it a perfect English, but I can fetch out the English thereof in the English Bible." "Let's see," quoth the bishop. Then Marbeck, turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up, and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

And as the bishop was going, said the gentleman who had examined Marbeck in the Marshalsea the day before, "Shall this fellow write nothing while your Lordship is at mass, for he passeth not for it?" "It maketh no matter," quoth the bishop, "for he will tell nothing:" and so went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. The bishop was no sooner down, but the gentleman came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "my Lord will have you occupied till mass be done:" persuading him with fair words, that he should be soon despatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. "Alas, sir!" quoth he, "what will my Lord have me to do? for more than I wrote to his Lordship yesterday, I cannot." "Well, well; go too," quoth the gentleman, "and make speed:" and so went his way. There was no remedy but Marbeck must now write something: wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What shall this do? It hath neither head nor foot." "There is a marvellous sect of them," quoth the bishop to his men, "for the devil cannot make one of them to bewray another." Then was there nothing among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but "crucify" upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him, and all, "Well, Marbeck," quoth he, "I am now going to the court, and had purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's Majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but, seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil for me."

Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing words. And, coming through the great chamber, there stood Dr. London, with

two more of his fellows, waiting the bishop's coming, and passing by them into the hall, he was there received by his keeper, and carried to prison again. It was not half an hour after, ere that the bishop sent one of his gentleman to the under-keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone; and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him. When the porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the bishop, he clapped irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak or talk to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down: and so he continued the space of three weeks and more, till his wife was suffered to come unto him.

The suit of Marbeck's wife to the bishop of Winchester.

Marbeck's wife, at the time of her husband's apprehension, had a young child of a quarter old sucking upon her breast; and when her husband was taken from her, and had away to the council, not knowing what should become of him, she left the child and all, and gat her up to London; and hearing her husband to be in the Marshalsea, goeth thither. But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsel of friends, she gat her to the bishop of Winchester, (for other help was there none to be had at that time,) making great suit to have his licence to go and see her husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "thy husband is acquainted with all the heretics that be in the realm, both on this side the sea and beyond; and yet will he utter none of them." "Alas, my Lord!" quoth she, "my husband was never beyond the seas, nor any great traveller in the realm, to be so acquainted; therefore, my good Lord, let me go see him." But all her earnest suit from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping always upon this string, "Thy husband will utter nothing." At last, she, finding him in the court at St. James, going towards his chamber, was so bold as to take him by the rochet, and say, "Oh, my Lord, these eighteen days I have troubled your Lordship. Now, for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my husband." And as she was standing with the bishop and his

men, in a blind corner going to his chamber, one of the king's servants, called Henry Carrike, and her next neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the bishop and her, desired his Lordship to be good unto the poor woman, who had her own mother lying bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six children. "I promise you," quoth the bishop, "her husband is a great heretic, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the realm hath done." "I cannot tell, my Lord," quoth Carrike, "what he is inwardly, but outwardly he is as honest a quiet neighbour as ever I dwelt by." "He will tell nothing," quoth the bishop: "he knoweth a great sort of false harlots, and will not utter them." "Yes, my Lord," quoth Carrike, "he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man." "Well," quoth the bishop, (speaking to the wife,) "thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy husband well, go to him, and give him good counsel, to utter such naughty fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fancy him well for his art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as any man:" and so, stepping into his chamber, said she should have his letter to the keeper. But his mind being changed, he sent out his ring by a gentleman, which gentleman delivered the ring to his man, charging him with the bishop's message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never rested railing on her husband all the way, till they came to the prison; which was no small cross unto the poor woman.

And when they were come to the Marshalsea, the messenger showed the bishop's ring to the porter, saying, "Master Stokes! my Lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her husband; but he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carry any letters to or fro, and that she bring nobody unto him, nor any word from any man." "God's blood!" quoth the porter, (who was a foul swearer,) "what will my Lord have me to do? can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her husband, or let her not go; for I see nothing by him but an honest man." The poor woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the porter fair, saying, "Good master, be content, for I have found my Lord very good lord unto me. This young man is but the gentleman's servant who brought the ring from my Lord, and I think doth his message a great deal more straiter than my Lord commanded the gentleman, or than the gentleman his master commanded him: but, nevertheless, good master," quoth she, "I shall be contented to strip myself before you both coming and going, so far as any honest woman may do with honesty; for I intend no such

thing, but only to comfort and help my husband." Then the messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who, from that time forth, was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

The fourth examination of Marbeck, before the commissioners in the bishop of London's house.

About three weeks before Whitsunday was Marbeck sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip, bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick, bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Marbeck! we are here in commission, sent from the king's Majesty, to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." "I am content, my Lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can:" and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid forth before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?" "For none other cause, my Lord, but to come by knowledge: for I, being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought, by reading of learned men's works, to come the sooner thereby. And where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work." "So me think," quoth the bishop of Ely, (who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their sitting,) "thou hast read of all sorts of books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes." "So I have, my Lord," quoth he. "And to what purpose?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "By my truth," quoth he, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who, looking upon it awhile, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great sort of our priests:" to the which Oking made no answer.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?" "Truly, my Lord," quoth he, "no help at all." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" "I will tell your Lordship," quoth he, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas

Matthewe's Bible came first out in print, I was desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man, not able to buy one of them, I determined myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and write it forth. And when I had written out the books of Moses in fair great paper, and was going into the book of Joshua, my friend Master chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant by. And when I had told him the cause, he quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, if thou set out a Concordance in English.' 'A Concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there was such a book written already. Then I told him I had no leisure to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'of that matter, for it requireth not so much labour and diligence. And seeing thou art so painful in thy study, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a good exercise for thee.' And this, my Lord, is the instruction that ever I had before or after, my Lord." "What is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth Dr. May, "a very learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, was sometime a fellow in Magdalene College in Cambridge." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this form, as it is?" "I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise my wit with it last, with great labour and diligence, brought it to this order, as your Lordship doth see." "Well," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "wit with diligence," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." "It may," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had a Latin tongue." "So it is," quoth Dr. May. "Yet cannot I believe," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "that he hath done any more in this than write it out after some other that is learned."

"My Lords," quoth Marbeck, "I shall tell you all to pardon me what I shall say, and to grant my request if it shall seem good unto you." "What thou wilt," quoth the bishops. "I desire greatly wherefore I should be so much occupied for this book, and whether I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, I loth any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore, to clear all men in this, this is my request, that ye will try me in the letter L of the book that is undone; ye see that I have written but in the letter L; begin now at M, and tell me what word ye will of that letter, and so in the letter following, and give me the words out of the book of paper, and set me in a place alone where I

please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other."

"By my troth, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion." "That he shall," quoth they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking draw out such words as he thought best, in a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with Marbeck, (for the bishops of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst,) who, perceiving the bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "Shall I tell thee, Marbeck?" quoth the bishop of Sarum. "Thou art in better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give forty pounds to be in no worse case than thou art:" whose sayings the other affirmed. Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written, and while the bishops were perusing them over, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, very friendly, on this wise: "Good Master Marbeck, make haste, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him of a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also, to comfort him, said, "Fear not; there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if ye had written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so went they all with the bishop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the hall, at the steward's board; and besides that, had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

When dinner was done, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop, what time his Lordship would appoint him to do it in? "Against to-morrow this time," quoth the bishop; which was about two of the clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his prison-chamber, fell to his business, and so applied the thing, that by the next day, when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more: which when he had delivered to the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Oking standing by, he marvelled and said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee,"

quoth he, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less than so; for afterwards, the matter being come to light, and known to his Grace, what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish, the king said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison again, and heard no more of his book.

The fifth examination of Marbeck, before Dr. Oking, and Master Knight, secretary to the bishop of Winchester, in St. Mary Overy's church.

Upon Whitsunday following at afternoon, was Marbeck sent for once again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking, with another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck, (no more in all the church but they two,) sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of Master John Calvin's, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. Now, as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman, (whom before he knew not, by reason of his apparel,) he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, and did also cause him to write in the bishop's gallery, but never knew his name till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight. This Master Knight held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is."

When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin. "Then I perceive," quoth Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand." "No, sir," quoth he, "I will deny nothing that I have done." "Thou dost well in that," quoth Knight, "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides, to try out thy hand by. But I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leaf?" "That I cannot tell you," quoth Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" quoth Knight. "Forsooth I will tell you," quoth he. "There was a priest dwelling with us about five or six years ago, called Marshal, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written; desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an hour or twain: and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again."

"And how came this hand in the margin," quoth he, "which is a contrary hand to both the others?"

"That I will tell you," quoth Marbeck: "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste of it, that I understood not the matter, wherefore I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation; and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin, as ye see. And shortly after this, it was his chance to go beyond the seas, (where he lived not long,) by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the notes in the margin, were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell." "Tush," quoth Dr. Oking to Master Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haynes's own hand." "If you know so much," quoth Marbeck, "ye know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not." "By my faith, Marbeck," quoth Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if ye do tear the whole body in pieces, I trust in God, ye shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully." "If thou be so stubborn," quoth Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it." "Die, Master Oking!" quoth he, "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day, before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took from me, I should be delivered; and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend; but I know the cause: ye have read the ballet I made of Moses' chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not to die God's true man and the king's." "How so?" quoth Knight. "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and are not most of the notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?" "No, sir," quoth Marbeck; "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance, (which is almost six years ago,) I have been occupied in nothing else: so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon." "Trust not to that," quoth Knight, "for it will not help thee." "No, I warrant him," quoth Dr. Oking. And so going down to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison again.

The suit of Filmer's wife, to the bishops who sat in commission, for her husband.

In like manner the wife of Filmer, knowing her husband's trouble to be only procured of malice by Simons, his old enemy, made great suit and labour unto the bishops who were commissioners, desiring

no more of them, but that it would please their grace to examine her husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her request to every of the bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could find them; in some places two of the bishops (Ely and Hereford) were so sorry (considering the importunate and rueful suit of the woman) that it lay not in them to refuse her. Thus, travelling long up and down the country, to another, to have her husband examined, it chanced at last to find the bishops all three in the bishop of Ely's palace; unto whom she said, "O good my Lords! for the love of God, let my poor husband be brought forth before ye, that ye be here all together. For truly, my Lord, I can nothing be justly laid against him, but only malicious envy and spite Simons hath wrought this trouble. And you, my Lord of Salisbury, quoth the poor woman, "can testify (if it will please your Lordship to say the truth) what malice he bare to my husband, when they were both of you at Salisbury, little more than a year ago, in the vicar of Windsor's matter. For, as your Lordship knoweth, when my husband had certified the priest's sermon, which you said was heresy, then came Simons, (after the priest had confessed it,) and would have defended the priest's error before your Lordship, and let my husband punished. At what time it pleased your Lordship to commend and praise me for his honesty, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the priest in his error; and thereupon commanded the priest to recant his heresy, at his home to Windsor. This, my Lord, you know to be true. And now, my Lords," quoth she, "it is most certain, that for this cause only Simons evermore afterwards threaten my husband to be even with him. Therefore, my good Lords, let my husband before you, and hear him speak; if ye find any other matter against him than I have told you, let me suffer death." "Is this your Lordship?" quoth the bishops of Ely and Hereford. And the other could not deny it, so they spake Latin to the bishop of Salisbury, and so departed. For the matter wrought between Dr. London and Simons, the former could never be suffered to come before the commissioners to be examined.

The martyrdom of Peerson, Testwood, who was the wife of Filmer: with the manner of their conversations, and how they died.—Also the death of Marbeck, after he was sentenced to death.

When the time drew nigh that the king's messenger (who was newly married to that good and

Lady Katharine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid **Stephen Gardiner**, bishop of **Winchester**, had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king as he did : wherewith the gossellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapped in the neck ; for the saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But, in the mean time, three or four of the poor rascals were caught, that is to say, **Anthony Peerson**, **Henry Filmer**, and **John Marbeck**, and sent to **Windsor** by the sheriff's men the Saturday before **St. James's day**, and laid fast in the town jail ; and **Testwood**, who had kept his bed, was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them. But as for **Bennet**, which should have been the fifth man, his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the bishop of **London's** jail, wherely he escaped the fire.

Now, these men being brought to **Windsor**, there was a sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday after, which was **St. Ann's day** : against the which sessions (by the counsel of **Dr. London** and of **Simons**) were all the farmers, belonging to the college of **Windsor**, warned to appear ; because they could not pick out papists enough in the town, to go upon the jury. The judges that day were these : **Dr. Capon**, bishop of **Salisbury** ; **Sir William Essex**, knight ; **Sir Thomas Bridges**, knight ; **Sir Humfrey Foster**, knight ; **Master Franklen**, dean of **Windsor** ; and **Master Fachel** of **Reading**.

When these had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought forth before them, then **Robert Ockam**, occupying for that day the room of the clerk of the peace, called **Anthony Peerson**, according to the manner of the court, and read his indictment, which was this :

" First, That he should preach two years before in a place called **Wingfield**, and there should say, that like as **Christ** was hanged between two thieves, even so, when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the word of **God** truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

" Also, that he said to the people in the pulpit, ' Ye shall not eat the body of **Christ** as it did hang upon the cross, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips ; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to-morrow, the next day, and every day : for it refresheth not the body, but the soul.'

" Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of **God**, he said as

followeth : ' This is the word : this is the bread : this is the body of **Christ**.'

" Also he said that **Christ**, sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat ; this is my body. ' What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of **God**, and to break it to the people ?'

To this **Anthony** answered and said, " I will be tried by **God** and his holy word, and by the true church of **Christ**, whether this be heresy or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of **Rome**, and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled ; but since I have taken upon me to preach **Christ** and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soul." " Thou callest us thieves," quoth the bishop. " I say," quoth **Anthony**, " ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of **God** purely and sincerely to the people ; which ye do not, nor ever did ; but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake, through the which ye are become rather bite-sheeps than true bishops, biting and devouring the poor sheep of **Christ**, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood ; which **God** will require at your hands one day, doubt it not." Then spake **Simons** his accuser, standing within the bar, saying, " It is pity this fellow had not been burned long ago, as he deserved." " In faith," quoth **Anthony**, " if you had as you have deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I. But I trust, in the last day, when we shall both appear before the tribunal seat of **Christ**, that then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place." " Shall I have so long a day ?" quoth **Simons**, holding up his finger : " Nay then, I care not : " and so the matter was jested out.

Robert Testwood.

Then was **Testwood** called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament, " What, wilt thou lift him so high ? what yet higher ? Take heed ; let him not fall."

To this **Testwood** answered, saying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. " Yes," quoth the bishop, " thou hast been seen that when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldst thou look down upon thy book or some other way, because thou wouldst not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament." " I beseech you, my Lord," quoth **Test-**

wood, whereon did *he* look, that marked me so well?" "Marry," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics, that so despised the blessed sacrament."

Henry Filmer.

Then was Filmer called, and his indictment read; that he should say that the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremony; and also, if God be in the sacrament of the altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you must understand, that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be between Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus:

This Henry Filmer, coming upon a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced, in the way, to meet his brother, (which was a very poor labouring man,) and asked him whither he went. "To the church," said he. "And what to do?" quoth Filmer. "To do," quoth he, "as other men do." "Nay," quoth Filmer, "you go to hear mass, and to see your God." "What if I do so?" quoth he. "If that be God," should Filmer say, "I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there."

This tale was no sooner brought to Dr. London, (by William Simons, Filmer's utter enemy,) but he sent for the poor man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack, so long as he lived; that the silly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Dr. London, was content to do and say whatsoever he and Simons would have him say or do against his own brother. And when Dr. London had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household men until the court day was come, and then sent him up to witness this aforesaid tale against his brother. Which tale Filmer denied utterly, saying, that Dr. London, for a little meat and drink's sake, had set him on, and made him say what his pleasure was: "Wherefore, my Lord," quoth Filmer to the bishop, "I beseech your Lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this town, that can or will testify with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to die." But say what he could, it would not prevail.

Then Filmer, seeing no remedy but that his brother's accusation should take place, he said, "Ah,

brother! what cause hast thou to show me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive it thee, my brother, and give thee grace to repent." Then Filmer, looking over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the book of Statutes. His wife, being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of Statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and gat it conveyed to her husband.

The bishop, seeing the book in his hand, start him up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body, he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper. "Like enough, my Lord," quoth Simons, "for he is one of the same sort; and as worthy to be here as the best, if he were rightly served." But howsoever it was, the truth would not be known, and so the bishop sat him down again.

Then said Filmer, "O my Lord! I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, who would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies." "Nay," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "thine heresy is so heinous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses."

Thus, as you see, was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Dr. London, who had enticed that wretched caitiff his brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, who is a just revenger of all falsehood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next year following, he, being taken up for a labourer to go to Boulogne, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Solomon fulfilled, "A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

John Marbeck.

Then was Marbeck called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, that the holy mass, when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the eleva-

tion of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up of images of the calves, in the temple builded by Jeroboam; and that it is more abomination, than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made, in the mass, man's laughing-stock.

To this he answered and said, that these words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which the said Calvin had made, which epistle he had but only written out, and that, long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Then were the jury called, which were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the farmers as partial) desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the farmers, or else to be equally joined with them; but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Now, when the jury had taken their oath and all, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; and first he alleged many reasons against Anthony Peerson, to prove him a heretic: which when Anthony would have disproved, the bishop said, "Let him alone, sir; he speaketh for the king." And so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then Sir Humfrey Foster spake to the quest, in favour of Marbeck, on this wise: "Masters!" quoth he, "ye see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain things of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon; therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein." Then started up Fachel at the lower end of the bench, and said, "What can we tell, whether they were written before the pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know." These words of Fachel (as every man said) were the cause of Marbeck's casting that day.

Then went the jury up to the chamber over the place where the judges sat, and in the mean time went all the knights and gentlemen abroad, saving the bishop, Sir William Essex, and Fachel, which three sat still upon the bench till all was done. And when the jury

had been together above, in the chamber, about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth Simons (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the jury down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while, whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their verdict; and being required, according to the form of the law, to say their minds, one called Hide, dwelling beside Abingdon, in a lordship belonging to the college of Windsor, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said, they were all guilty.

Then the judges, beholding the prisoners a good while, (some with watery eyes,) made courtesy who should give judgment. Fachel, requiring the bishop to do it, he said, he might not. The others also, being required, said they would not. Then said Fachel, "It must be done; one must do it; and if no man will, then will I." And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgment. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the bishop, saying, "Ah! my Lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah! my Lord, you have deceived me." Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, "he could not do withal."

Now the prisoners, being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow; comforting one another in the death and passion of their Master, Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them stedfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness, (without their deserts,) for his promise's sake, receive their souls. Thus lay they all the night long, (till very dead sleep took them,) calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors, who, of blind zeal and ignorance, had done they wist not what, that God, of his merciful goodness, would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word: yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers, watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed out plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the next morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not

die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Sarum, and they among them, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Master Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the court being then at Okingham) in favour of Marbeck; at the sight of which letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon; which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who, with speed, returned with great joy, (for the love he bare to the party,) bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon; whereat many rejoiced.

Of this pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, it was by the suit of the good sheriff Sir William Barrington, and Sir Humfrey Foster, with other gentlemen more that favoured Marbeck, to the bishop of Sarum and the other commissioners, that the letter was sent.

Some said again, that it came of the bishop of Sarum and Fachel's first motion, being pricked in conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Other again thought that it was a policy purposed afore, by the bishop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of Dr. London, because they should seem to be merciful. This conjecture rose upon this occasion: There was one Sadock, dwelling in the town, who was great with Dr. London and Simons; and he should say, four days before the sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Marbeck should have his pardon.

Others there were, that thought the aforesaid bishops, with Dr. London, had done it for this purpose; that he now, having his life, would rather utter such men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again; which conjecture rose upon this: Simons, meeting with Marbeck's wife, said thus unto her: "Your husband may thank God and good friends: my Lord of Winchester is good lord to him, who hath got his pardon. But shall I tell you?" quoth he: "his pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my Lord, and other of the council, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose only is he reserved." "Alas, sir," quoth she, "what can he tell?" "Well, woman," quoth Simons, "I tell thee plain; if he do not so, never look to have thy husband out of prison;" and so departed from her.

The like meaning did Master Arch make to Marbeck himself, on the Saturday in the morning that the men should be burned, when he came to confess them. "I have nothing," quoth he, "to say unto you, Marbeck, at this time; but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoined you:" meaning, he should be forced to do some unlawful thing,

or else to lie in perpetual prison. And most likely to have been attempted, if they proceeded in their purpose; whose intent have gone through the whole realm, in like they had begun at Windsor, as the bishop confessed openly, and said, that "he true Christmas day following, to visit and cleanse part thereof." But most commonly God a shrewd cow short horns, or else many in England had smarted.

On Saturday in the morning that they should go to execution, came in to the of the canons of the college, the one Blithe, and the other Master Arch, who sent to be their confessors: Master Arch, if they would be confessed; and "Yea." Then he demanded if they the sacrament: "Yea," said they, "hearts." "I am glad," quoth Arch, "say so; but the law is," quoth he, "be ministered to any that are condemned. But it is enough for you that ye do desire so he had them up to the hall to hear their sions, because the prison was full of people. Blithe took Anthony Peerson to him, and Master Arch the other two. But the matter went between the doctor and he tarried not long with him, but came saying, "he would no more of his doctrine you call him Dr. Blithe?" quoth Anthony may be called Dr. Blind for his learning I see." And soon after the other two also. Then Anthony, seeing much prison, began to say the Lord's Prayer, and made a marvellous godly declaration, which continued till the officers came to fetch them, and so made an end. And taking their Marbeck, (their prison-fellow,) they praised for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue; and, last of all, besought heartily to help them with his prayer unto God make them strong in their afflictions: and so, him one after another, they departed.

Now, as the prisoners passed through the streets, they desired all the faithful people pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions: it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as Dr. Blithe and Arch (who rode each side the prisoners) would persuade them to turn to their mother, holy church, "Away," would Anthony cry, "away with your Romish doctrine and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it." When Filmer was come to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not

be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight that same day, for the nonce.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him and make

him a good man." And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Peerson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now welcome mine own sweet wife! for this day shall thou and

I be married together in the love and peace of God."

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. "Yea," quoth Filmer, "I thank you. And now, my brother," quoth he, "I shall desire you, in the name of the living Lord, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received." And so, taking the pot at his hand, he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yea, brother Filmer," quoth he, "I pledge you in the Lord."

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewise gave it to Testwood. Of this drinking, their adversaries made a jesting-stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when they were none otherwise drunk than as the apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declar-



ed: for, when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, and given the pot from them, Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ, our Lord and Redeemer." At the which words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit; and Anthony Peerson, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, "This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so yielded they up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, with such humility and stedfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

How all their conspiracies were known.

Ye have heard before of one Robert Bennet, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons aforesaid, and committed to the bishop of London's prison; and about the time he should have gone to Windsor, he fell sick of the pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in prison.

This Bennet and Simons (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all Windsor, and never lightly swerved the one from the other, saving in matters of religion, wherein they could never agree. For Bennet, the one lawyer, was an earnest gospeller, and Simons, the other lawyer, a cankered papist; but in all other worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

This Bennet had spoken certain words against their little round god, for which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the others if he had gone to Windsor when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the bishop of Salisbury, that Robert Ockam, on the Monday after the men were burned, should go to the bishop of Winchester, with the whole process done at the sessions the Thursday before.

Then Simons, at Bennet's wife's request, procured the bishop of Salisbury's favourable letter to the bishop of Winchester, for Bennet's deliverance, which letter Bennet's wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home who should have gone with the letter) desired Robert Ockam to deliver to the bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went Ockam toward the bishop of Winchester, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him, that were done at Windsor ses-

sions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the queen's men, named Fulk, who had lain at Windsor all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of Ockam's going to the bishop of Winchester, gat to the court before Ockam, and told Sir Thomas Cardine and others of the privy chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon Ockam was laid for, and had by the back as soon as he came to the court, and so kept from the bishop.

On the next morrow, very early, Bennet's wife sent her man to the court after Ockam, to see how he sped with her husband's letter. And when he came there, he found Sir Thomas Cardine, walking with Ockam up and down the green, before the court gate; whereat he marvelled, to see Ockam with him so early, mistrusting the matter: whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master Cardine gone, (leaving Ockam behind,) he went to Ockam and asked him if he had delivered his master's letter to the bishop. "No," said Ockam, "the king removeth this day to Guildford, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there." "Marry," quoth he, "and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my mistress;" and so they rode to Guildford together; where Bennet's man (being better acquainted in the town than Ockam was) got a lodging for them both in a kinsman's house of his.

That done, he asked Ockam, if he would go and deliver his mistress's letter to the bishop. "Nay," said Ockam, "you shall go and deliver it yourself:" and took him the letter. And as they were going in the street together, and coming by the earl of Bedford's lodging, (then lord privy seal,) Ockam was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of Bennet's man, till he saw him in the Marshalsea. Then went Bennet's man to the bishop's lodging and delivered his letter: and when the bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "you can tell me more by mouth than the letter specifieth;" and had him into a little garden. "Now," quoth the bishop, "what say you to me?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "I have nothing to say unto your Lordship; for I did not bring the letter to the town." "No!" quoth the bishop, "where is he that brought it?" "Forsooth, my Lord," quoth he, "I left him busy at his lodging." "Then he will come," quoth the bishop, "bid him be with me betimes in the morning." "I will," quoth he, "do your Lordship's commandment:" and so he depart-

ed home to his lodging. And when his kinsfolks saw him come in, "Alas, cousin," quoth they, "we are all undone!" "Why so?" quoth he, "what is the matter?" "Oh!" said they, "here hath been, since you went, Master Paget the king's secretary, with Sir Thomas Cardine of the privy chamber, and searched all our house for one that should come to the town with Ockam; therefore make shift for yourself as soon as you can." "Is that all the matter?" quoth he, "then content yourselves, for I will never flee one foot, hap what hap will." As they were thus reasoning together, in came the aforesaid searchers again; and when Master Cardine saw Bennet's man, he knew him very well, and said, "Was it thou that came to the town with Ockam?" "Yea, sir," quoth he. "Now who the devil," quoth Master Cardine, "brought thee in company with that false knave?" Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming; which being known, they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had Bennet's man a discharge for his master, (procured by certain of the privy chamber,) and so went home.

Now was Ockam all this while at my Lord Privy Seal's, where he was kept secret, till certain of the privy council had perused all his writings; among which they found certain of the privy chamber indicted, with other the king's officers, with their wives; that is to say, Sir Thomas Cardine, Sir Philip Hobby, with both their ladies, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. And besides them, they had indicted of heresy (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the king's true and faithful subjects: whereof the king's Majesty being certified, his Grace, of his special goodness, (without the suit of any man,) gave to the aforesaid gentlemen of his privy chamber, and other his servants, with their wives, his gracious pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his Majesty, as he rode one day a hunting in Guildford park, and saw the sheriff with Sir Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebacks together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his laws were executed at Windsor. Then they, beseeching his Grace of pardon, told him plainly, that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his Grace's authority, that went so much against their consciences as the death of these men did; and up and told his Grace so pitiful a tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the king, turning his horse's head to depart from them, said, "Alas, poor innocents!"

After this the king withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed of the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the ground thereof. Whereupon Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance; and for denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and Ockam to stand upon the pillory, in the town of Newbury where he was born.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horse-tails, and so to stand upon the pillory in every of these towns, for false accusation of the aforementioned martyrs, and for perjury.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify the truth thereof.

An answer to the cavilling adversaries, touching John Marbeck.

Wherefore against these crooked cavillers, which make so much ado against my former book, because in a certain place I chanced to say that Bennet and Filmer had their pardon, (when indeed it was Bennet and Marbeck,) be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified, to all and singular such carpers, wranglers, exclaimers, depravers, with the whole brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else soever they are to be titled, that here I openly say and affirm, profess, hold, maintain, and write the same as I said and wrote before, in the latter castigations of my book: that is, that John Marbeck was, with the others, condemned, but not burned; cast by the law, but by pardon saved; appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead; but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present day singeth merrily, and playeth on the organs, not as a dead man amongst "Foxe's Martyrs," (as it hath pleased some in the court to encounter against me,) but as one witnessed and testified truly in the book of Foxe's Martyrs to be alive. And, therefore, such manner of persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where those faults, by their finding, may be corrected. But whereas they be

corrected already, and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these legend-liars look on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enough; and cease their biting there, where they have no just cause to bark.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of John Marbeck, but that the place still had remained in the book as it was, (that is, that the said John Marbeck, who is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at Windsor,) yet, what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judicial acts, the records and registers, yea, and the bishop's certificate, and also the writ of execution remaining yet on record, sent to the king, did lead me so to say and think? For what man, writing histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things, but following his records and registers, wherein he seeth the said Marbeck to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was executed and burned in the same company.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all others, I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct myself, and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the truth, and yet am a liar. The book itself sheweth the escape, and biddeth, instead of four, to read three burned; and yet is the book made a legend of lies!

Briefly, where I prevent all occasion of cavilling to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that law, which all other books have, that is, to recognise and reform mine own *errata*.

Wherefore, to conclude: these men, whosoever they are, if they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve; and so I leave them. I would I could better satisfy them. God himself amend them!

The persecution in Calais, with the martyrdom of George Buckler, otherwise called Adam Damlip, and others.

At what time John Marbeck was in the Marshalsea, which was about the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the said prison with him one George Buckler, named otherwise Adam Damlip, who, having continued in the said prison three or four years, at the last, by the commandment of Winchester, was had to Calais by John Massy, the keeper of the Marshalsea, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason pretended, which was a little before the condemnation of the Windsor men

aforesaid, as is, by the letters of the said John Marbeck, to me signified.

Touching which story of Adam Damlip, so much as it includeth matter of much trouble and persecution that happened in Calais, to digest therefore, and comprise the whole narration thereof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the story of Damlip, and so proceed in order to such as, by the said occasion, were afflicted and persecuted in the town of Calais.

PERSONS PERSECUTED IN THE TOWN OF CALAIS:—George Buckler, or else called Adam Damlip; a poor labouring man; W. Stevens; Thomas Lancaster; John Butler, commissary; William Smith, priest; Thomas Brook; Ralph Hare; Jacob, a surgeon; a Fleming; Clement Philpot, servant; Jeffery Loveday; Dodde; Sir Edmund, priest; William Touched, postmaster; Peter Becket; Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Henry Tourney, gentleman; George Darby, priest; John Shepard; William Pellam; William Keverdall; John Whitwood; John Boote; Ro. Cloddet; Coppen de Hane, alias James Cocke; Matthew Hound; William Button, crossbow-maker.

PERSECUTORS:—John Dove, prior of the Grey Friars in Calais; Sir Gregory Buttoll, priest; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Sampson, bishop of Chichester; Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath; Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich; Harvey, commissary in Calais; Lady Honor, wife to Lord Lisle, deputy of Calais; Sir Thomas Palmer, knight; John Rookwood, esquire; Richard Long, soldier of Calais; Francis Hastings, a soldier; Edmund Payton, Robert Poole, and Thomas Boyse; Hugh Counsel, a servant; Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight; Sir John Gage.

In the year of our Lord 1539, the Lord Cromwell being yet alive, there came to Calais one George Buckler, alias Adam Damlip, who had been, in time past, a great papist and chaplain to Fisher, bishop of Rochester: and, after the death of the bishop his master, had travelled through France, Dutchland, and Italy; and, as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion, and so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, in the end he found there (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that it abhorred his heart and conscience any longer there to remain; although he was greatly requested by Cardinal Pole, there to continue, and to read three lectures in the week in his house, for the which he offered him great entertainment, which he refused; and so, returning home-

ward, having a piece of money given him of the cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French crown, towards his charges, came to Calais, as is aforesaid. Who, as he was there waiting, without the gate, for passage into England, and being there perceived by certain Calais men, namely, William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, through conference of talk, to be a learned man, and also well affected; and moreover how that he, being of late a zealous papist, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion; was by them heartily entreated to stay at Calais a certain space, and to read and preach there a day or two, therewith to do the people to understand what he had found by his painful travelling to Rome; whereby they, who, through gross ignorance and vain superstition, had not altogether put out of their hearts that antichrist of Rome, that ancient enemy of God and all godly religion, the pope, might the rather detest and abhor his filthy false doctrine, whereof this godly and learned man was a seeing witness. To this request Adam gladly consented, so as he might be licensed by such as were in authority so to do.

Whereupon the said Stephens, at the opening of the gates, brought him unto the Lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais, unto whom he declared thoroughly what conference and talk had been between Adam Damlip and him. Which known, the said lord deputy instantly desired the said Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying, that he should have both his licence and the commissary's also, which then was Sir John Butler, so to do. Where, after he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy, and a great part of the council, gave him marvellous great praise and thanks for it; and the said lord deputy offered unto him a chamber in his own house, to dine and sup every meal at his own mess, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatsoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea, and what he would in his purse to buy books or otherwise, so as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Who, refusing his Lordship's great offer, most heartily thanked him for the same, and besought him to be only so good unto him as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book, and would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach

among them, according unto the talent that God had lent him. At which answer the lord deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for the aforesaid William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said Damlip in his house, promising, whatsoever he should demand, to see it paid with the most: and, moreover, would send every meal, from his own mess, a dish of the best unto them; and indeed so did, albeit the said Damlip refused that offer, showing his Lordship that thin diet was most convenient for students. Yet could not that restrain him, but that every meal he sent it.

This godly man, by the space of twenty days or more, once every day, at seven of the clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same; but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, touching transubstantiation, and the pestilent propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors; earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to return from their popery; declaring how popish he himself had been, and how, by the detestable wickedness that he did see universally in Rome, he was returned so far homeward, and now became an enemy, through God's grace, to all papistry: showing therewith, that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of Cardinal Pole (as you have heard before); but, for very conscience' sake, joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word, he now utterly abhorred all papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

And thus he continued awhile reading in the chapter-house of the White Friars; but, the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit: and so, proceeding in his lectures, (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the damnable doctrine of transubstantiation, and the real presence in the sacrament, as is aforesaid,) he came, at length, to speak against the pageant or picture set forth of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas's church, declaring the same to be but mere idolatry, and an illusion of the Frenchmen before Calais was English.

Upon which sermon or lecture, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, Master Greenfield, Sir John Butler, commissary, the king's mason, and Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing, and under bull and pardon) three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood; and if they

found it not so, that immediately it should be plucked down; and so it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a stone in a corner of the tomb, they, instead of the three hosts, found soldered in the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre, three plain white counters, which they had painted like unto hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheep's tail. All which trumpery Damlip showed unto the people the next day following, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit, and, after that, they were sent by the lord deputy to the king.

Notwithstanding, the devil stirred up a Dove, (he might well be called a cormorant,) the prior of the White Friars; who, with Sir Gregory Buttoll, chaplain to the Lord Lisle, began to bark against him. Yet, after the said Adam had, in three or four sermons, confuted the said friar's erroneous doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; the said friar outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to impeach him by letters sent unto the clergy here in England; so that, within eight or ten days after, the said Damlip was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Dr. Sampson, bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and solving the objections, that his adversaries, yea, even, among others, the learned, godly, and blessed martyr Cranmer, then yet but a Lutheran, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scripture knew no such term of "transubstantiation." Then began the other bishops to threaten him, shortly to confute him with their accustomed argument, (I mean fire and faggot,) if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken: whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand; and so was dismissed.

The next day, at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the mean season he had secret intimation from the archbishop of Canterbury, that if he did any more personally appear, he should be committed unto ward, not likely to escape cruel death. Whereupon he (playing indeed then somewhat old Adam's part, for such is man, left in his own hands) had him commended unto them, and sent them four sheets of paper learnedly written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith, with his arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the doctors, by a messenger or friend of his. Which done, he, having a little money given him in his purse by his friends,

stepped aside, and went into the west country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against God's people in Calais upon the same; as ye shall hear, the Lord permitting.

After his departure, the king's Majesty was advertised, that there was great dissension and diversity of pernicious opinions in his said town of Calais, greatly tending to the danger of the same. Whereupon, during yet the days of the Lord Cromwell, were sent over Dr. Champion, doctor of divinity, and Master Garret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the people, and to confute all pernicious errors, who in effect preached and maintained the same true doctrine which Adam Damlip had before set forth; and by reason thereof they left the town at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it.

After the departure of the said Champion and Garret, one Sir William Smith, curate of our Lady's parish in Calais, (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned,) did begin to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against papistry and wilful ignorance: exhorting men obediently to receive the word, and no longer to condemn the same, lest God's heavy plagues and wrath should fall upon them, which always followeth the contempt of his holy word. This Sir William Smith, for that sometimes he would be very fervent and zealous, sharply inveighing against the despisers of the word, was moved by some of the council there, who would seem to favour God's word, that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same; willing him to bear with such, for, by bearing with them, they might hap to be won.

"Well, well," said the same Smith, (openly in the pulpit one day as he preached,) "some say I am too earnest, and will me to bear with such as continue open enemies against Christ's holy gospel, and refuse, nay forbid, that any should read the Bible or Holy Scripture within their house: but let all such take heed, for, before God, I fear that God, for their contemning of his word, will not long bear with them, but make them in such case as some of them shall not have a head left them upon their shoulders to bear up their cap withal." And indeed, shortly after, so it came to pass; for Sir Nicholas Carew, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and master of the king's horse, being lieutenant of Ruysbanke, before attainted of treason, was, on the third of March, in the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, beheaded at Tower-hill; who made a godly and humble confession of his superstitious faith and long contempt of God's holy word; giving God right hearty thanks,

that ever he came into the prison of the Tower, where he first felt the sweetness of God's great mercy towards him, and the certainty of his salvation, through faith in Christ, promised in his holy word; the knowledge whereof he had attained unto by the reading of God's holy word, the English Bible, which, all his life before, he disdained to look upon: for whose godly end many men much rejoiced, and gave God hearty thanks for the same.

This Smith continued in the diligent bestowing of his talent there, till, shortly after, the devil got such hold in the hearts of a number of God's enemies, that he, with divers other godly men, was called over into England, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And forasmuch as we have entered into the story of Calais, and matters which were done in that town, it cometh to remembrance of one Thomas Brook, an alderman of that town, and Burgess of the parliament before mentioned, wherein was concluded, the next year after this, A. D. 1540, the Act of Six Articles, as is before said.

After this bill of the six articles had passed the higher house, and was brought to the burgesses of the lower house, the Lord Cromwell gave intelligence, not only that it was the king's Majesty's determinate pleasure to have the bill to pass in sort as it had come down from the Lords, but, also, that if any man should stand against it earnestly, the same should put himself in great danger of his life.

Notwithstanding, this Thomas Brook, with great danger and peril of his life, did repugn and refute the said bill, with divers reasons and good ground of Scripture: insomuch that a message came down, by Sir N. Pollard, from the Lord Cromwell to the said Brook, willing him, as he loved his life, not to speak against the said bill. Notwithstanding, Brook proceeding in his enterprise, the Lord Cromwell meeting him the next time after that, called him unto him, and said, that he never knew man play so desperate a part as to speak against that bill, unless he made a reckoning to be either hanged or burned: "but God," said he, "hath mightily preserved thee; whereof I am glad."

This fear caused men, much against their consciences, (such is man's frailty,) to establish that act; but yet not in such sort as the bill came down from the Lords. For whereas before, by that first bill sent down, it was only felony for a priest to have, or to take unto him, a wife of his own, (though St. Paul say that marriage is honourable among all men, and willet that every man, for the avoiding of fornication, should have his own wife; and, rendering as it were a cause thereof, affirmeth,

that it is better to marry than to burn,) but no punishment at all was appointed for such shameless whoremongers, incontinent priests, as, contemning holy matrimony, abused themselves both with women married and unmarried: now, upon the said Brook's urging that unless men had better opinion of whoredom than of holy matrimony, (called of St. Paul a bed undefiled,) it was of necessity to be granted, that at least the incontinent life of priests unmarried, should, by that act, have like pain and punishment as those priests, who, not having the gift of continency, therefore entered into the holy yoke of matrimony. Whereupon the greater part of the house so fully agreed to the equal punishment, that unless it had been made felony as well for the one as the other, that act had never passed the house; and, therefore, equal punishment was assigned for either of those deeds in that session, though in the next session or parliament after, there was mitigation or qualification of the punishment for the horrible whoredom of priests; the marriage of priests standing still under the danger and punishment limited in the statute afore.

The said Brook further spoke to this effect:

He required to be certified of them that were learned, how it might be proved by the Scriptures, that God at all commanded laymen to receive the sacrament of his blessed body and blood in one kind, (to wit, in material bread,) to do it in remembrance of him who shed his blood for the remission of their sins, and to show the Lord's death until his coming: if it be so, that in giving this commandment, *Bibite ex hoc omnes*, Drink ye all of this, no layman at all be included, but, contrariwise, this other kind of sacrament, to wit, the cup, or the material wine, be by God forbidden them: "For," said he, "if in that universal proposition, Drink ye all of this, be included every one of that number unto whom Christ, when he took bread in his hand, and gave thanks unto his heavenly Father, did give this commandment, saying, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body; do ye this in remembrance of me: then needs must our clergy grant unto us who be laymen, that either it is lawful for us also, with the priests, to receive the sacrament in both the kinds, (that is to wit, both in bread and the cup or wine,) or else, that we silly laymen are not commanded to receive the sacrament at all; and, consequently, neither thereby to remember him to be our merciful Saviour, who hath died for remission of our sins, nor to show his death until he come, whereby he declared his most tender love towards us." Wherefore, if it might not be granted that it was lawful to receive the blessed sacrament in both kinds, he required some authority of Scripture to be brought for the same;

alleging further, that albeit, through gross ignorance, contempt of God's holy word, and the insatiable ambition and covetousness of such men as made merchandise of men's souls, (affirming in effect that Christ died in vain,) that gross and foolish error of transubstantiation hath within this four or five hundred year creeped in, and, as a festered canker, now spread itself abroad in all those places where the bishop of Rome hath established his usurped authority: "yet," said Brook, "even unto this day, in all the Greek church that blind error and foolish opinion of transubstantiation hath never been received, and St. Paul himself calleth it bread, after those words which they call the consecration, five times in one chapter: neither hath man," said he, "I think, ever heretofore presumed to affirm, that the bread, after the consecration, should be both the body and blood, and the wine both the blood and body, in such sort as either of those kinds divided unto many parts, should, in every of those parts, contain the whole natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, as this present act affirmeth. Therefore, before this act do pass, such doubts are to be resolved, whereby many afterwards might incur danger of life, for lack of the plain explication of our meaning of them; as for example: Where this act affirmeth that the wine, after the consecration, is Christ's natural blood and body both, how would our clergy, that the silly unlearned layman should answer, if it were asked him, (as it is like enough to be,) what he believes to be in the chalice, when the priest holds it over his head. For they make an infusion, you know, of water, and that before the consecration; so that there is a mixture of the water and wine. Whether now shall we affirm the thing which before was water, is now, by the commixion of the wine, turned with the wine into both the natural blood and body of Christ? or else, will it content them that it be answered thus, That the water remaineth water still?"

"Divers such doubts might be put, but, to come to an end: If this bill must needs pass as an act, I most heartily wish that first such places of the Scripture, and allegations of holy fathers, as the bishops and others, the learned of this realm, do recite in confirmation of this doctrine, those they would vouchsafe to communicate unto this house, to the intent that men who be yet of contrary minds, being overcome by their true conference of the Scriptures, and by strength of arguments, might, without grudge of conscience, agree unto that, which, while they be otherwise minded, they cannot without sin grant unto. And finally, whereas by this act we greatly differ from many Christian

realms and provinces, all which profess the true religion, and, nevertheless, set not laws at all, (much less with such pains of death,) I heartily beseech God, it may please the Majesty, that this whole act, with the contents of Scriptures, allegation of doctors, and arguments, which our clergy and others, the members of this act, have brought in and used for the establishing of it now for a law, be truly translated into the Latin tongue; to the intent, that other nations likewise, professing the true religion, seeing by those authorities which have moved this realm to pass this act, either overcome with our truth, thus lately found, or be procured to receive the like doctrine, if they see it sufficiently proved to be sincerely true; or else, seeing us by ignorance to be misled by refelling or refuting the same as erroneous, may not only reduce us to the truth again, but may have cause to judge of this realm, that we have passed not through trust in men's own wisdom without respect had to the Holy Scriptures, but, as men that had ignorantly fallen, obstinately contemned the Scriptures. If it come to pass, that, if this act be good, the necessity thereof shall be the more common, and be otherwise, it shall do the less hurt, yet, to continue the less while, when other men, not by dominion, or fear of this law, shall freely, and of good conscience, write and show, what opinion they have of it."

Unto these words of the said Brook, was taken upon him to make any direct answer, but first, one Master Hall, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, in acknowledging that he was not able to answer the objections made against the bill, for that he had not learned thereunto, said as followeth:

"That he would only speak his conscience touching the passing of that bill, which he grounded (as he said) upon this: that he had read in chronicles of some one prince of this realm had, by law commanded auricular confession to be used throughout his provinces and dominions; another prince had kepting of this holy day or that. And, in short, in chronicles may be found," said he, "that the most part of ceremonies now used in the church of England, were by princes either first introduced or at leastwise established; and, as we see others do the same do, till this day, continue. Whereas, if the subjects receiving the same ceremonies and rites of the church at their princes' order and commandment, had been against God's law, or the precept of commandment to the subjects had not been a sufficient discharge in their consciences before God, the observing of them, I cannot think but the law

ed clergy in those days, (for in all ages some of the clergy were well learned,) would have stood therein, and proved to their princes, that it was not lawful to command such things.

"Wherefore, and forasmuch as far the greater part of us laymen are unlearned in the Scriptures and ancient doctors, methinketh it is the bounden duty of us that be subjects, to be obedient and ready to observe all such things touching our religion, according as our prince or sovereign for the time being, specially, with the consent of the bishops and the rest of the clergy, shall, at any time, please to set forth to be observed or believed; which his said commandment, with the clergy's consent, I verily believe shall be a sufficient discharge for us, his loving subjects, before the face of God," said he; "for it is written, Obey your king. Nevertheless, I like right well, (so as it stood with the king's Majesty's pleasure,) the request that the gentleman made that spake last before, for the quieting of many men's consciences; that is, that the learned of this house might see the conferences of Scriptures, and the allegations of the ancient fathers, which the bishops, and the other learned of the clergy, bring in, for the passing of this act, or at leastwise, if that cannot be obtained, that yet this act, with all their allegations, might be printed in the Latin tongue, whereby other nations might see upon what ground we proceed. But, touching mine own conscience, I am sufficiently persuaded, whereupon I have showed such simple reasons as you have heard."

His words ended, Sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the king's house, much offended with the said Brook's words, stood up and said: "Gentlemen! you there, that spake last save one, I know not your name, nor indeed am able to dispute with you: but, instead of an argument, I will say thus much unto you: Tell this tale the twelfth day of July next, and I will bring a faggot to help to burn you withal" (on which twelfth day of July, that bloody act should take place). This his eloquent oration ended, he sat him down again, notwithstanding that he offended in a manner the whole house, and caused them to say, "It was very unseemly, that a gentleman of the house should so ungodly be used, where it was equally lawful for every man reverently to speak plainly his mind: besides that nothing was spoken by him but the same was reverently uttered, rather to try learning and truth of doctrine, than any wise in contempt or displeasure against the bill." Whereupon the speaker, verifying as much, desired the said Sir William Kingston not to be offended, for that he, Sir William, had done contrary to the order of the House, rather than the other.

But leaving the parliament at Westminster, I will leap to Calais, where the Lord Lisle, the king's deputy there, whom we showed to be the maintainer of Damlip, (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble blood, the base son of that noble prince King Edward the Fourth,) being fiercely set on, and incessantly enticed, by the wicked Lady Honor his wife, who was an utter enemy to God's honour, and, in idolatry, hypocrisy, and pride, incomparably evil, she being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, and John Rookwood, esquire, two enemies to God's word, beginning now to flourish at Calais. These, I say, with certain other of the council of the said town of Calais, to the number of seven more besides themselves, seeking occasion, or rather a quarrel where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous letters and grievous complaints unto the lords of the privy council, against divers of the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions; as first, the aforesaid Adam Damlip, who, though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, until, at last, the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

Also, besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare; likewise of Sir John Butler, then commissary; of Sir W. Smith, James Cocke, alias Coppen de Hane, James Barber, and others; and the names of all them they sent over. Of the which persons, first the said Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare, Coppen de Hane, and James Barber, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to prison in Westminster Gate, and then commanded to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Chichester, and ten other appointed by the king's Majesty's commission for the examination of them. And their accusers were sent over with letters from the council there, unto his privy council here, in the furtherance of their malicious suits against those honest men, with certain special letters directed unto the Lord Fitzwilliam, then earl of Southampton, great admiral of England, and to the Lord Sands, lord chamberlain of the household; likewise also to Sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the household, and to Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester and others; tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

That the same may the better appear, you shall

understand, that first Ralph Hare, a man rude, and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet, through God's grace, was very zealous; and therewith led so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralph Hare was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water: yea, and beside that, he was one which would not lightly swear an oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his book. This poor simple man, being charged by the commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise, (coming out of a town so infected with pernicious errors and sects, as that was,) was willed by them to take good heed to himself, lest, through obstinacy, he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy: for an error defended is heresy.

"My good Lords," said the poor man, "I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Wherefore, I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me: for, if they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be truth, I will stand unto it; and otherwise, if it be an error, I will, with all my heart, utterly forsake it: I mean, if it be against God's holy word. For the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors; and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them."

"Aha!" quoth the bishop of Winchester, "do you not hear what he saith, my Lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow." "Alas, my Lord!" said Ralph Hare, "what evil said I?" "Marry, sir, you said, 'the Lord!' 'the Lord,' and that is a badge of heretics," said Winchester. "What is that, my Lord? for God's sake tell me," said Hare. "Thou art naught, thou art naught," said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed. Wherewith the above-named Brook, standing by next to the said Hare, said, "My Lord! I beseech your Honour not to conceive evil opinion of the poor man for using this word, 'the Lord.' For, by your Lordship's favour, no man who at any time hath translated the Bible, hath used to English these two Hebrew words, *Jehovah* and *Adonai*, and this Greek word *Κύριος*, but only thus, 'the Lord.' So that, under your Lordship's correction, it might rather be called the badge of Christians, or pious men, than of heretics." "I pray you, sir, then," said the bishop of Winchester, "why doth Christ teach us to say, Our Father which art in heaven,

and not, the Father?" "My Lord, by your said Brook, "he useth there the vocative calling us to invoke God; and joineth there pronoun *noster*: so that this article, the, there to be used, neither should it express meaning of Christ in those words. But Lordship would descend down a little from the Lord's Prayer unto the Ave Maria or Salve; there it manifestly appeareth, that the same part falsifying God's message committed to him, *ὁ Κύριος μερά σου*: which is, truly turned into English, no otherwise but thus: The Lord (and not thy Lord, nor my Lord) is with us. Wherefore the poor man is there taught to say, God, and that by an angel, to say (as he saith) Lord; and, therefore, he is worthy of no blame. At these words the bishop began to be much offended: whereupon Dr. Gwent, doctor of Arches, one of those commissioners, said, "Master Brook! well; you abuse my Lord but much: it were a matter rather to be disputed in the schools, than thus to be reasoned of openly. Whereat the said Brook answered that he was sorry that he had offended my Lord, or any of your Lordships; but what he had spoken, he spake it of charity taken on the simple poor man: and that he held his peace. But the truth is, that, at the cavillation of Winchester, rose more content than profit needful about the Lord and our Lord, the papists holding with Winchester, and the part with the Lord. But now, to return to the said Ralph Hare's examination again, within half an hour after Dr. Gwent had blamed the said Brook for that he spake in the behalf of Ralph Hare, the said Brook was there present, and standing, he heard among the names of those that were present, the letters of the council of Calais, charged with pernicious errors and heresies, himself named and called. Some of the commissioners answered, "yea; but it makes no matter, let him alone till after." At the muttering forth of these words the said Brook stood forth and said, "I know, my Lord, like your Honours, no Thomas Brook of Calais myself. Is it your Lordships' pleasures to have any thing with me?" "Nay, Master Brook," answered the commissioners, "we may not meddle with you, and that you know right well: as we suppose, you would not have been here if you were not. You consider you are a Burgess of the parliament." "Truth it is," said Brook, "that unworthily I am; but if your Lordships and the rest of the commissioners have any thing wherewith to charge me, I here openly renounce the privilege of that court, and submit myself to the laws of the realm to answer to that which may be objected against me."

"Write, scribe!" said Winchester. And straightway the said Brook was commanded not to depart without licence. Furthermore, they commanded him to be had aside, lest he should give any instructions unto Ralph Hare. Then they called again for the said Ralph Hare, and there charged him with many heinous and detestable errors, especially that he was a great reader of the New Testament in English; that he was such a one that in deed neither used to take holy bread, holy water, holy ashes, nor holy palm, but spake against them, and against auricular confession also: wherefore, they threatened him, that if he would stand in the defence of these things, and of such others as would evidently be laid and proved against him, it would cost him his life.

These words drew the man yet into a greater agony and fear; which thing Winchester well perceiving, said unto him, "Ralph Hare! Ralph Hare! by my troth I pity thee much. For, in good faith, I think thee to be a good simple man, and of thyself wouldest mean well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtle school-masters, that have seduced thee, good poor simple soul; and therefore I pity thee. And it were indeed pity that thou shouldest be burned, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast served the king right well in his wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the king as good service as ever thou wast; and we all will be a mean to his Grace to be good gracious lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pity of thyself, and leave thy errors. For I dare say for us all that be commissioners, that we would be loth that thou shouldest be cast away: for, alas! poor simple man, we perceive thou hast been seduced, I say, by others. How sayest thou therefore? thou knowest my Lord of Canterbury's Grace here is a good gentle lord, and would be loth thou shouldest be cast away. Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thyself unto him, and to stand unto such order as he and we shall take in this matter? how sayest thou, man? Speak!" The poor man therewith falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to my Lord's Grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, in this wise: "My good Lord! for Christ's sake be good unto me; and I refer myself unto your Grace's order, to do with me what you please."

The archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the same, (though the simplicity of the man was so great that he perceived it not,) said, "Nay, Ralph Hare, stand up and advise thyself well, and commit not thyself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission but as the others are, so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But, if thou do commit thyself unto us

all, then thou committest thyself unto the law, and the law is ordained to do every man right." "Go to, Ralph Hare," said Winchester, "submit thyself to my Lord and us: it is best for thee to do so." Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and said, "My Lords and masters all! I submit myself wholly unto you." And therewith a book was holden him, and an oath given him to be obedient unto them, and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a faggot three several days; and, moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

This simple man, hearing his penance, piteously lamented, and earnestly at the first denied to stand thereunto, with piteous exclamation, saying, "O my Lord of Winchester! my Lord of Winchester! have you made me a log, ready to be laid upon the fire whensoever any wicked man falsely, of malice, by provocation of the devil, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? or shall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face against me? Alas! I have always hated errors and heresies." "Content thyself, Hare, there is now no remedy: thou must either do thy penance, or be burned," said the commissioners. Thus have you heard how Ralph Hare did speed.

Then was Thomas Brook called for, against whom it was objected by some of the council's letters of Calais, that he was a seditious fellow. Among these accusers, besides the rest, was one Richard Long, another Francis Hastings, men at arms, who charged the aforesaid Thomas Brook, and one Jeffery Loveday, esquire, for staying and maintaining the aforesaid Adam Damlip at Calais, as who had promised unto him a stipend to preach such heresies and pernicious opinions as afterwards he taught there; and that these two daily gathered many several sums of money for the entertainment of the said Adam. Howbeit the aforesaid Hastings failed in the proof thereof: for Loveday proved that he was, eight days before Damlip's coming to Calais, and during fourteen days continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied about necessary affairs of Charles, duke of Suffolk. And Brook, during the said time, was at London, daily attendant in the parliament house, whereof he had enough to bear witness against that untrue surmise.

After that, came three at once against the said Brook, well armed, as they thought, who had not only consulted together before of the matter, and put it in writing at Calais, besides their conference and talk by the way keeping company from thence hither, but also had obtained from the lord deputy, and others of the council, special letters, as is aforesaid, and, among other, one letter unto the bishop of Chichester, for the earnest and speedy further-

ance of the advancement of their accusations against Brook.

The first of these three was a young gentleman lately brought up under the said Brook in the office of customs, whose name was Edmund Payton. The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both base born, and also such a one as, in his youth, for murdering a man with a club, in Bow Lane in London, was fain, by obtaining the king's pardon, to save his neck. The third was one Thomas Boyse, who, showing more honesty than the rest, affirmed not that he himself heard the said Brook speak any thing of that which was objected against him, but justified that which each of the other two had stedfastly affirmed to him, that Brook had spoken unto them those things which, here beneath, he said were objected against him.

The first young man objected against the said Brook, that he should say, that the thing which the priest useth to hold up over his head at mass, is not the natural body of Jesus Christ: for, if that were so, whoso would, might have their stomach full of gods, their entrails full of gods; and he that had lately received the sacrament before he went to the sea, might haply cast god up again on shipboard.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from Calais, and added thereto, as it should seem, to exasperatè the commissioners and the rest of the clergy against him, certain other heinous words spoken against bishops and priests: as that the knaves, the bishops and priests, for their own gain and belly's sake, bare this layman so in hand, and would shamefully blear our eyes; which words he never spake; "for it did abhor both his heart and his ears, to hear either so shameful and un-reverent words concerning the blessed sacrament, or so arrogant and disdainful words, spoken against the bishops, and other inferior ministers, unto whom God had given authority, (though they, for the most part, were very unworthy thereof,)" confessing, nevertheless, that he had secret and private talk with the young man touching the truth of the sacrament, wherein he showed, as reverently as he could speak to the young man, the right use of the same: concluding that, albeit with our mouths we received very material bread and wine, yet, by faith, all Christian men do receive, eat, and drink, to their great comfort and benefit, the very natural body and blood of Christ, which was both born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered death on the cross for the remission of their sins: which most holy sacrament whoso cometh unworthily unto, the same was so far from eating of Christ's body and blood,

that all such, without hearty repentance, their own damnation. And, to conclude with in that private talk he told him, that if th and unlearned error of transubstantiation deed matter of truth and sincere doctrine, only this should follow of it, that every m would, might have everlasting life, (for they when they would, receive the outward seen with our eyes, which the priests call natural body, and whoso eateth Christ's body, and drinketh his blood, hath everlast saith Christ,) but also there should greatab follow thereby, as when a man happeneth sea, having lately received the sacrament, he put it overboard, or upon the hatches; and fore, exhorted the said Payton to leave the error.

The second accuser was Poole, who against him, that, about two years past, he dining with the said Brook with fifteen or other honest men, heard him to say thus table: that the thing which the priests use up over their heads, was not the very blood of Christ, but a sacrament to put membrane thereof. Unto whose objection said Brook answered, that a man in mirth well enough in charity beshrew such a ge when he had dined with a man, could, so long remember to say him such a grace: and requ Poole, from whence the rest of the guests He answered, they were of the town, all inferred he, that he was sure Poole could remember some of their names which then present, as freshly to keep in mind (for so upon a book he had affirmed) every word whole matter which he objected; but for the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the Brook desired their Honours to consider the ness of his tale.

To be short, he, with the rest of his fellow wit, Ralph Hare, Coppen, and James the were for that time dismissed.

During the time while these four were the examination at London, the other two, to wit William Smith, preacher, and John Butler, commandment were apprehended in Calais, bound by surety not to pass the gates of the of Calais. In the which town, the said John ler, commissary, was accused by Richard Th and John Ford, soldiers of Calais, saying, that should say, that if the sacrament of the altar flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good of vitæ at John Spicer's. Upon which accusation said Thorpe and Ford brought for records before the council of Calais, Marraunt, Haynes. Je

Luckes, Harry Husson, and Harry Trost, all of the district of Oye, beside Calais. Whereupon, shortly after, the said John Butler and Sir William Smith were sent for, and, by one Swallow a pursuivant, which fetched up the others aforesaid, brought into England, unto the house of the said Swallow dwelling by St. James's, where the king's Majesty lay at that time. And the next day, being Thursday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were brought to the Star-chamber before the privy council, where both sedition and heresy were objected against them. And after much talk it was said unto them by the Lord Cromwell, that they should make their purgation by the law. And from thence, by the aforesaid Swallow, they were sent to the Fleet.

The next day, being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were sent for to come to Bath Place, where they were brought into the chapel, there sitting Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath, and Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester: Dr. Repse, the bishop of Norwich, who was a monk, being fast asleep. Then was objected unto Butler, with great reverence, the opprobrious words spoken against the blessed sacrament, rehearsing (as is aforesaid) the articles. Butler required to have them in writing, and so he would make answer in writing; the which they would not grant him: and upon that answer he stood. Then choler gathered in the bishop of Chichester. The story were too long to write, yet part ye shall understand.

Chichester found great fault that Butler made not low courtesy, being stubborn and arrogant, as he said, and, in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then, turning him about, he called to his brother Banester, being present, (that time dwelling in Paternoster Row,) to make answer for the shirt. He said, "I can make answer for the shirt." "No good answer," said Chichester. "Forsooth," said he, "the shirt is mine; I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any servant." "A good answer," said the bishop of Bath. Then Butler made low courtesy, and said, "The shirt is answered." Then Chichester said, "Thou mockest us;" but he said "No." And thus much concerning that time.

Then, after Butler, was Sir William Smith, curate of our Lady's parish in Calais, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same heinous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said Ralph Hare; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to saints, against doing of good works, and many other such-like things: and therewithal one Richard Long, a man-at-arms at Calais, proved against the said Sir Wil-

liam Smith, and the aforesaid Brook, by an oath taken upon a book, that the said Smith and Brook did eat flesh together in Lent, in the said Brook's house. "For a miller's boy," said he, "came into Brook's kitchen, and saw half a lamb lie a roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth is, that the said Sir William Smith, during all the Lent, came never once within the said Brook's house. And it is as true also, that the said Richard Long, upon a displeasure taken with his wife, went shortly after out of his own house, to the jutty end of the haven at Calais, where desperately he drowned himself; not one boy, but many men, women, girls, and boys seeing him miserably taken up again stark dead, all which lamented his pitiful ruin. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a book upon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be; a thing in these days over-rife every where, and almost no where regarded as it ought to be. But to return to Sir William Smith; for the heinousness of his errors, equal every whit to Ralph Hare's, and worse, (though there was no matter sufficient in the law to burden him, that could be proved,) yet he must needs (no remedy was there) recant at Calais, openly in the pulpit, and so depart the town and marches. Which recantation he did in such sort, as he in effect denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, and, therewith, was done according to the commissioners' order, whilst the other heretic, Ralph Hare, stood before him with a faggot on his shoulder: and, also, it seemed unto such of the council of Calais, as had by their letters complained so grievously of the pernicious sects and heresies of that town, that, now, what with the aforesaid Brooks inveighing against the six articles in the parliament-house, and the punishment of these two heretics, they had won their spurs by making such complaints: insomuch as the matters fell out as you hear.

There was also called before them Sir John Butler, then commissary of Calais, whom they would have burned with the maintenance, or, at the least wise, sufferance of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, which preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Butler, for his defence, answered, that the lord deputy, and the whole council there, so highly entertained, and so friendly used, the said Damlip, and with their own presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise than he did; and therefore, humbly besought their Lordships and other the commissioners to be good unto him: at whose hands, after long attendance

given, he was discharged, and so returned home again; being also dismissed of his commissaryship.

Now, to declare what order was taken with these aforesaid Calais men, it was appointed that Sir William Smith, priest, Ralph Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber, should be sent to Calais, there to abjure and to do penance; where Sir William Smith was enjoined to make the sermon, Ralph Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber standing with faggots upon their shoulders. The sermon was made in the market of Calais. Which being done, they went with their faggots about the marketplace, the drum and fife going before them; and then, returning to the commissioners with the testimonial of the same, they departed. Albeit, in this recantation, the said William Smith, curate of our Lady's church, handled his sermon after that sort, that, in effect, he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, according to the commissioners' order; appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the town and marches.

As touching James Barber aforesaid, forasmuch as his dwelling was not at Calais, but four miles off from the town, it was therefore enjoined him to bear his faggot, not at Calais, but on the Saturday next following to stand in the market there where he dwelt, with his faggot upon his shoulder; and the said Sir William Smith likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the first commission sent over to Calais, to inquire upon the heretics there.

A new commission appointed and sent over to Calais.

AFTER all these things done and past, the grudging minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town

of Calais, making the king believe that, through new opinions, the town was so divided, that it was in great danger to be overcome of the adversary.

Whereupon, shortly after the week before Easter next following, other new commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais: to wit, the earl of Sussex, lord great chamberlain; the Lord St. John; Sir John Gage, knight; Sir John Baker, knight;

Master Layton, clerk of the closet; and Dr. with special instructions besides, signed with the king's Majesty's own hand. For his Highness had been incensed once again from the council, that the town was in peril, through diverse diversity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Layton preached a notable sermon, exhorting to charity, having nothing in his mouth but "charity." But, as it seemed afterwards, burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that had not God pitied the innocent men's causes, there had a hundred been hanged shortly after.

But it happened far otherwise, for, of the number of those accusers, four were, by the commissioners, sent over into England, to wit, Robert Philpot, servant to the Lord Lisle; Edmund, curate of our Lady's church; William, a post-master; Peter Bequet. Of the which four, Philpot and Bequet were sent to the Tower again; the other two were drawn, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of those that were accused, there was not one that lost the hair of his head.

After the sermon was done, on the morrow, on Share-Thursday, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament. And, at the council were with the commissioners; and by their consultation, tip-staves warned above the number of fourscore, such perverse persons as were not in the town or marches, to appear the morrow at eight of the clock before the council at the Staple inn; who, at their appearance, were commanded upon their allegiance to present heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons, if they did know; and in no wise to doubt or delay to do, for they should have great advantage thereby. And yea, they should either have their living and goods: and, besides that, they should have thanks at the king's Majesty's hand, and his honorable council, and what friendship they of the council there could show them.

All that Good Friday, even till ten of the clock at night, those wicked and malicious persons spent their time in answering to sundry and diverse questions. These things were not so secretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honest knowledge. Whereupon such fear and tumult assaulted all men, that neighbour distrusted neighbour, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and most every one the other, that lamentable it was to see how mourningly men and women went in the streets, hanging down their heads, showing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

Upon Easter Monday, one Hugh Councill, an honest man, servant to the said Brook, was convented before them, and by the space of fourteen days not suffered to return to his master's house, but was kept in custody; and was many times examined upon articles and interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of heresy or treason, against the said Brook; and the same day that Brook was committed to ward, the said Hugh Councill was discharged.

The Wednesday in the Easter week, sundry quests were charged, by their oaths, to make inquisition for all manner of heresies, erroneous opinions, and seditions: as a quest of aldermen, another of men-at-arms, and another of constables and vintners, another of common soldiers, and another of commoners.

And shortly after their presentments, on Good Friday, there were convented before the commissioners, and straight were sent to close prison, Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Harry Tourney, gentleman; Sir George Darby, priest; John Shepherd, William Pellam, William Keverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Copen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound: upon whom ran sundry bruits. Some said they should be hanged; some said burned; some said hanged, drawn, and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory: so that pitiful it was to see the lamentation that their wives, their children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they durst; for that they found every where words of discomfort, and no where of comfort, but still inquisition was made.

The aforesaid William Stevens, after his return from London above-mentioned, besides many other articles laid to him for religion, to the number of forty or well nigh, was, by the lord deputy, charged that he had stayed the aforesaid Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and given him meat, drink, and lodging, coming from the arrant traitor Cardinal Pole, and suborned by him; and that he had received money of him, to the intent he should preach in Calais false and erroneous doctrine, whereby the town, being divided and at contention within itself, might easily be overcome and won by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the said Stevens answered, that whatsoever he had done unto the said Adam Damlip, he had done it at the earnest request and commandment of the said lord deputy. Whereupon, if it had been treason indeed, he must have been more faulty.

Then the said William Stevens was again, the second time, by the said commissioners sent over into England, and clapped in the Tower, and afterwards, to wit, immediately after the said commissioners' repair unto the king's Highness, the said lord

deputy was sent for over, and likewise put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the king's Majesty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this world, whose body resteth in the Tower, and his soul with God, I trust, in heaven: for he died very repentant. But the wicked lady, his wife, immediately upon his apprehension, fell distraught of mind, and so continued many years after. God, for his mercy, if she yet live, give her his grace to repent.

The second Monday after Easter, the aforesaid Brook was convented before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's jail, whither no man of his calling was ever committed, unless sentence of death had first been pronounced against him; for otherwise the ordinance of the town was, that his prison should be only another alderman's house, with licence at night to lie at his own house. Then the council of Calais, doubting lest there should not be any sedition or heresy proved against him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied the comptroller's office in the Custom-house. This man was kept in close prison, so that neither his wife, then great with child, nor any other of his friends, might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been borne in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by Brook in the office of the Customs, and that the said Bradway should be grievously punished, if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the said Brook with some kind of concealment; the poor simple man, hoping thereby to get release of his imprisonment, accused the said Brook, that he had, for a long time, concealed four groats every day for his clerk's wages; and to that accusation they caused the simple man to set his own hand before witnesses.

Hereupon, after a day or two, the said Bradway, grieved in his conscience for the same his most untrue accusation, did, with a knife, enterprise to cut his own throat: but God, of his mercy, so directed his wicked purpose, that the back of his knife was towards his weasand; whereby, though the wound were broad, yet he escaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the sudden pain that he felt, the jailor came up, and bereft him of the knife. But, through the guiltiness of the false accusation, and shame of the world, the man lost his wits, who then, staring and dismayed, was dismissed out of prison, and a long time after went, in piteous case, so dismayed about the street, to the great impoverishing of him, his poor wife, and family.

This kind of handling of the said Brook made all his friends, but especially his wife, to be greatly

afraid of the malice of his enemies : the rather, also, for that all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place of all his house, with her children and family ; the keys of all the doors and chests also taken from her. Who, for that she was rigorously treated at Sir Edward Kingley's hand, comptroller of the town, (an office of no small charge, though he knew not a "B" from a battledore, nor ever a letter of the book,) saying unto her, that if she liked not the room, he would thrust her quite out of the doors : "Well, sir," said she, "well ; the king's slaughterhouse had wrong, when you were made a gentleman." And with all speed she wrote a letter to the Lord Cromwell, therein discoursing how hardly and sore those poor men were handled, that were committed to ward and close prison ; and that all men feared, (what through the malice of their papistical enemies, and the great rigour and ignorant zeal of those that were in authority,) they should shortly, for their faith and consciences, being true men, and such as reverently feared God, be put to death ; but, chiefly, her husband, who was yet more extremely handled than any other : so that unless his Honour vouchsafed to be a means to the king's Majesty, that they, with their causes, might be sent over into England, they were but dead men. Sundry other letters she wrote to divers friends, to solicit the cause. But when, at noon time, a servant of hers was seen to receive again the same packet of letters, of one to whom before he had taken them to carry them into England, and now, because the passage served not till the afternoon, to carry them back to his mistress, he that so saw them declared so much to the commissioners, at dinner time. Whereupon they gave very strait commandment that the thing should be kept close, and strait wait laid for him, to whom any servant of his should deliver any letters : and that, attaching the same, they should be brought to them. Whereupon one Francis Hall, esquire, a man of great wisdom, godliness, and temperance, hearing what was said, and nothing distrusted of the commissioners, pretended a sudden qualm to come over his stomach, and rising from the table speedily told Mistress Brook what had happened ; whereupon, with all speed, she writ as many other letters with like directions, but with far unlike contents. For unto the Lord Cromwell she highly advanced the honours, wisdom, and justice which *she knew* to abound in the honourable commissioners, doubting only, nevertheless, she said, the maliciousness of her husband's enemies and their untrue accusations, and, therewith, the weakness of her husband's body, greatly subject to sickness when it was best

cherished : wherefore, though she assuredly knew her husband should have, at their Honours, true justice and equity, so as she would not wish any other in all England to be commissioners in their places, yet she most humbly besought his Lordship to write his favourable letters unto them, to this end, that in respect of his weakness and infirmity, he might have justice with as much expedition as conveniently might be ; and, in the mean time, to let him have somewhat more liberty, and open air : and in the other letters to her friends she wrote like honour of the said commissioners, and also desired them to crave his Lordship's letters to like effect. These letters, closed and delivered as the first were, were straightway seized upon and brought to the commissioners, who immediately sent for her, and, the while opening the letters, and understanding the effect, they were, in their minds, well pleased with her ; and, therefore, when she fell on her knees before them, and besought their Honours to be good unto her husband, and to forgive her, in that she had presumed to write in his behalf, which, she said, was but her bounden duty ; they, thinking thereby to have comforted her well, bade her never take thought for him, (he was a naughty fellow,) saying, they would themselves bestow her much better, and, the rather, for her father's sake, whom they knew right well to be a man of good service, whom the king favoured well. So she departed from them, and the next day also, at three of the clock at afternoon, she sent one William Manton unto a house without the gates, where he kept himself close, till a mariner, appointed for that purpose, called him up at midnight, and, taking him alone into the ship, through God's goodness, set him on land in the morning before day ; who, with speed repairing to the Lord Cromwell, made discourse of the whole state of his master and the other honest men.

Whereupon the said Lord Cromwell wrote speedily his letters unto the commissioners, declaring, that the king's Majesty's pleasure and commandment was, that the arrant traitor and heretic Brook, with a dozen or twenty complices, should, with their accusers, be immediately sent over, that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there, at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now, by the time that the said commissioners had received these letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine score honest men more to be cast in prison : but these letters so appalled them, that they stayed, and afterwards sent no more to ward. But, making then as diligent inquisition as was possible, to have found some worthy matter

against those before named, whereby there might have been some colour both of the council's grievous complaints, and of the commissioners' rigorous dealing; when no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured that they should not go unpunished, they first banished them the town and marches of Calais with a trumpet blown, under pain of death, for a hundred years and a day, (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred,) and then sent them back to prison: staying them there upon hope that the Lord Cromwell should come into captivity sooner than he did. But, at last, to wit, on May-day, they sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, the said Brook going before with irons on his legs, as the chief captain, the rest following him, two and two, without irons, unto shipboard, and then were they all coupled in irons, two and two together. Where, because they were loth to go under the hatches, Sir John Gage, with a staff, smote some of them cruelly. Whereupon Anthony Pickering said unto him, "Sir, I beseech you yet be as good to us, as ye would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we be not smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they guarded and kept with a great company of men; and so, sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, were within four-and-twenty hours at anchor before the Tower of London. But by the way thitherward, upon what occasion it was not known, whilst the hatch stood open for the convenience of one of the prisoners, his fellow-prisoner the while, for weariness, lying upon his back and casting his arm over his face, the kettle, with the hot scalding beef-broth, fell down upon the prisoners, namely, upon the gown-sleeve of Brook and the boots of Tourney, whereby both the fur of the sleeve and the leather of the boot were scorched and crackled, yet neither the face nor the leg, through God's goodness, were hurt; which sight caused their keepers to be amazed, and to say, that surely they were men that God loved, and were wrongfully punished. And when the Lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their irons to be smit off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners to be brought unto him.

When he saw them, he smiled upon them, steadfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs! you must take pain for a time; go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more." So indeed they did; and that evening he sent them word they should be of good cheer, for, if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honesty as they came with shame.

Whilst these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit, the twenty-eighth day of July, A. D. 1541, the aforesaid Lord Cromwell, for treason laid against him, was at Tower-hill beheaded, as is before specified in his story, who made there a very Christian end. Then had the poor Calais men great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But He, in the midst of their deep troubles and miseries, so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy in him; so far forth that Matthew de Hound, one of these thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard Copen de Hane read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest, got, in short time, such instruction, that having therewith a soul and conscience fraught full of godly zeal unto God's glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance out of the Fleet, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honouring of images, and praying to saints departed, he was cruelly, in a most constant faith and patience, burned in Flanders.

Now, therefore, when all hope in man was past, the right honourable Lord Audeley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged first the said thirteen that were in the Fleet, and at length, two years after, he delivered William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower; saying, at the discharging of those thirteen, "Sirs! pray for the king's Majesty; his pleasure is, that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But, for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, so God save my soul! some of them be knaves all. Sirs," said he, "I am commanded by the council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you, are called sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the king's Highness, for his Grace's pleasure is, that I should dismiss you; and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, sirs!"

So, giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed dismissed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor estate; but not in so miserable estate as all those eight councillors of Calais were, within one year and a half after. For, whereas the other three council-

lors who seemed more favourable unto them, (to wit, the Lord Gray, Sir George Carew, and Sir Richard Grenville,) who purged the town of those slanders that untruly were raised upon it, were there-for, for a time, in their prince's high displeasure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his Majesty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had least. The other eight councillors, unjustly charging them and the town with sedition and heresy, (that is to say, the Lord Lisle, the Lord Sanda, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Kingsly, Robert Fowler, esquire, vice-treasurer; Sir Thomas Palmer, knight, called Long Palmer; William Simpson, esquire, under-marshal; and John Rockwood,) were either greatly out of their prince's favour, and in the Tower, or else were prisoners, or else by very desperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world.

For tediousness, I will rehearse but only the horrible end of the said Rockwood, the chief stirrer-up of all the afflictions afore spoken of; who, even to his last breath, staring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, "All too late, for I have sought maliciously the deaths of a number of the most honest men in the town; and though I so thought them in my heart, yet I did what lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late!" Which same words he answered to one, who, at the departure of the thirteen in irons towards England, said, "Sir! I never saw men of such honesty so sharply corrected, and taking it so patiently and joyfully." Rockwood then, fetching a frisk or two, scoffingly answered, "All too late!" The under-marshal suddenly fell down in the council-chamber, and never spake a word after, nor showed any token of remembrance. The plagues of the others also, as I am credibly informed, were little better.

*The second apprehension of Adam Damlip;
with his martyrdom.*

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, how he, being convented before the bishops at Lambeth, and afterwards secretly admonished, and having money given him by his friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the bishops; after he had sent his allegations in writing unto them, departed into the west country, and there continued teaching a school a certain space, about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miser-

able inquisition of the six articles, and brought up to London, where he was, by Stephen Gardiner, commanded into the Marshalsea, and there lay the space of other two years or thereabouts.

During the imprisonment of this Damlip in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck (as partly ye heard before) was committed also unto the same prison, which was the morrow after Palm Sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter every person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come upon Easter-day to Sir George Bucker aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then confessor to the whole house. By this occasion John Marbeck, which had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in prison, by whom and wherefore; who declared, moreover, his mind to Marbeck, to the effect as followeth: "And now, because," said he, "I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my life present, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my talent to God's glory. Wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it in proof."

This Damlip, for his honest and godly behaviour, was beloved of all the whole house, but especially of the keeper himself, whose name was Massy, whom he always called master; and being suffered to go at liberty within the house whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure in him. And no less also Marbeck himself confesseth to have found great comfort by him; for, notwithstanding the strait precept given by the bishop of Winchester, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man, yet the said Adam many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

Now, when he had made and drawn out his epistle, he delivered the same to his master the keeper, upon Saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whitsunday following, desiring him to deliver it at the court, to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said, he would; and so did. The bishop, what quick speed he made for his despatch I know not, but thus it fell out, as ye shall hear.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (who had tarried supper for his

coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the keeper, casting up his eyes upon Sir George, said, "O George! I can tell thee tidings." "What is that, master?" quoth he. "Upon Monday next thou and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master? What to do?" "I know not," quoth the keeper: and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax with a little label of parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when Sir George saw it, he said, "Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is." "What?" quoth the keeper. "Truly, master, I shall die in Calais." "Nay," quoth the keeper, "I trust it to be not so." "Yes, yes, master; it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for Sir George, as they there called him; who, notwithstanding, was merry himself, and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life: insomuch that some at the board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters!" quoth he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."

At length it came to pass, that by the bishop of Winchester's diligent pursuing of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, (for he was always excellent good at the sucking of innocent blood,) this godly man was gotten again into their hands, that first laid heresy to his charge; for, on Monday, early in the morning before day, the keeper with three other of the knight-marshal's servants setting out of London, conveyed the said Adam Damlip to Calais upon the Ascension even, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon which day John Butler, the commissary aforesaid, and Sir Daniel, his curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler.

Upon Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which first they laid to his charge, was for heresy. But, because by an act of parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned, (through which act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before,) yet, for the receiving of the aforesaid French crown of Cardinal Pole, (as you heard before,) he was condemned of treason, and in Calais cruelly put to death; being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Master Mote, then parson of our Lady's church in

Calais, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" said Damlip. "Upon the Lantern gate," said Mote. Then Damlip answered, "Then shall I not need to provide for my burial." At his death, Sir Ralph Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Despatch the knave; have done!" For Sir William Mote, appointed there to preach, declared to the people, how he had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he was condemned for being a traitor against the king. To the which when Adam Damlip would have replied and purged himself, the aforesaid Sir Ralph Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away. And so, most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death, Sir Ralph Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he saw the traitor's heart out. But, shortly after, the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, in a skirmish or rout between the Frenchmen and us at Boulogne, was, among others, slain; whose only death sufficed not his enemies, but after they had stripped him stark naked, they shamefully mutilated him, and cut the heart out of his body; and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they showed such indignation against the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, more than against the rest.

As touching John Butler, and Sir Daniel his curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with Damlip, upon Sunday next following they were committed to John Massy aforesaid, keeper of the Marshalsea, and his company, and brought to the Marshalsea, where he and his curate continued nine months and more. At last, being sore laid unto by Sir George Gage, Sir John Baker, and Sir Thomas Arundel, knights, but especially by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, for the retaining of Adam Damlip, yet, by friends soliciting the king's Highness for him, (namely Sir Leonard Musgrave, and his brother Baunster, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds,) he, at length, by great labour and long time, was discharged, and, at last, by licence permitted to return to Calais again.

Furthermore, as touching William Stevens above mentioned, who remained all this while prisoner in the Tower, the same also was condemned with Adam Damlip of treason; which was, for note and crime of popery, in lodging Adam Damlip the traitor, who came from Cardinal Pole, in his house,

at the lord deputy's commandment. Notwithstanding, the king afterward, understanding more of the said William Stevens, how innocent he was from that crime, being known to all men to be an earnest and zealous protestant, gave him his pardon, and sent him home again to Calais; and so, likewise, all the other thirteen above mentioned.

The story of a poor labouring man, and also of one Dodd, a Scotchman, burned in Calais.

By the credible information and writing of the said Calais men, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of Calais, that after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in a certain company, he said that he would never believe that a priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvey, commissary there; which Harvey, in time of his judgment inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said, that he was a heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man, (whose name yet I have not certainly learned,) answering for himself again, said that he was no heretic, but was in the faith of Christ: "And whereas thou sayest," said he, "that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a viler death, and that shortly." And so it came to pass; for, within half a year after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason, in the said town of Calais.

After the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain scholar, counted to be a Scotchman, named Dodd, who, coming out of Germany, was there taken with certain German books about him; and, being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said town of Calais, within the space of a year, or thereabouts, after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

The story of William Crossbowmaker, bearing a billet in Calais.

And, forasmuch as I am presently in hand with matters of Calais, I cannot pass from thence without the memory of another certain honest man of the same township, named William Button, alias Crossbowmaker; although the time of this story is a little more ancient in years: which story is this.

William Crossbowmaker, a soldier of Calais, and the king's servant, being a man (as some natures be) somewhat pleasantly disposed, used, when he met with priests, to demand of them certain merry

questions of pastime; as these: Whether, if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the pope's pardons instead of a broken paper?

Another question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, dogs or priests? And if it were answered that dogs might rather be spared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no dogs, we could make no more; but if there lacked ignorant priests, we might soon, and too soon, make too many of them.

It happened that in the time of Dr. Darly, parson of our Lady's church in Calais, being commissary there for Archbishop Warham, there came a Black Friar to Calais with the pope's pardons, who, for four pence, would deliver a soul out of purgatory. The friar was full of Romish virtues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This aforesaid William Button, alias Crossbowmaker, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his father and friends' souls, asked, if the holy father the pope could deliver souls out of purgatory? The friar said, "There is no doubt of that." "Why then," quoth Button, "doth not he, of charity, deliver all the souls thereof?" Of which words he was accused to the commissary; who, at his appearing before the said commissary, confessed to have asked such questions. The commissary, being angry thereat, said, "Doubtest thou thereof, thou heretic?" There was standing by a Black Friar named Capel, an Englishman, who said to the commissary, "There be ten thousand of these heretics between Gravelines and Triers." Button answered, "Master friar! of all men you may keep silence; for your coat hath been twice cut off from the faith. The first time your order was enjoined to have your black coat shorter than your white; and, for the second time, your order must go to the furthest part of their church, and there sing an anthem of our Lady." The commissary chafed at these words, calling Button "heretic," with many other opprobrious words. Then said Button to the commissary, "If your holy father the pope may deliver souls out of purgatory, and will not of charity deliver them, then, I would to God the king would make me pope, and I would surely deliver all out without money." At these words the commissary raged, and reviled Button exceedingly, causing him to bear a billet, and procured his wages (which were sixpence a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the king's Majesty, declaring all the whole matter to his Grace, who sent him to Calais again, and gave him after that eight-pence a day.

A notable example, wherein may appear as well the despite of Dr. London and other papists against the gospellers, as also the fidelity of a matron towards her husband.

Forasmuch as mention was made a little before of Dr. London, we will somewhat more add of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what truth and trust is to be looked for of this cruel kind of papists. This Dr. London was warden of New College in Oxford, where it happened that certain plate was stolen, and conveyed and brought up to London, and sold to a goldsmith, named William Callaway. This Callaway was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the gospel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had, oftentimes before, bought much plate of the same man without any peril or danger: wherefore, he doubted the less of his fidelity.

At last the principal of the theft being taken, and the goldsmith also, that was the buyer, being known, Dr. London, when he understood him to be a favourer of the gospel, (whereof he was an extreme adversary,) began straightways to be in a rage, and to swear great and deep oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the goldsmith to the gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be short, this good goldsmith was arraigned as accessary, and an action of felony brought against him. He, contrariwise, alleged, that they ought not to proceed against him, the principal being alive. Dr. London, on the contrary part, affirmed that the principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same college, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the judge asked him what he could allege why he should not die? He required to have the privilege of his book according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he had two wives, and therefore he might not have his book by the law: notwithstanding that, he never had two wives; but, because his wife had two husbands, it was imputed to him for bigamy.

Thus this good goldsmith, being secluded from all hope of life by the crafty spite of his malignant adversaries, his wife, being a woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the judges; and, perceiving her former marriage to be hurtful unto her husband, to save her husband's life, she took an oath before the judges that she was never married to more men than to the said goldsmith: and, although she had children by her other husband, and continued

divers years with him, yet she swore that she was never married unto him. Thus this woman, by defaming of herself, to her great praise and singular example of love, delivered her innocent husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her husband to die; less esteeming the loss of her good name, than of his life.

As touching the quality of this fact or perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet, the true heart and faithful love between this man and his wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many couples now-a-days, the more I think it worthy, not only to be praised, but also, for example's sake, to be notified. But, in the mean time, what shall we say to these priests and adversaries, who, in such sort violently do press and force the poor sheep of Christ, with peril of their conscience, unto such perjury; and that, in such causes, where no such truth is sought, but innocence oppressed, true religion persecuted, and only their spite and wrath against God's word wreaked.

Qualifications of the Act of the Six Articles.

During the time of these six articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death, yet so it happened by another contrary act, set forth before for the king's supremacy, (as ye have heard,) that the contrary sect also of the papists was not all in quiet. For, besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the other Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests above specified, about this year, also, were condemned and executed by the same law two others, of whom one was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority: the other was Germain Gardiner, (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as it is supposed,) who, likewise, in practising for the pope against the king's jurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the gibbet.

Upon the detection of this Germain Gardiner, being secretary to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the king not to be unlike, but that the said Germain neither would, nor durst, ever attempt any such matter of popery, without some setting on or consent of the bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all his secrets, as he was. Whereby the king began somewhat more to sm

and misdoubt the doings of the bishop ; but yet the bishop so covertly and clearly conveyed his matters, playing under the board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort that (I cannot tell how) he still kept in with the king, to the great inquietation of the public state of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In declaring the dreadful law, before set forth, of the six articles, which was A. D. 1540, ye heard what penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in treason and felony ; so that no remedy of any recantation would serve. This severity was a little mitigated by another parliament, holden afterwards, A. D. 1544, by which parliament it was decreed, that such offenders as were convicted in the said articles for the first time, should be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his ordinary, or, after his recantation, if he afterwards offended again, then, for the second time, he should be admitted to abjure and bear a faggot ; which if he deny to do, or else, being abjured, if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straitness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present parliament, yet, notwithstanding, the venom and poison of the errors and mischief of those articles remained still behind ; not removed, but rather confirmed by this parliament aforesaid. By the which parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion ; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others, having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words, or sentences, contrary to the six articles, were debarred. In like manner all songs, plays, and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion tending any way against the said articles, were abolished.

In the which parliament, furthermore, it was provided, that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers ; yet was permitted, notwithstanding, to noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly, without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before, the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to purge and try himself, in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or

more in number, as the others who deposed him, &c.

After this parliament, moreover, followed parliament, A. D. 1545, wherein other qualifications more special, of the six articles were provided ; whereas before, the cruel statute of the six was so strait, that if any of the king's had been complained of by any manner of person, as well being his enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the jury so accused ; and so thereupon to be attached, and in fine to be condemned : it was therefore, by this parliament provided, that all such indictments and indictments should not be taken before the commissioners, otherwise than by the assent of twelve men, or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

"Item, That no such indictments or proceedings should be taken, but within one year of the offence committed ; or else the said indictments should be void in the law.

"Item, That no person accused upon any offence against the six articles, should be attached or committed to ward, before he were tried and indicted, unless by special warrant from the king.

"Item, By the authority of the said parliament, it was considered and enacted, that if any person, or reader, for any word spoken, supposed against the six articles, should be accused, within the space of forty days of the said hearing or preaching, then the party accused to be brought to trial.

"Item, That the justices or inquirers of such offences should have full power to alter and amend all panels of inquiry returned before them, in such manner as the justices of peace may do in the like cases, upon any other inquiries.

"Item, That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenge (peremptory only excepted,) as other persons indicted for felony may have, by the laws of the realm."

By these qualifications and moderations of the six articles, it may appear that the king began to grow out of favour with Stephen Gardiner, and to descry his doings, whereby he was thus forward to incline somewhat in furthering the late cause of religion, as may appear both by the premises, and also by other provisions and determinations of the aforesaid parliament, A. D. 1545, wherein it was decreed by act of parliament, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons ; to wit, sixteen of the clergy, and sixteen of the temporality, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions,

ordinances of the canon law, as well provincial as synodal ; and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an order of ecclesiastical laws, such as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be received and used within this realm : which statute, as it is most needful for the government of the Church of England, so, would God it had been brought to perfection !

In this year, touching matters of history, we read no great thing worthy of memory, but only of two persons, John Athy and John Heywood. Of which two, we find first John Athy to be indicted by the king's writ for certain words against the sacrament, which words in the indictment are specified to be these : " That he would not believe in the thing which the knave priest made, neither in that which Long's wife selleth ; but only in God that is in heaven. And, when it was told him that God, through his word, could make it flesh and blood, he answered, ' So he might, if he would, turn it into a chicken's leg : ' meaning the sacrament of the altar."

The same year also followed the recantation of John Heywood ; who although he was attached for treason, for denying the king's supremacy, yet, using the clemency of the king, upon his better reformation and amendment, he made an open and solemn recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the pope's usurped supremacy, and confessing the king to be chief supreme head and governor of this Church of England, all foreign authority and jurisdiction being excluded.

In the year aforesaid, 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth, by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland against Master George Wishart and divers other good men of the same country, about the same year of our Lord 1545, and somewhat before. But, because now we are come to the latter end almost of King Henry's reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few other English stories pertaining to that time ; and, that finished, then set upon those matters of Scotland, joining them whole together. The tractation whereof thou shalt see, good reader, in the latter end and closing up of this king's reign.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, martyrs.

Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546, first passing over the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it

is supposed, not without the consent of the said bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation ; to pass over also one Henry, with his servant, burned at Colchester ; I will now proceed to the story of Kerby, and of Roger Clarke of Mendlesham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A. D. 1546, the Saturday before Gang-Monday, and brought before the Lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes. The night before they were arraigned, a bill was set upon the town-house door, (by whom, it was unknown,) and brought the next day unto the Lord Wentworth ; who answered, that it was good counsel : which bill, in the latter end, shall appear.

In the mean time Kerby and Roger, being in the jailer's house, named John Bird, an honest and a good man, (who had checks divers times at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a keeper,) came in Master Robert Wingfield, son and heir of Humfrey Wingfield, knight, with Master Bruess of Wenham ; who then, having conference with Kerby, (being then in a several chamber separate from the other,) Master Wingfield said to Kerby, " Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extrema, and life is sweet. Better it were betimes to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink ;" with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, " Ah, Master Wingfield ! be at my burning, and you shall say, There standeth a Christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us, than he will give us strength to bear." " Ah, Kerby !" said Master Wingfield, " if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell ; for, I promise thee, I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both the gentlemen, saying that

they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and so departed.

Now first, touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the judgment-seat, the Lord Wentworth with all the rest of the justices there ready, the commissary also, by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, sitting next to the Lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion in all men's eyes, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, while they might say the Lord's Prayer five or six times. That done, their articles were declared unto them with all circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded and inquired of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest, (as Christ spake them to his apostles,) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after?

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last supper, on Maundy Thursday at night, to his disciples, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins; and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine; and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then, with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats besides, (if it would have served,) were these two poor men hardly laid to; but most at the hands of Foster, an inferior justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live; and so continued unto the end.

Then sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the said town on the next Saturday, and Roger to be burned at Bury the Gang-Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the Lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, he said, "Praised be Almighty God;" and so stood still without any more words.

Then did the Lord Wentworth talk secretly, putting his head behind another justice that sat between them. The said Roger, perceiving that, said with a loud voice, "Speak out, my Lord! and if you have done any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy; and we, for our parts, do forgive you: and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before Him that shall judge all men;" with other like words.

The Lord Wentworth, somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, (through remorse, as it was thought,) said, "I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is." Then were Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Roger to St. Edmund's Bury. One of the two, bursting out with a loud voice, (Roger it is supposed,) thus spake with a vehemency: "Fight," said he, "for your God; for he hath not long to continue."

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, wood, broom, and straw, and did off his clothes unto his shirt, having a night-cap upon his head; and so was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery the Lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the gallery by the Lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham, who was before a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice, and a stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the said doctor began to disable himself, as not meet to declare the Holy Scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short; but that he hoped, in God's assistance, it should come well to pass.

All this while Kerby was trimming with irons and faggots, broom and straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Master Doctor, at last, entered into the sixth chapter of St. John, who, in handling that matter, so oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him. But, when he did otherwise, he told him again, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. So when Master Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, "Thou, good man! dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby, answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How dost thou believe?" said the doctor. Kerby said, "I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, on Maundy Thursday, to his disciples, (which ought of us likewise to be done,) is the death and passion, and his blood-shedding for the redemp-

tion of the world, to be remembered : and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread ; for that it is consecrated to a holy use." Then was Master Doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then said the under-sheriff to Kerby, "Hast thou any thing more to say?" "Yea, sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his nightcap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again ; but, remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn *Te Deum*, and the *Belief*, with other prayers in the English tongue. The Lord Wentworth, while Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done : you may execute your office, good Master Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands, so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life ; the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the Gang-Monday, A. D. 1546, about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of Mendlesham was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury, and, by the way, the procession met with them ; but he went on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came, and kneeled down, and said *Magnificat*, in the English tongue, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any others, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. "And what sayest thou, John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all men's children? Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And thus, with a loud voice, he cried unto the people, while he was in fastening unto the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully ; for the wood was green, and would not burn ; so that he was choked with smoke. And, moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And, at length, one standing by took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron

about his neck, so pashed him, and struck him be-like upon the head, that he shrank down on the one side into the fire ; and so was dissolved.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certain bill put upon the Town-house door, and brought the next day to the Lord Wentworth, the words of which bill were these.

The bill set upon the Town-house door in Ipswich.

"Judge rightly, ye sons of men : yet, when ye shall judge, minister your justice with mercy.

"A fearful thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God : be ye learned, therefore, in true knowledge, ye that judge the earth ; lest the Lord be angry with you.

"The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands. What though the veil hanged before Moses' face ; yet at Christ's death it fell down.

"The stones will speak, if these should hold their peace : therefore harden not your hearts against the verity.

"For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but every vat shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your conscience ; fear him that may kill both body and soul.

"Beware of innocent blood-shedding ; take heed of justice ignorantly ministered ; work discreetly as the Scripture doth command : look to it, that ye make not the truth to be forsaken.

"We beseech God to save our king, King Henry the Eighth, that he be not led into temptation. So be it."

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation, by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used throughout all England, according as it was set forth by his said council, and none other to be used throughout the whole realm.

About the latter end of this year, 1545, in the month of November, when the king had subdued the Scots, and afterwards, joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and had got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. In the which was granted unto him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure. Whereupon, in the month of Decembe

following, the king, after the wonted custom, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were there passed; where, after an eloquent oration made to him by the speaker, he, answering again unto the same, not by the lord chancellor, (as the manner was,) but by himself, uttered forth this oration, word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

In the contents of which oration, first, eloquently and lovingly he declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and subventions, offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace, and unity. Whereunto if he had also joined the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, so he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects; that is, had removed the stumbling-block of the six articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbour against neighbour, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ: then, had he not only spoken, but also done, like a worthy prince. But of this, more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The King's oration in the parliament-house.

"Although my chancellor for the time being hath, before this time, used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such orations as have been set forth in this high court of parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner as I myself am, and can do. Wherefore I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Master Speaker! say, that whereas you, in the name of our well-beloved commons, have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a prince or governor should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognise myself both bare and barren.

"But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending, with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable virtues and princely qualities, as you have alleged to be incorporate in my person.

"These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I fittsoons thank you again, because that you, considering our great charges, (not for our pleasure, but for your defence;

not for our gain, but to our great cost,) have lately sustained, as well in defence against your enemies, as for the conquest of the French, which was to this realm most displeasing, noisome, and shall be, by God's grace, to our nation most profitable and pleasant, have of your own mind, granted to us a certain sum of money here in an act specified; which, verily, was a good part, regarding more your kindness than profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your hearts, than by your substance. Besides this kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I see the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having unsounded and unfeigned belief, in my good doings and proceedings; for that you, without my desire, have committed to mine order and disposition all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and places specified in a certain act, firmly trusting I will order them to the glory of God, and to the good of our commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the minister of the church to decay; or learning, which is so precious a jewel, to be diminished; or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved; you might say that I, being in so special a trust as I am in this case, was not a trusty friend to you, nor charitable man, nor even christened, neither a lover of the public good, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account shall be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I perceive, but your expectation shall be served more abundantly and goodly than you will wish or desire, after you shall plainly perceive.

"Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and thank you, affirming that no prince in the world favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor subjects or commons more love and obey their sovereign lord, than I perceive you do me, for where I perceive my treasure shall not be hidden, necessity require, shall my person be unadvisedly. Yet, although I with you, and you with me, have this perfect love and concord, this friendly fellowship cannot continue, except you, my lords temporal, and you, my lords spiritual, and you, my loving subjects, study and take pains to amend our government, which is surely amiss and far out of order, and in which I most heartily require you; which charity and concord is not among you, but dissension and dissension beareth rule in every place. Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth chapter, Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud, and so forth, in the said chapter. I hold then what love and charity is amongst you, when the one calleth the other heretic, and

baptist; and he calleth him again papist, hypocrite, and Pharisee. Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these the signs of fraternal love between you? No, no, I assure that this lack of charity amongst yourselves will be the hinderance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of the spirituality. For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily, that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, others be too busy and curious in their new *sumpsimus*.

"Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them, in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's word, both by true preaching and good example-giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant, and an untrue officer.

"Although (as I say) the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporality be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail on bishops, speak slanderously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both contrary to good order and Christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God, the authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours; and be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly err. And although you be permitted to read Holy Scripture, and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own conscience, and to instruct your children and family; and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting-stock against priests and

preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung, and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet I am even as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it, in doing, so faintly and coldly. For of this I am sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor was God himself amongst Christians ever less revered, honoured, or served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like brother and brother: love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you): and then, I doubt not but that that love and league which I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken between us. And as touching the laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you, the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same; or else your labour shall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved."

Notes upon the aforesaid exhortation.

Princes who exhort to concord and charity do well; but princes who seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The papist and protestant, heretic and Pharisee, the old *mumpsimus* and the new *sumpsimus*, be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, symptoms of a sore wound in the commonwealth. But he that will amend this wound must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof: otherwise, to cure the sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth hence: from the prelates and clergy of Rome, seeking, as it seemeth, altogether after riches, pomp, and honour of this world; who, to maintain the same under pretence of religion, do in very deed subvert religion. Under that title of the church, they bring into the church manifest errors and absurdities intolerable, who, pretending to be fathers of the church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of life, or negligence of government, they might be borne withal, for peace and concord's sake; and here modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity, might have place amongst modest natures. But now, they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no case ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the gospel; they clog men's consciences; they set up idolatry, and main-

tain idols; they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredom in the church unspeakable; they corrupt the sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute God's people: briefly, their doctrine is damnable, their laws be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet, after all this, they creep craftily into the hearts of princes, under the title of the church, and colour of concord; making kings and princes believe that all be heretics and schismatics, who will not be subject to their ordinary power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his people to understand his truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon, of these two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which can in no wise be quenched, but that one part must needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two contrary doctrines, but either the pope's errors must give place to God's word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

Wherefore, as the good intent, and plausible oration of the king, in this behalf, was to be not discommended, in exhorting his subjects to charity, so had he much more deserved commendation, if he had sought the right way to work charity, and to help innocency amongst his subjects, by taking away the impious law of the six articles, the mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words ever so much to charity, and indeed to give a knife to the murderer's hand, to run upon his naked brother, which never in conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? as by experience here followeth to be seen, what charity ensued after this exhortation of the king to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Askew, with three other poor subjects of the king, within half a year after; whereof shortly you shall hear more declared.

When these chantries and colleges thus, by act of parliament, were given into the king's hands as is above remembered, (which was about the month of December, A. D. 1545,) the next Lent following, Dr. Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, inferred this (grounding upon the said act of parliament): that if trentals and chantry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which

served principally to that purpose. But, if parliament did well (as no man could deny) in giving them, and bestowing the same upon the then it is a plain case, that such chantries and private masses do nothing to confer and relieve in purgatory. This dilemma of Dr. Crome, was insoluble. But, notwithstanding, the prelates, for all the king's late exhortations to charity, were so charitable unto him, that at next they brought him *coram nobis*, where they handled him, that they made him to recant, if he had not, they would have dissolved his argument in burning fire, so burning their charity, according as they burned Anne and her fellows in the month of July the following: whose tragical story and cruel manner, now, consequently, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

The two examinations of the worthy and pious God, Mistress Anne Askew, daughter of William Askew, knight, of Lincolnshire, martyred in Smithfield for the constant and faithful testimony of the truth.

The first examination before the inquisition.
A. D. 1545.

"To satisfy your expectation, good people (she,) "this was my first examination, in the month of March, A. D. 1545, and in the month of March.

"First, Christopher Dare examined me in the king's Hall, being one of the quest, and asked me if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging on the altar was the very body of Christ really. I answered, I did not believe that. Wherefore he demanded this question of him, Wherefore didst thou stone Stephen to death? and he said, he could not tell. Then I answered that no more would I answer his vain question.

"Secondly, he said, that there was a woman who did testify that I should read, how God was worshipped in temples made with hands. Then I showed him chapters vii. and xvii. of the Acts of the Apostles, what Stephen and Paul had said therein. When he asked me how I took those sentences, I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.

"Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I would rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five masses in the temple. I confessed that I would, no less; not for the dispraise of either of the Bible or the Gospel, but because the one did greatly comfort me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul witnesseth in 1 Cor. xiv., where he saith, If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?

"Fourthly, he laid unto my charge, that I did

say, If an ill priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God.

"My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying: that whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received, nevertheless, the body and blood of Christ.

"Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning confession. I answered him my meaning, which was, as St. James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other.

"Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the king's book: and I answered him that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

"Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me. I answered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or castaway.

"Then he said, he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was there at hand. The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a papist.

"Eighthly, he asked me, if I did not think that private masses did help the souls departed. I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

"Then they had me thence unto my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things, as I answered the quest before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or no? This question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer, but smiled.

"Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St. Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God. I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is, in 1 Cor. xiv., that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching: and then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

"Then my lord mayor commanded me to ward. I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none. Then was I had to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me.

But, in the mean time, there was a priest sent unto me, who said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But, first, he asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter; and I told him, I could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded, that he was very sorry for me.

"Secondly, he said, it was told him that I should deny the sacrament of the altar. And I answered him again, that what I had said, I had said.

"Thirdly, he asked me, if I were content to be shriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, 'I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach.' Then I answered with the saying of Solomon, By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scathe, Prov. i. 5.

"Fourthly, he asked, If the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? I answered, 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to assoil it yourself: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that he who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

"Fifthly he asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, that else I were no Christian woman; and thereat I did rejoice, that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

"The 23d day of March, my cousin Brittainne came into the Compter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my lord mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My Lord answered him and said, that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay; howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a spiritual officer: requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For, he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

"So, upon that, he went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my lord mayor. He answered him, that the matter was so heino'

that he durst not of himself do it, without my Lord of London were made privy thereunto. But, he said, he would speak unto my Lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next morrow, and he should well know my Lord's pleasure. And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor and with my Lord bishop of London. The bishop declared unto him, that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication; and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the clock at afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the examination such learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report, that I was handled with no rigour. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then said the bishop, 'Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Dr. Crome, Sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she doth know them to be learned and of a godly judgment.' Also he required my cousin Brittainne, that he should earnestly persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but, if I said any manner of thing amiss, he, with others more, would be glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

"On the morrow after, the bishop of London sent for me at one of the clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also, in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, 'Forasmuch as your Lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come.' Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men who were aforementioned and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not need, because the two gentlemen which were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say.

"Anon after he went into his gallery with Master Spilman, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?' To whom I answered again and said, 'Sir,

ask, I pray you, my accusers; for I know yet.' Then took he my book out of my hand, and said, 'Such books as this have brought you much trouble that you are in. Beware,' said he, 'for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic, I warrant you, and he was burnt at Smithfield.' And then I asked him, if he was certain and sure that it was true which he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the manner of John Frith's making. Then I asked him, if he were not ashamed to judge of the book which he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. He said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment was not apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened my book and showed it him. He said he had never seen another, for he could find no fault in it. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvised and rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth: and so he departed from me.

"Immediately after came my cousin Brittainne with divers others, as Master Hall of Gray's Inn, and such other like. Then my Lord of London persuaded my cousin Brittainne, as he had done before, which was, that I should utter the secrets of my heart in any wise. My Lord said unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-willers in my behalf, which was, that I should utter all that burdened my conscience; for he assured me that I should not need to stand in doubt of anything. For, like as he promised them, so he promised me, and would perform it; whereas he said that neither he, nor any man for him, should put me at advantage for any word that I should utter, and therefore he bade me say my mind without any fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

"Then brought he forth this unsavoury tale of the wound; that if a man had a wound, no wise man would administer help unto it before he had it fully uncovered. 'In like case,' saith he, 'can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewithal your conscience is burdened.' I answered, that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster upon the whole skin, it might appear much the more filthy.

"Then you drive me,' saith he, 'to lay the burden of your charge upon your own report, which is this: you say that he that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God.' To that I answered, 'I never spake such words: but, as I said before, both to the lord mayor and to my lord mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than

body and blood of Christ.' Then said the bishop unto me, 'What saying is this, in spirit? I will not take you at that advantage.' Then I answered, 'My Lord, without faith and spirit I cannot receive him worthily.'

"Then he laid unto me, that I should say, that the sacrament remaining in the pix, was but bread. I answered that I never said so; but indeed the quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, (I said,) till such a time as they had assoiled me this question of mine, Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

"Then said my Lord unto me, that I had alleged a certain text of the Scripture. I answered that I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' Then asked he me, what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him, 'I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.'

"Then inquired he of me, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is in the body of Christ?' 'I believe,' said I, 'as the Scripture doth teach me.' Then asked he again, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is not the body of Christ?' My answer was still, 'I believe as the Scripture informeth me.' And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind: howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believed therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his holy apostles did leave them.

"Then he asked me, why I had so few words? And I answered, 'God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, That a woman of few words is the gift of God,' Prov. ix. 13.

"Thirdly, my Lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, 'No, I said not so. Howbeit I say the quest did ask me whether private mass did relieve souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, 'O Lord! what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God?' Then said my Lord again, 'What an answer is that!' 'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet it is good enough for the question.'

"Then I told my Lord, that there was a priest which did hear what I said there before my lord mayor and them. With that the chancellor answered, 'Who was the same priest?' 'So she spake it

in very deed,' saith he, 'before my lord mayor and me.'

"Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus: 'That I said to my Lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my Lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same text of St. Paul's learning, that I, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures; especially where so many wise learned men were.

"Then my Lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

"Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth; which my Lord would not. But he said again unto me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.' That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it.

"Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore priests at Lincoln. 'Indeed,' quoth I, 'I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.'

"Then my Lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him, yes; that there was one of them at last, which did speak to me indeed. And my Lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my Lord, 'There are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter.' I said again, 'My Lord! I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my Lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance: but what it was, I have not all in my memory; for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it:

"'Be it known,' saith he, 'of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and be-

lief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also, I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name.'

"There was somewhat more in it, which, because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked if I did agree to it. And I said again, 'I believe so much thereof, as the Holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that ye will add that thereunto.' Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great chamber and read the same bill before the audience, who inveigled and willed me to set to my hand; saying also, that I had favour showed me. Then said the bishop, I might thank other, and not myself, for the favour that I found at his hand; for he considered, he said, that I had good friends, and also that I came of a worshipful stock.

"Then answered one Christopher, a servant unto Master Denny: 'Rather ought you, my Lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's.' Then my Lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.'"

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the writing of Bonner, which this godly woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of Bonner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the registrar, and also with her own subscription: to the intent the reader, seeing the same subscription neither to agree with the time of the title above prefixed, nor with the subscription after the writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such bishops, and to such registrars. The tenor of Bonner's writing proceedeth thus:

"The true copy of the confession and belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the bishop of London, the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the

computation of the Church of England, 1545; and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said bishop and others whose names hereafter are recited, set forth and published at this present: to the intent the world may see what credence is now to be given unto the same woman, who, in so short a time, hath so damnablely altered and changed her opinion and belief; and therefore was rightly, in open court, arraigned and condemned."

"Be it known to all faithful people, that, as touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, according to the common usage of this Church of England, there is present really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also, whensoever the said sacrament is received, whether the receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe that, whether the said sacrament be then received of the minister, or else reserved to be put into the pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very body and blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the minister, or the receiver, be good or bad, yea, whether the sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed body of Christ really.

"And this thing, with all other things touching the sacrament and other sacraments of the church, and all things else touching the Christian belief, which are taught and declared in the king's Majesty's book, lately set forth for the erudition of the Christian people, I, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truly and perfectly believe; and so here presently confess and acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say or do any thing against the premises, or against any of them. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name unto these presents.

"Written the 20th day of March, in the year of our Lord God 1545.

"By me, ANNE ASKEW,
otherwise called ANNE KYME."

"Witnesses: Edmund, bishop of London; John, bishop of Bath; Owen Oglethorp, doctor of divinity; Richard Smith, doctor of divinity; John Rudde, bachelor of divinity; William Pie, bachelor of divinity; John Wimsley, archdeacon of London; John Cook; Robert John; Francis Spilman; Edward Hall; Alexander Brett; Edmund Buts, with divers others more being then present."

Here mayest thou note, gentle reader, in this confession, both in the bishop and his register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the confession purporteth the words of the bishop's writing, whereunto she did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, mayest thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was registered; and also, that she is falsely reported to have put to her hand, which indeed, by this her own book, appeareth not so to be, but after this manner and condition: "I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church, and not otherwise." It followeth more in the story:

"Then, because I did add unto it 'the catholic church,' he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Brittainne followed, desiring him, for God's sake, to be good lord unto me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Brittainne desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his Lordship's great wisdom.

"Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, that the cause why I did write there 'the catholic church,' was, that I understood not the church written afore. So, with much ado, they persuaded my Lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Brittainne, and Master Spilman of Gray's Inn.

"This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law: howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the next morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow, in Paul's church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman, at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge! Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance for my forth-coming: and thus I was at the last delivered.

"Written by me, ANNE ASKEW."

The latter apprehension and examination of the worthy martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A. D. 1546.

"I do perceive, dear friend in the Lord, that thou art not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth

concerning the Lord's supper, because Christ said unto his apostles, Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.

"In giving forth the bread as an outward sign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that body of his which should die for the people, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and the wine were left us for a sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and blood-shedding, and that we should, in the end thereof, be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For, in the closing up thereof he said thus, This do ye in remembrance of me: yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it. Else should we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it. Therefore it is meet that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this communion. For St. Paul saith, The letter slayeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life. Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied unto faith: note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end thereof ye shall find, that The things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting. Yea, look in Hebrews iii., and ye shall find that Christ as a son (and no servant) ruleth over his house, whose house are we, and not the dead temple, if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of that hope to the end. Wherefore, as said the Holy Ghost, To-day if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts, &c."

The sum of my examination before the king's council at Greenwich.

"Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: I, being before the council, was asked of Master Kyme. I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said, it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women, much more his Grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So, in con-

elusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits, also, of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said, I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, 'for if I show the open truth,' quoth I, 'ye will not accept it.' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

"Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my Lady Garnish.

"The next day I was brought again before the council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the sacrament. I answered, that I already had said what I could say. Then, after divers words, they bade me go by. Then came my Lord Lisle, my Lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my Lord Parre and my Lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto, in few words, they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

"Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, 'So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ.' Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why. I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.

"Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said, in the Scripture. Then he went his way. Then the bishop said I should be burned. I answered, that I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. 'Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings to scorn.' Then was I commanded to stand aside. Then came to me Dr. Cox,

and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree.

"Then they made me a bill of the sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto; but I would not. Then, on the Sunday, I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die: therefore I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!"

The confession of me, Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief.

"I find in the Scripture, that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you; meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being thereof an only sign or sacrament. For, after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own body by the temple, as St. John declareth it, and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of Christian love; although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof: for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof, I perceive the same veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the Bible, that, God dwelleth in nothing material. O king, saith Daniel, be not deceived; for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men. Oh! what stiff-necked people are these, that will always resist the Holy Ghost. But, as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.

"Written by me, Anne Askew, that neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven."

"Truth is laid in prison. The law is turned to wormwood. And there can no right judgment go forth.

"Oh! forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously. As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them; for it is thou, Lord, that art our God. Thou showest ever mercy unto the fatherless.

"Oh! if they would do this, saith the Lord, I should heal their sores, yea, with all my heart would I love them.

"O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols any more? Whoso is wise, shall understand this; and and he that is rightly instructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly, will walk in them; and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them.

"Solomon, saith St. Stephen, builded a house for the God of Jacob. Howbeit, the Highest of all dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet, Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Hath not my hand made all things?

"Woman, believe me, saith Christ to the Samaritan, the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye wot not what; but we know what we worship: for salvation cometh of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and verity.

"Labour not, saith Christ, for the meat that perisheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of man shall give you: for him hath God the Father sealed."

The sum of the condemnation of me, Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.

"They said to me there, that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion. I answered, that I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But, as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not, I said, deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know, if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, 'Yea: for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up. And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof, (mark it when you list,) let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.'

"After that, they willed me to have a priest; and then I smiled. Then they asked me, if it were not good; I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear with favour. And so we were condemned by a quest."

"My belief which I wrote to the council was this: That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our soul's recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion.

"Then would they needs know, whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said, 'God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.' Then they demanded, 'Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?' I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the history of Bel, Dan. xix., Acts vii. and xvii., and Matt. xxiv., concluding thus: 'I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.'"

My letter sent to the lord chancellor.

"The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

"My duty to your Lordship remembered, &c.: It might please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one who, upon due consideration, is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your Lordship, is only that it may please the same to be a mean for me to the king's Majesty, that his Grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the same, I think his Grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your Lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all saints, Amen.

"By your handmaid, ANNE ASKEW."

My faith briefly written to the king's Grace.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your Grace, that, forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency: and, according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe also so much as he willed me to follow and believe, and so much as the catholic church of him doth teach: for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

"ANNE ASKEW."

*The cruel handling and racking of Anne Askew
after her condemnation.*

"The effect of my examination and handling since my departure from Newgate.

"On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Master Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God: but I did not esteem their glosing pretences.

"Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

"Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

"Then came Rich and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience, to show unto them, if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none. Then they asked me of my Lady of Suffolk, my Lady of Sussex, my Lady of Hertford, my Lady Denny, and my Lady Fitzwilliam. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, that the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, that the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as dissembled with in other matters.

"Then commanded they me to show how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me: and as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they, by her, did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

"Then they said that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money: but I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, that there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my Lady of Hertford sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my Lady Denny sent it me: whether it were true or no, I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said, there were of the council that did maintain me: and I said, No.

"Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my lord

chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh dead.

"Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank his everlasting goodness) gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

"Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job; I thank my Lord God there-for. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing: if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die, than break my faith.

"Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!"

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower thus it was; first she was let down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his jailor to pinch her with the rack. Which being done as much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again: which because he denied to do, tendering the weakness of the woman, he was threatened therefore grievously of the said Wriothesley, saying, that he would signify his disobedience unto the king. And so consequently upon the same, he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves; first asking her, if she were with child. To whom she answering again, said, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me." And so, quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, Wriothesley and his fellow took their horse towards the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, aftsoons taking boat, sped him to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and so did; who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mistress Askew, and how he was threatened by the lord chancellor, be-

cause, at his commandment, not knowing his Highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he, for compassion, could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly craved his Highness's pardon. Which when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his return; whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God there-for.

Anne Askew's answer unto John Lancel's letter.

"O friend, most dearly beloved in God! I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe of me such wickedness: for I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's Majesty should have information thereof; wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well! their cruelty God forgive them.

"Your heart in Christ Jesu. Farewell and pray."

The purgation or answer of Anne Askew, against the false surmises of her recantation.

"I have read the process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant a thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this: that I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matter, they said.

"Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true catholic church.' Then the bishop, being in great displeasure with me because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was awhile; but afterwards, by means of friends, I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concern-

ing the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to John vi., and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well, quoth Anne Askew."

The confession of faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate, before she suffered.

"I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly Majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity. For I take him to witness, that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

"But this is the heresy which they report me to hold: that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after those words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I, nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would I should believe.

"Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps.

"There be some do say, that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people

do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world: for my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death."

*A prayer of
Anne Askew.*

"O Lord! I have more enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord, in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them that are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done, unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it!

By me,
ANNE ASKEW."

Hitherto we have treated of this good woman: now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end

and martyrdom. After that she (being born of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ) now had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret, the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought unto the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain, that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Dr. Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew, hearing and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, "There," said she, "he misseeth, and speaketh without the book."

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there tied at three several stakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceeding; the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's church sat Wriothesley, chancellor of England; the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers others. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench, hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being alarmed lest the faggots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the earl of Bedford, declaring unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots, but only about their bodies, to rid them out of their pain, which having vent, there was no danger to them of the faggots, so diminished that fear.

Then Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the others, who, in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, denied not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put unto them, cried with a loud voice, *Fiat justitia*.

And thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, being troubled so many manner of ways, and having passed through so many torments, having now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord A. D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

The martyrdom of John Lacels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian.

There was, at the same time, also burned together with her, one Nicholas Belenian, priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, gentleman of the court and household of King Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew: for, albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they, being the more boldened, received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of death; who, beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, did set apart all kind of fear.

Thus they, confirming one another with mutual exhortations, tarried looking for the tormentor and fire, which at the last, flaming round about them, consumed their blessed bodies in happy martyrdom, in the year of our salvation 1546, about the month of June.

There is also a certain letter extant, which the said John Lacels briefly wrote, being in prison, touching the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; wherein he doth both confute the error of them, who, being not contented with the spiritual receiving of the sacrament, will leave no substance of bread therein, and, also, confuteth the sinister interpretation of many thereupon: the tenor of which letter is as hereunder followeth.

The copy of the letter of John Lacels, written out of prison.

"St. Paul, because of sects and dissension among the Corinthians, wrote this Epistle unto them; and, in like case pertaining to my conscience, I do protest my whole heart in the blessed supper of the Lord; wherein I trust in God to bring nothing for me, but I shall be able, with God's holy word, to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of St. Paul, in the said Epistle, chap. xi., That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body, which is broken for you.

"Here, me seemeth, St. Paul durst not take upon him his Lord and Master's authority. Wherefore, as at God's hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate body and blood of Christ is the quietness of all men's consciences, the only remedy of our sins, and the redemption of mankind, which is called in the Scripture the daily offering: so the

mass, which is the invention of man, (whose author is the pope of Rome, as it doth appear in Polydore Virgil and many others,) is the unquietness of all Christendom, a blasphemy unto Christ's blood, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abominable desolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. St. Paul was, belike, to learn of the Romans' church, the manner of the consecration, as they call it, with the breathing over the host, and other ceremonies besides, that he durst not take upon him to say, *Hoc est corpus meum*. But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jesus that made the supper; who also did finish it, and made an end of the only act of our salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in heaven; as he declareth himself, that he will drink no more of this bitter cup, till he drink it new in his Father's kingdom, where all bitterness shall be taken away.

"Now, if any man be able to finish the act of our Saviour, in breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood here, and also to finish it with the Father in heaven, then let him say it. But I think that if men will look upon St. Paul's words well, they shall be forced to say, as St. Paul saith, The Lord Jesus said it; and once for all, which only was the fulfiller of it. For these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*, were spoken of his natural presence, (which no man is able to deny,) because the act was finished on the cross, as the story doth plainly manifest it to them that have eyes. Now this bloody sacrifice is made an end of; the supper is finished, forasmuch as Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the flesh, and hath entered in by his own blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.

"Here now followeth the administration of the supper of the Lord, which I will take at Christ's hands after the resurrection, although other men will not be ashamed to bring the wicked counsels of foolish inventions for them. And it came to pass, as Christ sat at meat with them, he took bread, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them; and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vanished out of their sight. And the apostles did know him in breaking of bread.

"Here, also, it seemeth to me the apostles to follow their Master Christ, and to take the right use of the sacrament, and also to teach it to those that were converted to Christ, as mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, They continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and prayer; and they continued daily with one accord in the temple, and brake bread in every house, and did eat there with gladness and single-

ness of heart, praising God; and had favour with all the people. And St. Paul, following the same doctrine, doth plainly show the duty of the minister, and also of them that shall receive it: As oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death until he come. Here I do gather, that the minister hath no further power and authority than to preach and pronounce the Lord's death, or else to say, the Lord Jesus said it, which did fulfil it on the cross.

"Furthermore, I do stedfastly believe, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinance of Christ, the blessed and immaculate Lamb is present to the eyes of our faith, and so we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, which is, to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the forefathers, that were before Christ's coming, did presently see the Lord's death, and did eat his body, and drink his blood.

"In this I do differ from the pope's church, that the priests have authority to make Christ's natural presence in the bread, for so doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; as the example is manifest in Judas, who at Christ's hands received the same wine and bread as the other apostles did. But the pope and his adherents are even they whom Daniel speaketh of, saying, He shall set men to unhallow the sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to set up the abominable desolation. Yea, he, of Rome, shall speak marvellous things against the God of heaven, and God of all gods, wherein he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is devised already. He shall not regard the God of heaven, nor the God of his fathers, yea, in his place shall he worship the mighty idol, and the god whom his fathers knew not, which is the god Maozim.

"For lack of time, I leave the commemoration of the blessed supper of the Lord, and the abominable idol the mass, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the god Maozim. Read the second and last chapters of Daniel, and 2 Thess. ii., where they recite the abomination of desolation, which Matthew saith, standeth in the holy place, that is, in the consciences of men. Mark saith, where it ought not to stand, which is a plain denial of all the inventions of men. Further, Luke saith, the time is at hand. Paul saith, the mystery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and shall continue till the appearance of Christ, which in my judgment is at hand.

Now for the supper of the Lord, I do protest to take it as reverently as Christ left it, and as his apostles did use it, according to the testimonies of the prophets, the apostles, and our blessed Saviour

Christ, which accordingly St. Paul to the Ephesians doth recite.

"Now, with quietness, I commit the whole world to their pastor and herdsman Jesus Christ, the only Saviour and true Messias, and I commend my sovereign lord and master the king's Majesty, King Henry the Eighth, to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ: the queen, and my lord the prince, with this whole realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his blood may wash and purify their hearts and souls from all iniquity and sin, to God's glory, and to the salvation of their souls. I do protest, that the inward part of my heart doth groan for this; and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewell in Christ Jesu.

"John Lacels, late servant to the king, and now I trust to serve the everlasting King, with the testimony of my blood in Smithfield."

One Rogers, a martyr, burned in Norfolk.

Like as Winchester and other bishops did set on King Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich, did incite no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers in the county of Norfolk; who, much about the same year and time, was there condemned and suffered martyrdom for the six articles. After which time it was not long, but within a half year, both the king himself and the duke's house decayed: albeit, the duke's house, by God's grace, recovered again afterwards, and he himself converted to more moderation in this kind of dealing.

The story of Queen Katharine Parr, late queen, and wife to King Henry the Eighth: wherein appeareth in what danger she was for the gospel, by means of Stephen Gardiner and others of his conspiracy; and how graciously she was preserved by her kind and loving husband the king.

After these stormy stories above recited, the course and order as well of the time as the matter of the story doth require now somewhat to treat, likewise, touching the troubles and afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady, Queen Katharine Parr, the last wife to King Henry: the story whereof is this.

About the same time above noted, which was about the year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that Queen Katharine Parr, at that time his wife, was very much given to the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, and that

she, for that purpose, had retained divers well learned and godly persons to instruct her thoroughly in the same; with whom as, at all times convenient, she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters, so also of ordinary; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her said chaplains, in her privy chamber, made some collation to her and to her ladies and gentlewomen of her privy chamber, or others that were disposed to hear; in which sermons they oftentimes touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. As these things were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown to the king; whereof, at first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like. Which made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the gospel, and the professors thereof) frankly to debate with the king touching religion, and therein flatly to discover herself; oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

And albeit the king grew, towards his latter end, very stern and opinionate, so that of few he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithstanding, towards her he refrained his accustomed manner, (unto others in like case used,) as appeared by great respects, either for the reverence of the cause, whereunto of himself he seemed well inclined, if some others could have ceased from seeking to pervert him, or else, for the singular affection which, until a very small time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid sought with more careful diligence to please her mistress, than she did, with all painful endeavour, apply herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour.

Moreover, besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted: and so enjoyed she the king's favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at that time, had not the malicious practice of certain enemies professed against the truth, (which at that time also were very great,) prevented the same, to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and certain others with her, if God had not marvellously succoured her in that distress. The

conspirers and practisers of her death were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, Wriothesley, then lord chancellor, and others, as well of the king's privy chamber, as of his privy council. These, seeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose) to revive, stir up, and kindle, evil and pernicious humours in their prince and sovereign lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then she stood in with the king, (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their anti-christian sect, if it should continue,) and thereby to stop the passage of the gospel; and consequently, (having taken away her, who was the only patroness of the professors of the truth,) openly, without fear of check or controlment, with fire and sword, after their accustomed manner, to invade the small remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock—made their wicked entry unto this their mischievous enterprise, after this manner following.

The king's Majesty, as you have heard, disliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although not in smaller matters, yet in causes of religion, as occasion served, the queen would not stick, in reverent terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary; the which the king was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her hands he took all in good part, or, at least, did never show countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appal her adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the king's favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips unto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not only of hearing private sermons, (as is said,) but also of her free conference with the king in matters of religion, without all peril; until, at the last, by reason of his sore leg, (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase,) he waxed sickly, and therewithal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

In the time of this his sickness, he had left his accustomed manner of coming, and visiting the queen: and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, at other times of herself, would come to visit him, either after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose: at which times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the king's

accustomed patience, so that he began to show some tokens of misliking: and, contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen, to whom, notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she, for that time, took her leave of his Majesty; who, after his manner, bidding her "Farewell, sweet heart!" (for that was his usual term to the queen,) licensed her to depart.

At this visitation chanced the bishop of Winchester aforementioned to be present, as also at the queen's taking her leave, (who very well had printed in his memory the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her tale, and falling into other matter,) and thought, that if the iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the king's humour were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the queen, as might both overthrow her, and all her endeavours; and only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former disliked argument. His expectation in that behalf did nothing fail him; for the king at that time showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: "A good hearing," quoth he, "it is, when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife."

The bishop, hearing this, seemed to dislike that the queen should so much forget herself as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his Majesty, whom he, to his face, extolled for his rare virtues, and especially, for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above not only princes of that and other ages, but also above doctors professed in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his Majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him, for his part, and other of his Majesty's councillors and servants, to hear the same; and that they all, by proof, knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters: inferring, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects' hands; who, as they take boldness to contrary their sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength, to overthrow them in deeds.

Besides this, that the religion by the queen so stiffly maintained, did not only disallow and dissolve

the policy and politic government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they bear unto her for his Majesty's sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had, with indifferent justice, by law deserved death.

Howbeit, for his part, he would not, nor durst he, without good warrant from his Majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his Majesty, and the zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might, through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the prince's safety, without his Majesty would take upon him to be their protector, and as it were their buckler: which, if he would do, (as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse,) he, with others of his faithful councillors, could, within short time, disclose such treasons cloaked with this cloak of heresy, that his Majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it is, to cherish a serpent within his own bosom: howbeit, he would not, for his part, willingly deal in the matter, both for reverent respect aforesaid, and, also, for fear lest the faction was grown already too great, there, with the prince's safety, to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

These, and such other kinds of Winchester's flattering phrases, marvellously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate; for the assurance whereof, princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing. Thus then Winchester, with his flattering words, seeking to frame the king's disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the king at that time, and, with doubtful fears he, with other his fellows, so filled the king's mistrustful mind, that before they departed the place, the king (to see, belike, what they would do) had given commandment, with warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king, by their persuasions, pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigour or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this commission

they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put their pernicious practice to as mischievous an execution.

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies and mischievous practices, as well to suborn accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what books, by law forbidden, she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass, because they would not upon the sudden, but by means, deal with her, they thought it best, at first, to begin with some of those ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her blood; the chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and privy to all her doings, were these: the Lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the Lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin german; the Lady Tyrwit, of her privy chamber, and, for her virtuous disposition, in very great favour and credit with her.

It was devised that these three above named should, first of all, have been accused and brought to answer unto the six articles; and, upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have been found whereby the queen might be charged; which, being found, the queen herself, presently, should have been taken, and likewise, by barge, carried by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the king, by those aforesaid, was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesley, and his consent thereunto demanded; who, (belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume,) like a wise politic prince, was contented dissemblingly to give his consent, and to allow of every circumstance; knowing, notwithstanding, in the end what he would do. And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid, were appointed; which device yet after was changed.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his chamber or privy gallery; and few of his council, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him; these only except, who, by reason of this practice, used, oftener than ordinary, to repair unto him. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew, nor suspected, any thing at all, and therefore used, after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, still to deal with him touching religion, as before she did.

The king, all this while, gave her leave to utter her mind at the full, without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or misliking (ye must conceive) to have her speedy despatch, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the uttermost of Winchester's fetches. Thus, after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him, (the time and day of Winchester's final date approaching fast upon,) it chanced that the king, of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in misliking her religion, brake the whole practice unto one of his physicians, either Dr. Wendy, or else Owen, but rather Wendy, as is supposed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any longer to be troubled with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the parties above named, with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows; so closely was the matter conveyed. But, see what the Lord God (who from his eternal throne of wisdom seeth and despatcheth all the inventions of Abithophel, and comprehendeth the wily, beguily, themselves) did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

For, as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand, (although dissemblingly, you must understand,) falling from the bosom of one of the aforesaid councillors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the queen; who, reading there articles comprised against her, and perceiving the king's own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see, as certain of her ladies and gentlewomen, being yet alive, who were then present about her, can testify.

The king, hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians unto her; who, travailing about her, and seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy, who knew the cause better than the others, and perceiving, by her words, what the matter was, according to that the king before had told him, for the comforting of

her heavy mind, began to break with her in manner, touching the said articles devised against her, which he himself (he said) knew right to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, ever he were known to utter the same to any creature. Nevertheless, partly for the sake of his life, and partly for the discharge of his conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give vent to that mischief that hanged over her, beseeching her most instantly to use all security on his behalf, and exhorting her somewhat to conform herself unto the king's mind, saying, not doubt but, if she would so do, and make a humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

It was not long after this, but the king, of the dangerous state wherein she yet stilled, came unto her himself; unto whom, as she had uttered her grief, fearing lest his anger (she said) had taken displeasure with her, utterly forsaken her, he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words so refreshed and eased her careful mind, that she, upon the same, was somewhat to recover; and so the king, after he tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering with herself the words that Master Wendy had said to her, devised how, by some good opportunity, to repair to the king's presence. And so, commanding her ladies to convey away their baggage which were against the law, the next night, after supper, she (waited upon only by Lady Herbert her sister, and the Lady Leighton carried the candle before her) went unto the bed-chamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber; whom the king did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and, breaking off the talk which before coming, he had with the gentlemen aforesaid, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeing that it were desirous to be resolved by the queen of certain doubts which he propounded.

The queen, perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what to behave herself towards the king, with such answers resolved his questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly, and with respectful countenance, answering again after this manner.

"Your Majesty," quoth she, "doth rightly know, neither I myself am ignorant, what great perfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject unto man as our head; and

which head all our direction ought to proceed: and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so, also, made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that, by his wisdom, such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

"Since, therefore, that God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your Majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your Majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your Majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here in earth, next under God, to lean unto."

"Not so, by St. Mary," quoth the king; "if you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, (as we take it,) and not to be instructed or directed by us."

"If your Majesty take it so," quoth the queen, "then hath your Majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous, for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband; but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And whereas I have, with your Majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your Majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your Majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your Majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your Majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby: wherein, I assure your Majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself, in all such matters, unto your Majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do."

"And is it even so, sweet heart!" quoth the king, "and tended your arguments to no worse end? Then, perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he add-

ed this, saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort, more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen and lords, and the gentlemen standing by, in the end (being very far in the night) he gave her leave to depart: whom, in her absence, to the standers-by, he gave as singular and as affectuous commendations, as beforetime, to the bishop and the chancellor, (who then were neither of them present,) he seemed to dislike of her.

Now then, God be thanked! the king's mind was clean altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who, nothing understanding of the king's well-reformed mind and good disposition toward the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day's labour, which was the day determined to have carried the queen to the Tower.

The day and almost the hour appointed being come, the king, being disposed in the afternoon to take the air, (waited upon with two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber,) went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named alone waiting upon her; with whom the king, at that time, disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: when suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in cometh the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid, whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower. Whom then the king sternly beholding, breaking off with his mirth with the queen, stepping a little aside, called the chancellor unto him; who, upon his knees, spake certain words unto the king, but what they were, (for that they were softly spoken, and the king a pretty good distance from the queen,) it is not well known, but it is most certain that the king's replying unto him, was "Knave!" for his answer; yea, "arrant knave! beast! and fool!" And with that the king commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. Which words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen did easily, with her ladies aforesaid, overhear them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause

as he came, with all his train; the whole mould of all his device being utterly broken.

The king, after his departure, immediately returned to the queen; whom she, perceiving to be very much chafed, (albeit, coming towards her, he enforced himself to put on a merry countenance,) with as sweet words as she could utter, she endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with request unto his Majesty in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended; saying, for his excuse, "that albeit she knew not what just cause his Majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error," and so besought his Majesty, (if the cause were not very heinous,) at her humble suit, to take it.

the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake.

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and of such-like bloody adversaries practising thus against the queen, and proceedings of God's gospel, (as ye have heard,) putteth me in remembrance of another like story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before; but much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen: which story, likewise, I thought here, as in convenient place, to be adjoined and notified, to be known to all posterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and storied by him who heard it of the archbishop Cranmer's own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

A discourse touching a certain policy used by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry the Eighth from redressing of certain abuses of ceremonies in the church; being ambassador beyond the seas: also the communication of King Henry the Eighth, had with the ambassador of France at Hampton Court, concerning the reformation of religion, as well in France as in England, A. D. 1546, in the month of August.



It chanced in the time of King Henry the Eighth, when his Highness did lastly (not many years before his death) conclude a league between the emperor, the French

king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent in embassy beyond the seas for that purpose; in whose absence the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion, not yet fully restored unto perfection. For, like as the said archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so was that other bishop a contrary instrument, continually spurning against the same, in whatsoever coast of the world he remained. For, even now, he, being beyond the seas, in the temporal affairs of the realm, forgot not, but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder, as well the good diligence of the said archbishop, as the godly disposition of the king's Majesty in that behalf, which thus chanced:

Whilst the said bishop of Winchester was now remaining beyond the seas about the affairs aforesaid, the king's Majesty and the said archbishop having conference together for the reformation of some superstitious enormities in the church, amongst other things the king determined forthwith to pull down the roods in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallow-night, with a few such-like vain ceremonies; and therefore, when the said archbishop took his leave of the king to go into Kent, his diocese, his Highness willed him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised: "By me," quoth the king, "to be signed; the one to be directed unto you, my Lord, and the

other unto the archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both, to send forth your precepts unto all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies reformed undelayedly, that we have communed of."

So upon this, the king's pleasure known, when the archbishop of Canterbury was then come into Kent, he caused his secretary to conceive and write these letters according to the king's mind; and, being made in a readiness, sent them to the court to Sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny had moved the king thereunto, the king made this answer:—

"I am now otherways resolved, for you shall send my Lord of Canterbury word, that since I spake with him about these matters, I have received letters from my Lord of Winchester, now being on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us, the emperor, and the French king, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore, my Lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear until we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose."

Which matter of reformation began to be revived again, at what time the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's Majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death; where then no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat, and a chain of gold. And, for that entertainment of the ambassador, were builded in the park there three very notable, great, and sumptuous banqueting-houses; at the which it was purposed, that the said ambassador should have been, three sundry nights, very richly banqueted. But, as it chanced, the French king's great affairs were then suddenly such, that this ambassador was sent for home in post-haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he had but the fruition of the first banqueting-house.

Now, what prince-like order was there used, in the furniture of the banquet, as well in placing of the noble estates, namely, the king's Majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noble men both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's Highness and the Lady Anne of Cleves, with other noble women and ladies on the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation of both costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose here presently to treat thereof, but only to consider and note the conference

and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the king's Majesty, the said ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury, (the king's Highness standing openly in the banqueting-house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arm upon the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arm upon the shoulder of the ambassador,) touching the establishing of godly religion between those two princes in both their realms: as, by the report of the said archbishop unto his secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in King Edward's visitation, then being registrar in the same visitation, relation was made on that behalf in this sort:

When the said visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the said archbishop sent for the said registrar, his man, unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certain things in the said visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction: having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said visitation. Upon which occasion the registrar said thus unto his master the archbishop.

Registrar.—"I do remember, that you, not long ago, caused me to conceive and write letters, which King Henry the Eighth should have signed, and have directed unto your Grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow-night, and such-like vain ceremonies: which letters your Grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's Majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein."

"Why," quoth the archbishop again, "never heard you how those letters were suppressed and stopped?" Whereunto the archbishop's servant answering again: "As it was," said he, "my duty to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon." "Marry!" quoth the archbishop, "my Lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation should here pass in the realm touching religion, in his absence, against his appetite, wrote to the king's Majesty, bearing him in hand that the league then towards, would not prosper nor go forwards on his Majesty's behalf, if he made any other innovation or alteration in religion, or in the ceremonies in the church, than was already done; which his advertisement herein caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as Sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's commandment."

Then said his servant again unto him, "much as the king's good intent took no place now your Grace may go forward in those the opportunity of the time much better thereunto than in King Henry's days."

"Not so," quoth the archbishop. "It were to attempt such reformation in King Henry the Eighth's days than at this time; the king was in his infancy. For, if the king's Majesty set forth any thing for the reformation of who was he that durst gainsay it? Marry, now in doubt how men will take the alteration of abuses, in the church; and, if the council hath forborne especially to speak of, and of other things which gladly they have reformed in this visitation, referring such and such-like matters unto the discretion of the visitors. But, if King Henry the Eighth had lived unto this day with the French king, it had been past my Lord of Winchester's power to have hindered the king's Highness, as he did when he was the same league."

"I am sure you were at Hampton Court when the archbishop, "when the French king's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting-houses, not long before the king's death, when, after the banquet was done the king leaning upon the ambassador said unto me: if I should tell what a communication was made between the king's Highness and the said ambassador had concerning the establishing of sincere religion, then, a man would hardly have believed it: I myself thought the king's Highness had been more forward in those matters as then appeared. I will tell you, it passed the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it few in England would have believed, that the king's Majesty and the French king had been at this league, not only, within half a year after, to have divided the mass in both the realms into a communion, (we now use it,) but also utterly to have expelled and banished the bishop of Rome, and his power, out of both their realms and dominions. And they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in their behalf, that they meant also to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his counties and seigniories; or else they would break off from him. And herein the king's Highness willed me to write, quoth the archbishop, "to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king, to consider of. But by the deep and most secret providence of Almighty God, owing to this realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly purpose and intent, by taking to his mercy both the princes."

A brief narration of the trouble of Sir George Blage.

Here would also something be said of Sir George Blage, one of the king's privy chamber, who, being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following. The words which his accusers laid unto him were these: "What if a mouse should eat the bread? then, by my consent, they should hang up the mouse:" whereas, indeed, these words he never spake, as to his life's end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they, craftily to undermine him, walking with him in Paul's church after a sermon of Dr. Crome, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, "Yea." "I heard say," saith Master Littleton, "that he said in his sermon, that the mass profiteth neither for the quick, nor for the dead." "No," saith Master Blage. "Wherefore then?" "Belike for a gentleman when he rideth a hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling." And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended, (as showed,) and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among them of the privy chamber, the king, hearing them whispering together, (which he could never abide,) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and suit made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal, the king, being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his privy chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriothesley, commanding afterwards to draw out his pardon himself, and so was he set at liberty; who, coming after to the king's presence, "Ah! my pig" (saith the king to him, for so he was wont to call him). "Yea," said he, "if your Majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time."

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our story again to Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, who, the same week, were burned, and could find no pardon.

Then the catholic fathers, when they had brought this Christian woman, with the residue, as above hath been declared, unto their rest, they, being now in their ruff and triumph, like as the Pharisees, when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised with themselves how to keep him down still, and to

overtread truth for ever. Whereupon, consulting with certain of the council, they made out a strait and hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English books as might give any light to the setting forth of God's true word, and the grace of the gospel: the copy and tenor of which proclamation is this, as followeth:

"The king's most excellent Majesty—understanding how, under pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's Majesty in this his realm; his Highness, minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as followeth:

"First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament, of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his Majesty's most noble reign; nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be, set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wickliff, Joye, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them; or any other book or books containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four, or thirty-five; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts aforesaid as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire

or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocess; to the intent the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the king's Majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's Majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

"And, to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's Majesty is most graciously contented, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books; and commandeth that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved and convicted, by sufficient witness, before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's Majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his Highness for the same, as by his Majesty, or four of his Grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

"Finally, His Majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute any English book, printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person dwelling within this his Grace's realm, or any other his Majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his Highness's express grant, to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited; and therewithal to incur his Majesty's extreme indignation."

Forasmuch as it is, and always hath been, the common guise and practice of the pope's church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish all good books and wholesome treatises of learned men, under a false pretence of errors and heresies, whereof examples abundantly appear in this history above: now, for the better trial hereof, to see and try the

impudent and shameless vanity of these clergymen, in mistaking, falsifying, depraving, pheming, and slandering, where they have against all right and honest dealing, yet their own knowledge, conscience, and maner of God's word; I shall therefore desire the reader, before we pass any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, the opinions and articles these men gather out of books for errors and heresies. Secondly, the manner how they willingly they wrest, pervert, and construe their sayings and writings in such a manner as the writers never spake nor meant; and all this to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have read their books.

So did they before with John Wickliffe, Huss, and Jerome: so did they with Martin Tyndale, Frith, Lambert, Barnes, Joye, and others; and, briefly, yet do still with all the same, either perverting their sayings other than they meant, or noting for heresies such manifest principles and grounds of our religion, as else falsely belying them, or untruly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding words, as may serve for their most advantage, to bring them out of credit with princes and people.

For the more evident probation and evidence whereof, thou shalt see here, Christian reader, a table laid before thine eyes, the book or books of such errors, blasphemies, and heresies, which catholic papists in their own registers have taken out of their books, whom in this, and other places, they have condemned. Whereunto, moreover, we have annexed the very places also of the authors, out of which every article is gathered, and the same signature of verse and page, which they in their registers do send us unto. So that with little diligence thou mayest now, lovingly and easily perceive, conferring the articles and putting them together, what truth and fidelity these bloody papists have used toward the children of God: in burning up their bodies; then, in consuming and abolishing their books; and afterwards, in doing out articles, such as they list themselves, out of their works, to make the people believe what damnable heretics they were, as by these articles here ensuing, collected and contained in their own registers, may well appear. In all which articles, there is not one (speaking of these writers which they have condemned) but either it is a perfect truth, and a principle of Christian doctrine, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or cruelly handled, and maliciously mangled; having either something cut from it, or some more added, or

racked out of his right place, or wrested to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practice amongst God's enemies from the beginning, to falsify, wrest, and deprave all things, whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it ever so true and just. So began they with Stephen, the first martyr of Jesus Christ, and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold, what spite and falsehood were used in the articles of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliff, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, Sir John Oldcastle, John Huss, the Bohemians, and such others: which thing, if the books and places whence these articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remain, we might more plainly understand. In the mean season, as touching these articles here present, forasmuch as the bishops' own registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the selfsame books from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee, friendly reader, first to consider the articles, and lay them with the places which the registers themselves do assign, and then judge thyself, what is to be thought thereof. The articles, gathered out of the aforesaid books, with the bishops' decree prefixed before the same, are as hereunder follow:

A public instrument by the bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other books, to be read in English.

"In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people, to whom these present letters testimonial, or this present public and authentic instrument, shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and whom this underwritten shall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William, by the sufferance of Almighty God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these presents, that the king, our sovereign lord, hearing of many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in the parts beyond the seas, to be brought into divers towns, and sundry parts of this his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith catholic, and perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his Highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the

high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Christ's religion: considering also, that he, being defender of the faith, would be full loth to suffer such evil seed sown amongst his people, and so take root that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine before sprung in the souls of his subjects: for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but also of each university a certain number of the chief learned men, proposed such of those books as his Grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space); gathering also out of them many great errors and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable; of which hereafter, out of each book gathered, many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said books, which books totally do swarm full of heresies and detestable opinions."

Heresies and errors collected by the bishops out of the book of Tyndale, named The Wicked Mammon, with the places of the book annexed to the same, out of which every article is collected.

First article. "Faith only justifieth." Fol. 62.

This article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our salvation, is plain enough by St. Paul and the whole body of the Scripture; neither can any make this a heresy, but they must make St. Paul a heretic, and show themselves enemies unto the promises of grace, and to the cross of Christ.

II. "The law maketh us to hear God, because we be born under the power of the devil." Fol. 62.

III. "It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God." Fol. 62.

The place of Tyndale from whence these articles be wrested, is in The Wicked Mammon, as followeth: which place I beseech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

"In the faith which we have in Christ, and in God's promises, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the law we find death, damnation, and

wrath : moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the law, is called of Paul, the ministration of death and damnation. (2 Cor. iii.) In the law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him : for how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God : much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law by his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation," &c.

IV. "The law requireth impossible things of us." Fol. 62.

Read the place :

"The law, when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damnable thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the promises, and to the gospel, which is called of Paul the ministration of righteousness, and of the Spirit."

V. "The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit." Fol. 65.

The place is this :

"The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect. And as faith entereth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God ; altereth him and changeth him clean ; fashioneth and forgeth him anew ; giveth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new nature ; so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination : and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord," &c.

VI. "Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified." Fol. 67.

If Tyndale say that works do only declare our

justification, he doth not thereby ~~destroy good works~~ ; but only sheweth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testify a lively faith, which only justifieth us. The article is plain by the Scripture and St. Paul.

VII. "Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven." Fol. 69.

Read the place :

"All good works must be done freely, with a single eye, without respect of any thing, so that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ, where he saith, Freely have ye received, freely give again. For look, as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven, (for that was his already,) but did us service therewith ; and neither looked [for], nor sought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only : even so we, with all our works, may not seek our own profit, neither in this world nor in heaven ; but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner [of] respect seek our neighbour's profit, and do him service," &c.

VIII. "Labouring by good works to come to heaven, thou shamest Christ's blood." Fol. 70.

Read the place :

"If thou wouldest obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so doest thou wrong, yea, and shamest the blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings, yea, and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God ; and, in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life ; and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ, and, therefore, love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely ; and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already."

IX. "Saints in heaven cannot help us thither." Fol. 70.

Whether saints can help us unto heaven, see the Scripture ; and mark well the office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

X. "To build a church in the honour of our Lady, or any other saint, is in vain ; they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends." Fol. 71.

Read the place of Tyndale :

"What, buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chantries, and colleges, in the honour of saints, to my Mother, to St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be

dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea, they are not thy friends, [but theirs which lived then when they did, of whom they were helpers.] Thy friends are thy poor [which are now in thy time and live with thee, thy poor] neighbours, which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with the unrighteous mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and that thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right, and not feigned."

XI. "All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin." Fol. 74.

This article is evident enough of itself, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no allegations.

XII. "Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved." Fol. 75, 76.

Read the place:

"A physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such men as feel their sickness, and mourn there-for, and long for health. Christ, likewise, serveth but for such sinners only as feel their sin, and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments: Now, he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole: Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake, (that is, to fulfil the law,) for their lust shall be fulfilled. Matt. v.

"This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest, that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chooseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest, (though thou be never so weak,) yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify thine heart, that God, for his truth, shall deliver thee, and save thee; yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved—not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably; neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him."

The like comfortable words he hath afterwards, fol. 82, which are these:

"He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart to

be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ, Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. God, for his truth's sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, so feeble and frail, though he have sinned never so oft and so grievous; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his truth's sake, and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God, that would be no sinner: he that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already: his heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God, that is, beareth record that God which made the law, is righteous and just. And such a heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteousness, and his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins are not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his desire.

XIII. "The commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God." Fol. 76.

Read the place:

"If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. First remember, that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore, because that we, of ourselves, are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and so repent and come unto Christ, and receive mercy," &c.

XIV. "Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the body; all other purposes be nought." Fol. 81.

The words of Tyndale be these:

"Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting or overmuch eating, from drunkenness and cares of the world, as thou mayest read in Luke xxi. And the end of fasting, is to tame the body, that the spirit may have a free course unto God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her, and tangle her, that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God, the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth; erreth, and shooteth at a wrong mark; and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God."

XV. "To bid the poor man pray for me, is only

to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any trust in his prayer." Fol. 82.

The words of Tyndale be these :

"When we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness : our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises. We have also a promise, that when two or three or more agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us. Notwithstanding, as God heareth many, so heareth he few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God."

XVI. "Though thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before." Fol. 83.

The words be these :

"If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater nor smaller; neither can to the law of God either add or diminish. God's commandment is as great as himself."

XVII. "A good deed done, and not of fervent charity, as Christ's was, is sin." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these :

"Though thou show mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou acknowledge thy sin, and desire mercy in Christ."

XVIII. "Every man is lord of another man's goods." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these :

"Christ is Lord over all, and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord of all, and every one lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet showest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief."

Read more hereof in the twentieth article following.

XIX. "I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart." Fol. 84.

The place of this article is this :

"I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea, and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved me; neither to spare goods, body, nor life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me."

XX. "The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his needs, as my household, or mine own self." Fol. 84.

Read and mark well the place in The Mammon :

"In Christ, we are all of one degree with respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and men, yet, because that his ability of goods is not so far, this provision is made, that every man shall care for his own household; as for his wife, children, and servants. If thou shalt care and provide for thine household, then thou art an infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee the care and forasmuch as that is thy part, commit the care of the congregation. When thou shalt do thy duty to thine household, and yet have the abundance of the blessing of God, that thou shalt give to the poor that cannot labour, or work, and can get no work, and are destitute of the means to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest, of thine own parish. If thy neighbours cannot be served, and thou yet have means, and hearest necessity to be among the poor, though a thousand miles off, to them art thou debtor, as the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, as we maintain them not against Christ, which is blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man that doth his duty to his wife, father, mother, sister, and in Christ; even as every man that doth his duty to the Father, is father, mother, sister, and in Christ."

"Moreover, if any be an infidel and a false Christian, and forsake his household, his wife, and such as cannot help themselves, then thou art bound to them, and thou have wherewith to help them, much as to thine own household; and they have good right in thy goods, as thou thyself."

"If the whole world were thine, yet thou shalt have thy brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with us, as we are all heirs with Christ."

XXI. "Alms deserve no meed." Fol. 84.

The place is this :

"He that seeketh with his alms more than his duty, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother in need, to do his duty to his brother, to give him that he oweth him, the same is blind, and knoweth not what it is to a Christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood."

XXII. "There is no work better than to please God, to pour water, to wash dishes, to be a souter, or an apostle, all is one; to wash and to preach is all one, as touching the duty to please God." Fol. 85.

The words of Tyndale be these :

"As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God."

God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou, in doing them, pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God; as when thou pourest water, &c.

Moreover, put no difference between works, whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low: for as touching please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy works, as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the works pleased him, as it doth the world, or as though he had freed of them. But God looketh first on the heart; what faith thou hast to his words; how thou bearest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath showed thee. He looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker.

Set this ensample before thine eyes: Thou art a kitchen-page, and wastest thy master's dishes. Another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what St. Paul saith, If I preach, (saith he,) I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me. As who should say, God hath made me so: woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly, (saith he,) then have I my reward; that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed unto me; that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live; then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself, &c.

Moreover, howsoever he preacheth, he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly, with a true heart, and of conscience to God, then hath he his reward; that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and acknowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord: and, nevertheless, is he yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust.

Now thou that ministerest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen-page, receivest all things of the

hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office, submittest thyself to his will, and servest thy master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth us; putteth thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein; yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed; thy heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured; and thou, in thine heart, doest the same that the apostle doth, and haply with greater delectation and a more fervent spirit. Now, he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet (Matt. x.); that is, he that consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt washing of dishes and preaching the word of God: but, as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man; hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart, by faith and trust in Christ," &c.

XXIII. "Ceremonies of the church have brought the world from God." Fol. 86.

Read the place of Tyndale:

"Seek the word of God in all things, and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear ever so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry. The kingdom of heaven is within us. Wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was never drawn from God, but with an outward show, and glorious appearance and shining of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising."

XXIV. "Beware of good intents: they are damned of God." Fol. 87.

XXV. "See thou do nothing but that God biddest thee." Fol. 87.

The words of Tyndale out of which these two articles be gathered are these:

"Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection or zeal, as they call it. Peter, of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, because he said that he must go to Jerusalem and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour, (a name that belongeth to the devil,) and said that he perceived not godly things, but worldly."

Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wist not of what spirit they were; that is, they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews, of a good intent and of a good zeal, slew Christ, and persecuted the apostles, as Paul beareth them record. I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing, then, to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayest know God's will, and what he would have thee to do.

"Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind, and all that we do of them is damned of God; and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See, therefore, that thou do nothing to please God withal but that he commandeth; neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee."

XXVI. "Churches are for preaching only, and not as they be used now." Fol. 87.

This article containeth neither error nor heresy, but is plain enough of itself, to all them that have their minds exercised in the Scriptures of God.

XXVII. "To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an idol." Fol. 87.

Read the words of Tyndale with this article.

"God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also true in all his promises. Other worship of God is none, except we make an idol of him."

XXVIII. "Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart at God's pleasure." Fol. 95.

XXIX. "Our prelates, in sin say they have power." Fol. 95.

Read the place in The Wicked Mammon, out of the which these two articles are gathered.

"Paul saith, If thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe: that is, if thou believe he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: and that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God. Pharaoh, for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins; but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for

God's pleasure: as our prelates confess their sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet have we the power. And again, The scribes and the Pharisees, say they, sat in Moses' seat: Do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confess they that they are abominable."

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops out of Tyndale's book named The Obedience of a Christian Man, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

First Article.—"Tyndale saith, 'We are bound to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God.'" Fol. 132.

"Satisfaction is a full recompence or amends-making to him whom we have offended, which recompence we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompence, but only God's own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else, if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vain."

Lo! what heresy or error is in this article?

II. "He saith, that children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents." Fol. 120.

The words of Tyndale in The Obedience, be these:

"Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and, by experience of their own infirmities, help their children, and keep them from occasions. Let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife which the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good will of their elders, or them that have authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to blame, if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the uttermost of their authority of their children, but, at all times, suffer with them, and bear their weakness, as Christ doth ours."

III. "He saith, that vows are against the ordinance of God." Fol. 109.

They that say that this article is a heresy, let them show where these vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God; especially such vows of single life, and wilful poverty, as by the canon law be obtruded on young priests and novices. St. Paul plainly forefendeth any widows to be admitted under the age of threescore years. Is not here, trow you, a perilous heresy?

IV. "He saith, that a Christian man may not resist a prince being an infidel and an ethnic. This taketh away free-will." Fol. 112.

St. Peter willeth us to be subject to our princes. St. Paul also doth the like ; who was also himself subject to the power of Nero ; and, although every commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of Nero ; as the pope useth to do against the state not only of infidels, but also of Christian princes.

V. "Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, is damnable sin." This is against moral virtues." Fol. 113.

What heresy Aristotle in his Ethics can find by this article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God, well considered, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresy.

VI. "He reproveth men that make holy saints their advocates to God, and there he saith, that saints were not rewarded in heaven for their holy works." Fol. 114.

The words of Tyndale be these :

"They turn from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint and his merits, and make an advocate, or rather a god, of the saint." * * * "They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and deserving of Christ."

VII. "God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people ; likewise he moved kings," &c. Fol. 118.

The words in The Obedience be these :

"In Psalm cvi., thou readest, He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness."

"In 2 Kings ii., God was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered ; and because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the king : yet it holped not. God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people."

VIII. "Paul was of higher authority than Peter." Fol. 125.

The words in "The Obedience" be these :

"I suppose, saith he, (meaning Paul,) that I was not behind the high apostles ; meaning in preaching Jesus Christ and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And, in the same chapter, he proveth by the doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high apostles : for Christ saith, To be great in

the kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for other." Upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more : in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteous, in death oft, &c. If Paul preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ."

IX. "A priest ought to have a wife for two causes." Fol. 133.

The words of Tyndale be these :

"He must have a wife for two causes ; one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room ; he is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree, inasmuch as the people look as well unto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word."

X. "He condemneth auricular confession." Fol. 140.

Of this read above.

XI. "Every man is a priest, and we need no other priest to be a mean for us unto God." Fol. 144.

The words in The Obedience be these :

"There is a word called in Latin *sacerdos*, in the Greek, *ιερεὺς*, in Hebrew, *cohan* ; that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or a priest, as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them ; and in the English it should have had some other name than priest : but antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all we are priests through him, and need no more of any such priest to be a mean for us unto God," &c.

XII. "He destroyeth the sacraments of matrimony and orders." Fol. 144.

As truly as matrimony and orders be sacraments, so truly is this article a heresy.

XIII. "He saith that purgatory is the pope's invention, and, therefore, he may do there whatsoever he will." Fol. 150.

One of the pope's own writers saith thus : "Souls being in purgatory, are under the pope's jurisdiction, and the pope may, if he will, evacuate all purgatory." Furthermore the old fathers make little mention of purgatory ; the Greek church never believed the purgatory ; St. Augustine doubteth of purgatory ; and the Scriptures plainly disprove purgatory. St. John saith, "The blood of Jesus

Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all sin ;" and the pope saith, " Sin cannot be purged but by the fire of purgatory." Now, whose invention can purgatory be, but only the pope's ?

XIV. " Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ." Fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than this ? Isaiah saith, " All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath laid upon him all our iniquities," &c.

XV. " He saith, ' No man may be hired to pray.' " Fol. 155.

The words in The Obedience be true, which are these :

" To pray one for another, are we equally bound : and to pray, is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand : and that to do, may no man hire another : Christ's blood hath hired us already ;" &c.

XVI. " He saith, ' Why should I trust in Paul's prayer or holiness ?' If St. Paul were alive, he would compare himself to St. Paul, and be as good as he." Fol. 159.

The words of Tyndale be these :

" Why, am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did ? If Paul were here, and loved me as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a servant to preach Christ, what good could he do for me, or wish me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me, to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ ? Unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, joint-heir with Paul of all the promises of God ;" &c.

XVII. " He saith, that all that be baptized, become Christ himself." Fol. 163.

With this article confer the words of The Obedience, which be these :

" In Matt. xxv., saith Christ, Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me : and inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me. Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ ?" &c.

XVIII. " He saith, that the children of faith be under no law." Fol. 163.

The words of Tyndale be these :

" I serve thee not because thou art my master or my king, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the children of faith are under no law, as thou seest in the Epistles to the

Romans, to the Galatians, and the First of Timothy, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ ; and, therefore, need they no law to compel them," &c.

XIX. " There is no deed so good, but that the law condemneth it." Fol. 167.

The place in The Obedience is this :

" Thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote Malchus' ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou, in the plain text, great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this example, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes ; and of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel, saying, As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth, and mangleth the conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the law. There is no deed so good, but that the law damneth it. But Christ (that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ) healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt."

XX. " To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry." Fol. 171.

The words of Tyndale are these :

" Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments ; thither get thyself, and there abide," &c. " If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry ; for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained ; no more than he hath promised to slack thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry," &c.

XXI. " Our pains-taking in keeping the commandments, doth nothing but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh ; but to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, than God hath promised for Christ's sake, is abominable in the sight of God." Fol. 171.

Consider the place in The Obedience, which is this :

" To look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God ; for Christ only hath

purchased the reward. And our pain-taking to keep the commandments, doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us."

XXII. "The pope hath no other authority but to preach only." Fol. 173.

Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep;" "and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren." And to his apostles he said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel," &c. Again, St. Paul saith, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach: to what other office or function he sent the pope, let them judge, which consider the Scriptures.

XXIII. "If thou bind thyself to chastity, to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an infidel." Fol. 175.

Read and confer the place of Tyndale, which is this:

"Chastity canst thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bendest thyself, must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there thou shalt find it more largely treated of."

XXIV. "He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles." Fol. 176.

The words in Tyndale's Obedience be these:

"And when they cry Miracles, Miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood; against which we may receive no miracles, no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again, (by his own teaching to the Galatians,) neither yet by the preaching of the angels of heaven," &c.

"The end of God's miracles is good: the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness." Fol. 159.

XXV. "He saith, that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain idolatry." Fol. 177.

The place is this in The Obedience:

"Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word; for they are nothing else but plain idolatry, and worshipping of false gods."

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops, out of the book called The Revelation of Antichrist, with the places of the book, out of which they were gathered, annexed to the same.

I. "To bind a man perpetually to any vow of religion, is without doubt an error." Fol. 19.

The place of the book called The Revelation, whence this article is gathered, is this that followeth:

"Which the fathers did neither make nor keep: he meaneth vows, but, with the liberty of the spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For, if they did, without doubt, they erred according to man's fragility."

II. "To say the constitutions of religion are good, because holy men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominic, and such others, and to follow such examples of fathers, is to leave the faith." Fol. 19.

The place of the article is this:

"But they object, The statutes and ordinances are good: holy men did make them, as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and such others. To this I answer, that is even it that Christ and the apostles did mean, that these works should be like to those things which are taught in the gospel, for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and privily bringing in of sects and heresies, because they take only of the fathers' examples of works, and leave the faith," &c.

III. "All moral divines have a wicked conscience, full of scrupulosity." Fol. 3.

Moral divines be they, whose doctrine and hope of salvation consisteth in moral virtues, rather than in Christian faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such, can never be certified in conscience of their salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. St. Paul, therefore, saith, It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed.

IV. "Moral virtues, as justice, temperance, strength, chastity, described by natural reason, make a synagogue, and corrupt Christ's faith." Fol. 64.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"So many he (the pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led under his laws and empery. And who is he in the world that is not subject under him, except they be infants, or peradventure some simple persons, who are reserved by the inscrutable counsel and provision of God? O

thou man of sin! O thou son of perdition! O thou abomination! O thou corrupter! O thou author of evil consciences! O thou false master of good consciences! O thou enemy of faith and Christian liberty! Who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his mind, the infinite waves of this monstrous king's evils?"

"If he had ordained these his laws in those works of virtues that are commended in the ten precepts, or else in such as the philosophers and natural reason did describe, as are justice, strength, temperance, chastity, mildness, truth, goodness, and such others, peradventure they should only have made a synagogue, or else have ordained in the world a certain civil justice; for, through these, faith also should have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite tempests of mischief, enticing and drawing us to ceremonies, and his own feigned traditions, and bindeth us like asses and ignorant fools, yea, and like stocks unto them," &c.

V. "Christ took away all laws, and maketh us free and at liberty; and most of all he suppresseth all ceremonies." Fol. 63, 65.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Christ, taking away all laws to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and disannul the ceremonies, which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other; so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent," &c.

What he meaneth by taking away all laws, he declareth a little before, saying:

"He hath not delivered us from the law, but from the power and violence of the law, which is the very true loosing. But, for all that, he hath not taken away from the powers and officers, their right, sword, and authority to punish the evil: for such pertain not to his kingdom, until they are made spiritual; and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God."

VI. "If the pope would make all the observations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, matrimony, mass, matins, and relics, &c., free and indifferent, he should not be antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ, he utterly corrupteth the church, suppresseth the faith, and advanceth sin." Fol. 67.

If the pope will infer a necessity of those things which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but antichrist? The article

is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of and St. Paul.

VII. "To believe in Christ, maketh us inheritors with Christ." Fol. 1.

VIII. "If a man say, 'Then shall we do good works?' I answer as Christ did: 'The work of God to believe in him whom he hath loved.'" Fol. 1.

The place of these two articles, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"Who is this light, that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as St. John testifies. He was the true light, that lighteth every man who come into the world. To believe in this light, maketh us the children of light, and inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now we have cruel adversaries, who set up their bristles against us. Why! shall we then do no good works? No, we answer, as Christ did to the people, in the Revelation of St. John, which asked him what they should do, that they might work the works of God; he answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath loved. And after it followeth, Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also consenteth St. John, in his Revelation, saying, These things have I written unto you, that ye may believe on the name of the Son of God, that ye may surely know, how that you have eternal life. What is the name of the Son of God? The name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; and thou must believe that he is a Saviour."

"But what availeth this? The devils do believe and tremble. They know, that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesus, Son of God! what have we to do with thee? They know, that he hath redeemed mankind by his blood, and they laboured to let it: for when he was set down to give judgment, his wife came unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with this man; for I have suffered many things in my sleep about him. No doubt she was overcome of the devil, to the intent that she should persuade her husband to give no sentence upon him, lest Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know, that he hath suppressed sin and death; as it is written, Death is consumed by the victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be unto God, which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ: who by sin damned sin in the flesh. God made him to be sin for us, that is to say, a sacrifice for our sin, (and so is sin taken away from all places,) which knoweth no sin, that we, by his

should be that righteousness, which before God is allowed. It is not, therefore, sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee," &c.

IX. "Numbering of sins maketh a man more a sinner, yea, a blasphemer of the name of God." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this :

"Knowledge thyself a sinner, that thou mayest be justified. Not that the numbering of thy sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater sinner, yea, and a blasphemer of the holy name of God, as thou mayest see in Cain, which said that his sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness; and so was a reprobate," &c.

X. "God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this :

"If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish, thou shalt have St. Augustine's answer, who saith, in the second book that he wrote to Jerome, that the law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eschew; to the intent that when we see ourselves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father! command whatsoever it pleaseth thee, but give us thy grace to fulfil what thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnal, sold under sin. But let us not here stick; for now we are at hell-gates, and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, showing us his gospel and promise, saying, Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom," &c.

XI. "Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ which died for us." Fol. 4.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this :

"Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which died for us that were wicked and naturally the children of wrath. But God, which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in heavenly places, through Jesus Christ; for to show, in times to come, the exceeding riches of his grace in his

kindness towards us through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself," &c.

XII. "I will show thee an evident argument and reason, that thou mayest know without doubt, who is antichrist. All they that do pursue, are antichrist. The pope, bishops, cardinals, and their adherents do pursue: therefore the pope, bishops, and cardinals, and their adherents, are antichrists. I ween our syllogismus be well made." Fol. 9.

The place of this article gathered out of The Revelation, is this :

"I will show thee an evident reason, that thou mayest know without doubting who is the very antichrist: and this argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the Galatians. We, dear brethren, are the children of promise, as Isaac was; not the sons of the bondwoman, as Ishmael. But, as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark Paul's reason. By Isaac, are signified the elect; and by Ishmael, the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute Ishmael; but, contrary, Ishmael did persecute Isaac. Now let us make our reason :

"All they that do persecute as Ishmael, be reprobates and antichrists.

"But all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, do persecute.

"Therefore all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, be Ishmael; reprobates and antichrists.

"I ween our syllogismus is well made, and in the first figure."

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this argument more at large.

XIII. "I think verily, that so long as the successors of the apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian men, and no longer." Fol. 10.

The bishops of Rome in the primitive church, were under persecution the space of well near three hundred years, under the which persecution, as good as thirty of them, and more, died martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four popes, which have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the book of The Revelation think that there be not four to be found good Christian men, I think no less but that he may so think without any heresy.

XIV. "It is impossible that the word of the cross should be without affliction and persecution." Fol. 10.

St. Paul saith, Whosoever will live virtuously in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution. And how then can this be truth in Paul, and in this man heresy?

XV. "That the apostles did ever curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them." Fol. 11.

Upon what good ground of The Revelation this heresy is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words following:

"They are as merciful as the wolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men; but they curse as the devil were in them. Paul saith, that he hath power to edify, and not to destroy. But I wot not of whom these bloody beasts have their authority, which do so much rejoice in cursing and destruction. We read how Paul did excommunicate the Corinthian, (and that for a great transgression,) to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and desired again the Corinthians to receive him with all charity: but, that the apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture; for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them," &c.

XVI. "By works, superstitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy." Fol. 15.

Note here, good reader, how perversely and corruptly this article is drawn. For whereas the place of this book, which is written in fol. 15, expressly speaketh of trusting to works, meaning that we should put no confidence in works, but only in faith in Christ Jesus, this article, to make it appear more infamous and heretical, leaveth out the false trust, and speaketh simply as though works should decay faith. Read the place, which is written in these words following:

"Daniel calleth not this word *peschiam*, any manner of sin, but those special and chief sins, which resist and fight against the truth and the faith: as are the trusting in works, superstitions, and ceremonies, by which we decay from the faith," &c.

XVII. "The abusion of the mass with all its solemnities, with vigils, year-minds, foundations, burials, and all the business that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of godliness, and a deceiving of the people; as they were good works rather for the dead than for the quick." Fol. 24.

True godliness consisteth in faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath sent, and in the observation of God's commandments. All their rites and additions instituted by man, are no part of true godliness. And whoso putteth trust

and confidence therein, as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such funerals St. Augustine calleth rather refreshings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

XVIII. "To keep and observe one day to fast, another to abstain; to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve heaven thereby; is a wicked face and cloak, and against Paul." Fol. 29.

The truth of this article is manifest enough to be void of all error and heresy, unless it be heresy to believe and hold with the Scripture. St. Paul saith, If heaven, and our righteousness, come by the law, then Christ died in vain.

XIX. "The multiplication of holy-days, of feasts of Corpus Christi, of the Visitation of our Lady, &c., is a wicked face and colour; and indeed foolish, unprofitable, and vain." Fol. 30.

This article, likewise, needeth no declaration, containing in it a true and necessary complaint of such superfluous holy-days of the pope's making: which, as they bring with them much occasion of wickedness, idleness, drunkenness, and vanity, and so having also joined unto them opinion of religion, and meritorious devotion and God's service, they gender superstition, and nourish the people in the same.

XX. "Keeping of virginity and chastity of religion is a devilish thing." Fol. 30.

The place, cited in the book of The Revelation of Antichrist, doth sufficiently open itself, speaking and meaning only of those monkish vows, which, by the canonical constitution of the pope, are violently forced upon priests and monks, the coaction whereof St. Paul doth rightly call the doctrine of devils. And here note by the way another trick of a popish caviller: for, where the words of the book speak plainly of the chastity of the religious, he, fraudulently turning it to a universality, saith, "the chastity of the religion," whereby it might seem to the simple reader more odious and heretical. The words of the place be these:

"Keeping of virginity and chastity of the religious seemeth to be a godly and a heavenly thing; but it is a devilish thing: of the which it is spoken in 1 Tim. iv., Forbidding to marry, &c. Whereas, again, our most reverend father maketh that thing necessary, that Christ would have free, whereof Daniel speaketh, He shall not be desirous of women. Here Daniel meaneth, that he shall refuse and abstain from marriage, for a cloak of godliness, and not for love of chastity."

XXI. "Worshipping of relics is a proper thing, and a cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men." Fol. 30, 31.

These be the words in The Revelation:

"This (the worshipping of relics he meaneth) is a proper and most fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable pilgrimages, with which the foolish and unlearned people might lose their labour, money, and time; nothing, in the mean season, regarding their houses, wives, and children; contrary to the commandment of God; when they might do much better deeds to their neighbours, which is the precept," &c.

XXII. "There is but one special office that pertaineth to thine orders, and that is, to preach the word of God." Fol. 36.

Of this matter sufficient hath been said before in the twenty-second article alleged out of the book of The Obedience.

XXIII. "The temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called The temple of God." Fol. 37.

The place of this article is this:

"Which is an adversary, (the pope he meaneth,) and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, and show himself as God. Doth he not sit in the temple of God, which saith and professeth himself to be the master in the whole church? What is the temple of God? Is it stones and wood? Doth not Paul say, The temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paul was there any house, which was called the temple of God, as we now call them. What meaneth this sitting, but reigning, teaching, and judging? Who, since the beginning of the church, durst presume to call himself the master of the whole church, but only the pope?" &c.

XXIV. "He that fasteth no day, that saith no matins, and doth none of the precepts of the pope, sinneth not, if he think that he doth not sin." Fol. 43.

The place in The Revelation is this:

"Because he feareth the consciences under the title 'and pretence of Christ's name, he maketh of those things which in themselves are no sins, very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth sin if he eat flesh on the apostles' even, or say not matins and prime in the morning, or else leave undone any of the pope's precepts, no doubt he sinneth; not because the deed which he doth is sin, but because he believeth it is sin, and because against this foolish belief and conscience he offendeth; of which foolish conscience the pope only is head-author; for another, doing the same deed, thinking that he doth not sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cause, that the spirit of Paul complaineth that many shall depart from the faith. And for this

foolish conscience men's traditions be pernicious and noisome, the snares of souls, hurting the faith and the liberty of the gospel. If it were not for this cause, they should do no hurt. Therefore the devil, through the pope, abuseth these consciences to establish the laws of his tyranny, to suppress the faith and liberty, and to replenish the world with error, sin, and perdition," &c.

XXV. "Christ ordained the sacrament of the altar only to nourish the faith of them that live; but the pope maketh it a good work, and a sacrifice to be applied both to the quick and dead." Fol. 48.

The place is this:

"Satan hated the sacrament, and knew no way how to suppress and disannul it; therefore he found this craft: that the sacrament, which Christ did only ordain to nourish and establish the faith of them that live, should be counted for a good work and sacrifice, and bought and sold. And so faith is suppressed, and this wholesome ministry is applied, not to the quick, but unto the dead; that is to say, neither to the quick, nor yet to the dead. Oh this incredible fury of God!" &c.

XXVI. "These signs (he speaketh of miracles and visions, or apparitions) are not to the increase of faith and gospel, for they are rather against the faith and gospel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying signs." Fol. 49.

The place is as followeth:

"Who is able to number the monstrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord! what a sea of lies hath invaded us, of apparitions, conjurings, and answers of spirits? by which it is brought to pass, that the pope is also made the king of them that are dead, and reigneth in purgatory, to the great profit of his priests, who have all their living, riches, and pomp out of purgatory. Howbeit they should have less, if they did so well teach the faith of them that live, as they do [teach] riddles of them that are dead: neither was there, since the beginning of the world, any work found of so little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpose were gathered almost the possessions of all princes and rich men; and, through these riches, sprang up all pleasures and idleness, and of idleness came very Babylon and Sodom, &c.

"Neither are these signs to the increase of the faith and gospel (for they are rather against the faith and gospel); but they are done to establish the tyranny of these faces and riddles, and to set up and confirm the trust in works. Among these illusions are those miracles to be reputed, which are showed in visions, pilgrimages, and worshippings of saints, as there are plenty now-a-days, which the pope confirmeth by his bulls, yea, and sometimes doth canon-

ize saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying signs," &c.

XXVII. "The people of Christ do nothing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them." Fol. 63.

The words out of which this article is gathered, are these:

"They are the people of Christ, which willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwise, should be counted the people of the law and synagogue," &c.

XXVIII. "In the whole new law is no urgent precept, nor grievous; but only exhortations to observe things necessary for soul's health." Fol. 63.

The place of this article, gathered out of The Revelation, is this:

"A Christian should work nothing by compulsion of the law, but all through the spirit of liberty, as Paul saith: The law is not given to a righteous man. For whatsoever is done by compulsion of the law, is sin, for it is not done with a glad and willing spirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling against the law; and this truly is sin. Therefore, in Corinthians, he calleth the preachers of the New Testament the ministers of the Spirit, and not of the letter, because they teach grace, and not the law. Wherefore in the whole New Testament are there no urgent or grievous precepts, but only exhortations to observe those things which are necessary to our health: neither did Christ and his apostles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghost was for that cause called *Paracletus*, that is to say, an exhorter and comforter," &c.

XXIX. "All things necessary are declared in the New Testament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to his own will. Therefore Christ teacheth, that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided." Fol. 63, 66.

The words in The Revelation are these:

"In the New Testament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to seek, find, and obtain help to do and to leave undone. But no man is compelled, but suffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in Matthew, he teacheth that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile," &c.

XXX. "Christ forbade that one place should be taken as holy, and another profane; but would that all places should be indifferent." Fol. 68.

The place is this:

"Christ taketh away the difference of all places; will be worshipped in every place. Neither is there in his kingdom one place holy, and another profane, but all places are indifferent; neither canst thou more heartily and better believe, trust, and love God, in the temple, at the altar, in the church-yard, than in thy barn, vineyard, kitchen, or bed. And, to be short, the martyrs of Christ have honoured him in dark dungeons and prisons," &c.

XXXI. "He railleth against all the rites and ceremonies of the mass, as he were mad." Fol. 68.

The place out of which this article is collected, is as followeth:

"If a nun touch the altar-cloth, or corporal, (as they call it,) it is a sin. To touch the chalice is a great transgression. To say mass with an unhallowed chalice, is a grievous offence. To do sacrifice in vestments which are not consecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a sin, if in ministering any sacrament, the priest doth lack any ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or speak in the words of a canon, it is a sin. He offendeth also that doth stutter or stammer in the words of the canon. He sinneth that toucheth the holy relics of saints. He that toucheth the sacrament of the altar either with hand or finger, though it be for necessity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth such villanous iniquity, that they will scrape and shave off the quick flesh from the part which did touch it. I think, at length, they will flay the tongue, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, because they touch the sacrament. But to hurt thy neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no sin, nor yet regarded," &c.

XXXII. "No labour is now-a-days more tedious than saying of mass, matins, &c., which, before God, are nothing but grievous sins." Fol. 70.

XXXIII. "The sins of Manasseh, and other wicked kings, sacrificing their own children, are but light and childish offences to those. The cursed sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours; we are seven times worse Gentiles than we were before we knew Christ." Fol. 70.

The words out of which these two articles are gathered, are these:

"They are so oppressed, (those he meaneth who are under the servitude of the pope's laws and decrees,) that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we see by experience in the troublesome business of vigils, masses, and hours, which must be both said and sung: in the which they labour with such weariness

ness, that now-a-days no labour is more tedious. Yet, nevertheless, the cruel exactors of these most hard works compel men to work such things without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grievous sins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the service of God. Here are invented the enticements of the senses through organs, music, and diversity of songs; but these are nothing to the spirit, which rather is extinct through these wanton trifles. Ah, Christ! with what violence, with what power, are they driven headlong to sin, and perish through this abomination.

"It is horrible to look into these cruel whirlpools of consciences, which perish with so great pains and labour. What light offences to these are the sins wherein Manasseh and other wicked kings sinned, by doing sacrifice with their own children and progeny! Truly, the cursed sacrifices of the most rude Gentiles, no not of the Lestrighones, may be compared unto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in us: seven more wicked spirits make the end worse than the beginning. For I say, that we are worse Gentiles seven times, than we were before we knew Christ," &c.

XXXIV. "It were better to receive neither of the parts of the sacrament of the altar, than the one alone." Fol. 73.

The words be these:

"Plainly I think that the whole is taken away, since I see manifestly the one part gone (for the bread and the wine is but one sacrament); the other is left only for a laughing-stock. For he that in one part offendeth against God, is guilty in all. Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for so we might the more surely eschew the transgression of that which Christ did institute," &c.

XXXV. "The law of the pope, that commandeth all men to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel law, constraining men to their own destruction." Fol. 73.

The place is this:

"He (the pope he meaneth) setteth a most cruel and deadly snare to tangle the consciences; suffereth not the use of this sacrament to be free; but compelleth all together, on one certain day once in the year, to communicate. Here, I pray thee, Christian brother! how many dost thou think to communicate only by the compulsion of this precept, who truly, in their heart, had rather not communicate? and all these sin, (for they do not communicate in spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this letter and law,) since this bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much less a disdainful and hateful mind. And

of all these sins the pope is author, constraining all men, by his most cruel law, to their own destruction; whereas he ought to leave this communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it," &c.

XXXVI. "The Spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in the Scripture." Fol. 81.

In things appertaining to God's worship and service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

XXXVII. "St. Thomas Aquinas savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God." Fol. 83.

The doctrine of Thomas Aquinas referreth the greatest, or a very great part of our righteousness to *opus operatum*, and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousness before God, only to our faith in Christ. Now, how these savour together, let any indifferent reader judge.

XXXVIII. "The pope did condemn the truth of the word of God openly at Constance in John Huss, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornness." Fol. 86.

Touching the condemnation of John Huss, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his story before; and consider, moreover, his prophecy of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the sequel did follow in Martin Luther, and then judge of his cause, good reader, as the truth of God's word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slanderous articles.

Here follow other heresies and errors, collected by the bishops out of the book named The Sum of the Scripture, with the places of the book annexed to the same.

I. First article:—"The water of the font hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water." Fol. 1.

II. "The virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith." Fol. 6.

The place of these two articles gathered out of The Sum of the Scripture, is this:

"The water of baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash ourselves therein; neither hath the water of the font more virtue in itself, than the water that runneth in the river of Rhine. When Philip baptized the eunuch, the servant of Candace the queen of Ethiopia, there was then no hallowed water, nor candle, nor salt, nor cream, neither white

habit; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, nor in the outward things that we have at the font, but in the faith only, &c. Christ hath healed us (saith St. Paul) by the bath of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost."

III. "Godfathers and godmothers be bound to help their children that they be put to school, that they may understand the gospel, and the epistles of St. Paul." Fol. 15.

The place of this article, gathered out of the said book, is this:

"The godfathers and godmothers be bound to help the children that they be put to school, to the intent that they may understand the gospel, the joyful message of God, with the epistles of St. Paul. God hath commanded to publish, and to show the gospel, not only to priests, but to every creature: Go ye (saith Christ unto his disciples) into the universal world, and preach the gospel to every creature. For we be all equally bound to know the gospel and the doctrine of the New Testament, &c. And St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, confesseth that he sendeth his epistles to all the church; that is to say, to all the assembly of Christian men, and to all them that call on the name of Jesus," &c.

IV. "We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith that a Christian man is bound to have; but so doth the devil believe." Fol. 17.

V. "To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be one God, is not the principal that we must believe: our faith doth not lie principally in that; for so believeth the devil." Fol. 18.

The place out of the which these two articles are collected, is this:

"We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith which a Christian is bound to have. The devil believeth also that there is a God, and life everlasting, and a hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembleth always for his faith, as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble. A man might ask, What shall I then believe? Thou shalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one only God, &c. But this, likewise, believeth the wicked spirits, and are nothing the better there-for. There is yet another faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the gospel, and whereunto St. Paul in almost all his epistles so strongly exhorteth us; that is, that we believe the gospel. When our Lord first began to preach, he said, (as reheareth St. Mark,) Repent and believe the gospel."

Of this faith read before in the first article gathered out of The Wicked Mammon, and in the ninth and tenth of The Revelation of Antichrist.

VI. "If we believe that God hath promised everlasting life, it is impossible that we should perish." Fol. 20.

Lo here, good reader! another manifest example of the dishonest dealing and false coggings of these men. For where the place of the author speaketh expressly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the article prettily leaveth out our trusting in God's promise, and saith only, *if* we believe that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the article, and then judge whether there be no difference between trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting life, and believing only that God hath made the promise of everlasting life. The place here followeth as it is there written:

"When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us life everlasting. And forasmuch as he is Almighty, he may well perform that which he hath promised; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can believe it steadfastly, and put all our trust in him."

VII. "If thou canst surely and steadfastly believe in God, he will hold his promise: for he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us heaven, in case that we believe him." Fol. 21.

Seeing all our hope standeth only upon the promise of God, what heresy then is in this doctrine, to say that God oweth us heaven by his promise, which is to mean no other but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou, good reader, whether is more heresy to say, that God oweth us heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God oweth us heaven by the condignity and congruity of our works, as the papists say.

VIII. "All Christ's glory is ours." Fol. 27.

IX. "We need not to labour for to be Christ's heirs, and sons of God, and to have heaven; for we have all these things already." Fol. 24.

The words out of the which these two heresies are gathered, be these:

"We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as St. Paul largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already," &c.

They which note these articles for heresy, by the same judgment they may make heresy of St. John's Gospel, and of Paul's Epistle, and of all together. St. John saith, The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, as we also are one. As many as received him, to them gave

he power to be the sons of God. St. Paul saith, The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that we are the sons of God. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Christ.

X. "We need not to labour, by our good works, to get everlasting life, for we have it already; we be all justified; we be all the children of God." Fol. 28.

XI. "All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour." Fol. 28.

XII. "If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works, Christ shall not help us." Fol. 18.

XIII. "We deserve nothing of God." Fol. 30.

XIV. "We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good." Fol. 40.

XV. "Every Christian man must keep God's commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life." Fol. 42.

XVI. "The Jews kept the commandments, and the law of God; yet they could not come to heaven." Fol. 43.

XVII. "Men, trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the church daily, keep holy-days and fasting-days, and hear masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, to think that thy good works shall help thee to thy salvation." Fol. 47.

If these articles be made heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to God's gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the New Testament, and away with God's word, and set up a new divinity of the pope's making; yea, let us leave Christ with his heretical gospel, and, in his stead, set up the bishop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the disciples of his decretals. And, certes, except Christian princes begin betimes to take some zeal of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Christianity, to another kind and form of religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well near to pass already.

XVIII. "To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God." Fol. 41.

The place is this:

"Works done in faith be only pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghost, that dwelleth in us by this faith. But they that are done by tediousness, and evil will, for fear of hell, or for desire of heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to please God, knowing that if we do ever so much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his punishments; and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love," &c.

XIX. "We must love death, and more desire to die, than to fear death." Fol. 36.

Although our nature be frail, and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to die, and be with Christ, as the place itself doth well declare, which is this:

"We must love death, and more desire to die, and to be with God, as did St. Paul, than to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not fear to die; and he hath slain death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth St. Paul, saying, O death, where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victory! And to the Philippians, Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage."

XX. "God made us his children and his heirs, while we were his enemies, and before we knew him." Fol. 44.

I marvel what the papists mean in the registers to condemn this article as a heresy, unless their purpose be utterly to impugn and gainstand the Scripture, and the writings of St. Paul, who, in the fifth chapter to the Romans, and other his epistles, importeth even the same doctrine in all respects, declaring, in formal words, that we be made the children and heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his enemies.

XXI. "It were better never to have done good works, and ask mercy there-for, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise." Fol. 48.

XXII. "We can show no more honour to God, than faith and trust in him." Fol. 48.

The place out of which these two articles be gathered, is this:

"It were better for thee a thousand fold, that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good

deed, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and steadfast faith and trust in him and his promises, &c.: for we can show unto God no greater honour, than to have faith and trust in him: for whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful," &c.

XXIII. "Faith without good works, is no little or feeble faith, but it is no faith." Fol. 50.

XXIV. "Every man doth as much as he believeth." Fol. 50.

The place out of the which these two articles be gathered, is this :

"If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou doest but only think that thou hast it. For St. James saith, That faith without works is dead in itself. He saith not, that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not. Therefore, when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle. Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth St. John: He that hath this hope, that he is the son of God, purifieth himself as he is pure. He saith not, he that purifieth himself hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith; as it behoveth that the tree must first be good, which must bring forth good fruit."

XXV. "We cannot be without motions of evil desires; but we must mortify them in resisting them." Fol. 52.

They that note this article of heresy, may note themselves rather to be like the Pharisees, who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousness, was not subdued to the righteousness which standeth before God by faith; and, therefore, went home to his house less justified than the publican. If the Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth; and also condemn all the righteousness of man to be like a defiled cloth; and if St. Paul could find in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but sheweth a continual resistance between the old man and the new; then must it follow, that these Pharisees, who condemn this article of heresy, either carry no flesh and no old man about them to be resisted; or, verily, say what they will, they cannot choose

but be cumbered with evil motions, for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the author sufficiently defendeth itself, as followeth :

"St. Paul biddeth us mortify all our evil desires and carnal lusts, as uncleanness, covetousness, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride, and other like vices. And unto the Romans, he saith, Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: that is to say, albeit that we cannot live without the motion of such evil desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortify them in resisting them," &c.

XXVI. "All true Christianity lieth in love of our neighbours for God: and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers, daily and all day long hearing mass, running on pilgrimage," &c. Fol. 52.

The place of this article is this :

"Thou hast always occasion to mortify thine evil desires, to serve thy neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other semblable means. In such love towards our neighbour for the love of God, lieth all the law and the prophets, as saith Christ, yea, and all Christianity; and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, singing, and long prayers; daily and all day long hearing of masses, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, envious, and subject to all wicked affections, do," &c.

XXVII. "Many doctors in divinity, and not only common people, believe that it is the part of Christian faith only to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here on earth." Fol. 53, 54.

The place is this :

"We believe that Jesus Christ hath here lived on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the story, we believe that this is our Christian faith. This not only the simple people believe, but also doctors in divinity, which are taken for wise men. Yea, the devil hath also this faith; as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble. For, as we have said before, the devil believeth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. This must we also believe, but this is not the faith whereof speaketh the gospel, and St. Paul," &c.

Of this faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth articles of this book, and of the first article gathered out of The Wicked Mammon, and the ninth and tenth articles of The Revelation of Antichrist.

XXVIII. "He that doth good against his will, he doth evil." Fol. 56.

The place is this :

"All good deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as saith St. Augustine : He that doth good against his will, doth evil ; albeit that he doth be good : for that which I do against my will, I hate ; and when I hate the commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it," &c.

XXIX. "No man doth more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make others partakers of their good works." Fol. 59.

The words be these :

"The prophet Isaiah saith, We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth : and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make others partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ saith in the gospel, When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants ; we have done but that which was our duty to do. For none can do too much. None doth more than he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (which only, as saith St. Peter, never did sin, neither was there deceit found in his mouth) hath done that he was not bound to do ; and, as the prophet Isaiah saith, hath taken upon him our infirmities, and borne our sorrows ; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness, and by his stripes are we made whole," &c.

XXX. "Christ hath gotten heaven by his passion ; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promises." Fol. 59.

Read the place :

"Jesus Christ possesseth the kingdom of heaven by double right : first, because he is the Son of God, and very inheritor of his kingdom : secondly, because he hath gotten it by his passion and death. Of his second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises."

XXXI. "If God had promised us heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our salvation." Fol. 59.

XXXII. "Be our sins ever so great, so that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved." Fol. 59.

The words out of the which these two articles be gathered are these :

"If God had promised heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our salvation : for we should never know how much,

nor how long, we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never die joyfully. But God would assure us of heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the truth, and cannot lie ; and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And, notwithstanding that after the greatness and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise : and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully die, and abide the judgment of God, which, else, were intolerable."

Read more hereof before in the eleventh article taken out of The Wicked Mammon.

XXXIII. "If thou love thy wife because she is thy wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God." Fol. 83.

The words be these :

"Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so straitly, as to love one another ; yea, to love our enemies also : then how much more should the man and wife love together ! But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy wife only because she is thy wife, and because she serveth and pleaseth thee after the flesh, for beauty, birth, riches, and such-like, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not St. Paul, for such love is among harlots, yea, among brute beasts : but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in the Christian faith ; and because she is inheritor together with thee in the glory of God ; and because ye serve together one God ; because ye have received together one baptism, &c. Thou shalt also love her for her virtues, as shamefacedness, chastity, and diligence, sadness, patience, temperance, secrecy, obedience, and other godly virtues," &c.

XXXIV. "It is nothing but all incredulity, to run in pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, which is alike mighty in all places." Fol. 62.

The matter of this article is evident to all indifferent and learned judgments, to be void of all doubt of heresy.

XXXV. "Men should see that their children come to church, to hear the sermon." Fol. 89.

The place of this article is this :

"On the festival days thou shalt bring thy children to the church, to hear the sermon ; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the sermon. Thou shalt teach them the Christian faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to die, than to do

any thing that is against the will of God ; and principally, thou shalt learn them the contents of the prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the Pater-noster ; that is to say, how they have another Father in heaven, of whom they must look for all goodness, and without whom they can have no good thing ; and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father : and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire : and how that they must submit all to his holy will, which cannot be but good, &c. Thou shalt buy them wholesome books, as the holy Gospel, the Epistles of the holy apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet fountain and waters of life."

XXXVI. "Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poor that oweth unto thee : for thou mayest not do it without sin." Fol. 97.

The place is this :

"Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, &c., as Christ saith, Resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, &c. St. Paul saith, Render not evil for evil ; and, if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging yourselves, my well-beloved, but give place to wrath : for it is written, To me be the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God."

XXXVII. "Some text of canon law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a city is besieged, or a country invaded, the lord of the country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his subjects." Fol. 119.

XXXVIII. "So a lord may use horrible war charitably and Christianly."

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any people or country, upon any rash cause, as ambition, malice, or revenge, the gospel of Christ giveth us no such sword to fight withal. Notwithstanding, for defence of country and subjects, the magistrate, being invaded or provoked by others, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best : as the city of Marburg did well in defending itself against the emperor, &c.

XXXIX. "The gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the world." Fol. 79.

He that compiled this article, to make the matter to appear more heinous, craftily leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, "by the rule of charity ;" for that the author addeth withal. By which rule of charity, and not of office and duty, every Christian man is bound one to help another ; as Christ himself, being Lord of all, yet, of charity, was a servant to every man to do him good.

Read the place of the Sum of the Scripture, in the page as in the article it is assigned.

XL. "The gospel is written for persons of all estates, prince, duke, pope, emperor." Fol. 112.

They which noted this article for a heresy, I suppose could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture, meaneth.

XLI. "When judges have hope that an evil-doer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in advoury. The temporal law must obey the gospel ; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by justice." Fol. 113.

The purpose of the book whence this article is wrested, being well understood, intendeth not to bind temporal judges and magistrates from due execution of good laws, but putteth both them, and especially spiritual judges, in remembrance, by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent offenders, and who be otherwise ; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be ecclesiastical judges, to spare them ; if they be civil magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call *ἐπιεικεια*.

And thus much hitherto of these heresies and articles collected by the bishops, and inserted in their own registers out of the books above specified. The names of the bishops and collectors were these, Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor ; William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury ; Tonstall, bishop of London ; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester ; Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel ; Richard Woolman, master of the requests ; John Bell, Dr. Wilson, with a great number more, as in the registers doth appear.

I shall not need, I trust, gentle reader, further here to tarry thee with reciting more places, when these already rehearsed may suffice for a taste and a trial for thee, sufficient to note and consider how falsely, and most slanderously, these catholics have depraved and misreported the books and writings of good men, who might almost gather heresies as well of St. John's Gospel, and St. Paul's Epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief ? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the bellows of ambition and iniquity ? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all others, whosoever, in defence of truth, dare touch ever so little either the pope's crown, or the bellies of his clergy : for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched.

And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresy, Heresy; Blasphemy, Error, and Schism. Although the doctrine be ever so sound and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the writer be not such, in all points, (especially in these two above touched,) as will sing after their tune, and dance after their pipe, he is by and by a heretic, by virtue of their inquisition. So did they with the articles of the learned Earl Johannes Picus Mirandula. So did they also with John Reveline or Capnion. So did they also with good John Colet here in England. Also, with the like spirit of lying and cavilling, the catholic faculties of Louvain, Spain, and Paris, condemned the works and writings of Erasmus, and many more. So full they are of censures, articles, suspicions, offences, inquisitions. So captious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting, true meanings into wrong purposes. Briefly, so pregnant they be in finding heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for a heretic. Yea, and though no just cause of any heresy be ministered, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes, with false accusations, to press him with matter which he never spake nor thought. If Luther had not stirred against the pope's pardons and authority, he had remained still a white son of the mother catholic church, and all had been well done, whatsoever he did. But, because he adventured to touch once the triple crown, what floods of heresies, blasphemies, and articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole world! what lies and forged crimes were invented against him!

Here now cometh Staphylus and furious Surius, with their fraternity, and say, that he learned his divinity of the devil. Then followeth another certain chronographer, who, in his lying story reporteth most falsely, that Luther died of drunkenness. With like malice the said chronographer writeth also of Master Bucer, falsely affirming upon his information, that he should deny at his death Christ our Messias to be come; when not only Dr. Redman, who preached at his burial, but also all Englishmen who knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

So was it laid against one Singleton, chaplain some time to Queen Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packington, and afterwards, that he was a stirrer-up of sedition and commotion; who also suffered as a traitor for the same. Whereas, in very deed, the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the gospel unto the people; whose

purpose was ever so far from stirring sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and protested to one Richard Lant his scholar, who is yet alive, and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practice amongst the Romish bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the story of Sir John Oldcastle, and Sir Roger Acton, &c.

Another like practice of such malicious slander we find also in one Merial a bricklayer, whose name, with his abjuration, remaineth yet in the registers of the bishop of London.

The story is this, and not unworthy to be remembered. In the year of our Lord 1534, which was about the first beginning of Queen Anne Bullen, at what time purgatory and such trumpery began to grow in contempt, Stokesley, bishop of London, made a sermon in the Shrouds, upon the Sunday before May-day; where he, preaching in the commendation and virtue of masses, declared to the people, that, for a little cost, if they procured masses to be said, wives might deliver their husbands, and husbands their wives, out of the bitter pains of purgatory. At this sermon, besides many others, was Thomas Merial, a zealous favourer of God's word; who, being in the watch on May-even, made relation of these words of the bishop unto the company about him, amongst whom then was one John Twyford, a furious papist, and who had the same time the setting up of the stakes in Smithfield, whereat the good saints of God were burned.

This Twyford, who then kept a tavern, and had an old grudge against the said Merial for striking his boy, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain lewd persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these: Blackwell, Laurence, Wilson, Thomas Clark, John Duffield, William Kenningham, Thomas Hosier, Worme, a cutler, Allen Ryse, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly Master Chambers's clerk, whose name was Bright. And when he had craftily overcome them with wine, and made them to report what words he listed, and which they knew not themselves, the clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this article was gathered against Merial, that he should hold and affirm, that the passion of Christ doth not help them that came after him, but only them that were in limbo before: and also that he should say, that his wife was as good as our Lady. Upon this writing of the notary, he was immediately brought to Bishop Stokesley, and there, by the deposition of these ten false witnesses, wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Dr. Barret the same time bid him speak

one word (which he knew not) as the sentence was in reading, whereby the condemnation was stayed, and he put to do open penance, and to bear a faggot. Notwithstanding the said Merial swore before the bishop that he never spake nor meant any such word as there was said unto him, but only recited the words of the bishop's sermon, reporting the same in the person of the bishop, and not his own; which also was testified to be true, by the oaths of three others, to wit, William Tompson, Gregory Newman, and William Wit, who, being in the aforesaid watch the same time, did take upon their oath before the bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. These three witnesses, at the second edition hereof, were also living, with the wife of the aforesaid Merial, who would then also be sworn that the same was true: whereas, contrary, the other ten persons be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom, moreover, the most of all the said ten came to a miserable end; whereas the other three who testified the truth with Merial, being living at the second edition hereof, did see the end of all the others. And as for Twyford, which was the executioner of Frith, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, Lambert, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, that none could abide him, and thus came to a wretched end.

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in defaming them for heretics which indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christ's gospel, whoso listeth to search further, (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice,) let him read the story of Merindol and Angrogne. Let him consider the furious bull of Pope Martin, the like slanderous bull also of Pope Leo the Tenth, with the edict of Charles the emperor against Luther. Also let him survey the railing stories of Surius the monk of Cologne; the book of Hosius; of Lindanus; the chronography of Genebarde; the story of Cochleus against the Hussites and the Lutherans, with the preface of Conradus Brunus the lawyer prefixed before the same, wherein he, most falsely and untruly railing against these protestants, whom he calleth heretics, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, church-robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of public peace and tranquillity, corrupters and subverters of commonweals, and all else that naught is.

In much like sort was Socrates accused of his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defendeth. Aristides the

just lacked not his unjust accusers. Was it not objected unto St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof? How was it laid to the Christian martyrs in the primitive church, for worshipping of an ass's head, and for sacrificing of infants. And, to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the Christian congregation of the Frenchmen, gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of filthy commixion of men and women together, and the king the same time (Henry the Second) was made to believe that beds with pillows and mats were found there on the floor where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and criminations, when also our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a wine drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, &c.

Even so, likewise, it pleaseth our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the like kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who, under the name of the church, will needs maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world; and because they cannot uphold their cause by plain Scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and slandering; making princes and the simple people believe, that all be heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and commonweals, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had burned the city of Rome six days and seven nights, he made open proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious catholics, who, when they be the true heretics themselves, and have burned and destroyed the church of Christ, make out their exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor Lutherans, to make the people believe, that they be the heretics, schismatics, disturbers of the whole world; who, if they could prove them, as they reprove them to be heretics, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them heretics, and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error. They call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood hath been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They

charge them with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the Scripture and word of God? or what is so like rebellion, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine did ever attribute so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? He that saith that the bishop of Rome is no more than the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown, is not by and by a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which, indeed, the bishop of Rome cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater heretics, the protestants or the papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech thee, whosoever knowest the doctrine of them both, whether of these two do ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the protestants, which admit no other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but him alone; or else the papists, who can abide none of these articles, but condemn the same for heresy? This being so, (as they themselves will not deny,) now judge, good reader, who hath set the city of Rome on fire—Nero, or the Christians.

But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to show forth the proclamation of the bishops for the abolishing of English books above rehearsed as being corrupt and full of heresy, which, notwithstanding, we have declared to contain no heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and scripture of God.

Here now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this edict and proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the gospel's ever rising again, and that they had established their kingdom for ever; as indeed, to all men's thinking, it might seem no less. For who would have thought, after so strait, so precise, and so solemn a proclamation, set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority; also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lacels, and the rest: item, after the busy search, moreover, and names-taking of many other, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up, divers in present peril, and expectation of

their attachment, who would have thought it (I say) otherwise possible, but that the gospel must needs have an overthrow, seeing what sure work the papists here had made, in setting up their side, and throwing down the contrary?

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to show his power against man's presumption, that when man counteth himself most sure, then is he furthest off, and when he supposeth to have done all, then is he anew to begin again. So was it in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maxentius, Decius, and other emperors, impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, did not only constitute laws and proclamations against the Christians, but also did engrave the same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we see how, with a little turning of God's hand, all their puissant devices and brazen laws turned all to wind and dust: so little doth it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings! Howsoever man's building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick and mouldering stones, yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pluck down. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesseth, that prevaieth. And yet man's unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up towers of Babel against the Lord, which, the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruin: for what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing, as in example of all ages it is to be seen, so, in this late proclamation devised by the bishops, is it in like manner exemplified; the which proclamation, though it was sore and terrible for the time, yet, not long after, by reason of the king's death, (whom the Lord shortly thereupon took to his mercy,) it made at length but a castle come down. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned them to the "threnes" of Jeremy. Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hosts, whose name be sanctified for ever!

This I do not infer for any other purpose, but only for the works of the Lord to be seen; premonishing thee, good reader, withal, that as touching the king, (who in this proclamation had nothing but the name only,) here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise; who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in all things virtuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redress of religion hath not lightly been seen in any other prince christened: as in abolishing the stout and almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing custom of

idolatry and pilgrimage, &c. ; which enterprises, as never king of England did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him, so, yet to this day, we see but few in other realms dare follow the same. If princes have always their council about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of princes themselves. So long as Queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, Archbishop Cranmer, Master Denny, Doctor Butts, with such like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage-worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holy-days, both by act public, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect.

A private letter of the king to Bishop Bonner.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well! And whereas, considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our subjects, by the great superfluity of holy-days, we have, by the assents and consents of all you the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed. And to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments, in our name, to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holy-days aforesaid, a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith; commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur at, or to condemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convoca-

tion. And forasmuch as the time of bare approacheth, our pleasure is ye shall, with diligence and dexterity, put this matter in effect, as that it may immediately take place for the good of our subjects at this time accordingly, failing, as ye will answer unto us for the same.

"Given under our signet, at our maner of Chertsey, the eleventh day of August.

Thus, while good counsel was about him, could be heard, the king did much good. When sinister and wicked counsel, under crafty pretences, had gotten once the foot in the door, driving truth and verity out of the prince's mind, much religion and all good things went presently forward before, so much, on the contrary, revolted backward again. Whereupon this proclamation above mentioned, concerning abolishing and burning of English books, a proclamation, bearing the name of the king's, but being the very deed of the popish party, no doubt had done much hurt in the church of the godly sort, bringing them either into danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, not the shortness of the king's days stopping malignant purposes of the aforesaid prelates, the king to leave that by death unto the which by his life he would not grant. For four months after, the proclamation coming, August, he deceased in the beginning of July, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, A. D. 1547, leaving behind him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdom, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth; of whom it remained to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the present history, according as the order of their lives require; after that, first, I shall have promised certain other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

The history touching the persecution in Scotland with the names and causes of such true martyrs, as in that country suffered for the truth, after the time of Patrick Hamelton.

Thus, having finished the time and race of Henry the Eighth, it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and set down so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, which in that country, likewise, suffered for the true religion of Christ, and the testimony of their faith.

To proceed therefore in the history of these

tish matters, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Nicholas Gurlay, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of Sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike; who, being accused of herey, as the papists call it, and cited there-for A. D. 1540, and not appearing, and escaping out into other countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates of Scotland; and all his goods confiscated, and his picture at last burned in the open market-place. Whose story, with his articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensueth in process under expressed, as followeth.

The act or process, or certain articles against Sir John Borthwike, knight, in Scotland: with the answer and confutation of the said Borthwike: whose preface to the reader here followeth.

"By the help of a certain friend of mine, there came certain articles unto my hand, for the which the Scottish cardinal, and such other like of his sect and affinity, did condemn me as a heretic. And forasmuch as this condemnation should not lack his cloak or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, whereas, besides the bare names of the witnesses, they alleged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those articles, which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion, as though that I, being vanquished or overthrown by their threatenings, would deny Christ; and, partly, that their errors being thereby made manifest, they should even for very shame repent, or else, hereafter, the less abuse the furor or madness of such witnesses to shed blood. Therefore I will first confirm, by evident testimonies of the Scriptures, those things which in times past I have taught; and afterwards I will refel their vain sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God."

The act or process, &c.

"Sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convicted by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord 1540, the twenty-eighth day of May, in the cloister of St. Andrew's, in the presence of the most reverend fathers, Gawine, archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland; William, bishop of Aberdeen, Henry, bishop of Candidatia, John, bi-

shop of Brechin, and William, bishop of Dunblane; Andrew of Melrose, George of Dunfermline, John of Paslet, John of Londrose, Robert of Rillos, and William of Rulrose, abbots; Mancolme of Quiterne and John of Petinuaim, priors; Master Alexander Balfour, vicar of Ritman, rector of law, official of St. Andrew's; John Winryme, subprior; John Annand and Thomas Cunningham, canons of St. Andrew's; John Thompson of the university of St. Andrew's; and Master John Mairr and Peter Capel, bachelors of divinity and doctors; Martin Balfour, bachelor of divinity, and of the law, and official principal of St. Andrew's; John Tulildaffe, warden of the Friars Minors, and John Patterson of the same convent: and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty, and right worshipful lords, George earl of Huntelo, James earl of Arran, William earl marshall, William earl of Montrose; Malcolm Lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland; John Lord Linsey, John Lord Erskine, George Lord Seton, Sir James Hamelton of Finwart, Walter, lord of the knights of St. John, of Forfichen; Master James Foules of Collington, clerk to the king's register; with divers other lords, barons, and honest persons, being called and required together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish, and openly teach, these errors following."

The first article.

"That our most holy father the pope, the vicar of Jesu Christ, hath not, neither can exercise, greater authority over Christians here on earth, than any other bishop or prelate."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"These holy ones do magnify their Lord by like title as common thieves and robbers are accustomed to prefer the captains and ringleaders of their robberies and mischiefs, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole world there is no man more given to riot, which more greedily doth seek after all kind of delicateness and wantonness, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as treason, murder, rapine, and all kind of such evils.

"Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the vicar of Christ here on earth, it shall be easily convinced, when it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath, nor can exercise, more power or authority over Christians, than any other bishop or prelate. For unto that office of being vicar they refer that great authority the which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the office of vicar doth also fall and decay. But now, to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the main-

tainers of this pre-eminency and authority, whereupon they will ground the same? I know that they will answer unto me, that Peter had power and authority over the other apostles, and consequently over the universal church, the which power, by succession, is translated unto the bishops of Rome. But how unshamefacedly do they lie herein, any may easily perceive who hath but any small spark of judgment in him, when he shall hear the testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will allege to confirm this our opinion. For Peter, in Acts xv., in the council, doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And he there did also hear others speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others?

"Furthermore, whereas in his First Epistle he writeth unto bishops and pastors, he doth not command them as a superior or head over them, by power and authority, but maketh them his fellow companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done between equals of degree; for these are his words: I beseech and desire the bishops and pastors which are amongst you, forasmuch as I myself am also a bishop, and a witness of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they do diligently feed the flock of Christ, which is committed unto them. Why then do they so challenge unto them the authority of Peter, which he never acknowledged in himself? Truly, I do not doubt but that if Peter were here present, he would, with like severity, rebuke their folly and madness, as Moses, in times past, did unto Joshua, which burned with too earnest a zeal towards him.

"I doubt not but that many, in this feigned authority of Peter, do seek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the tyranny of popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all others. For whereas in Acts viii. he is commanded by his fellows to go with John into Samaria, he did not refuse so to do. Inasmuch then as the apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that they do not count him as their head and superior; and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the office or ministry committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a society and fellowship with them, but no rule or empery over them, as he writeth in his Epistle.

"But if none of these examples were evident or manifest, the only Epistle to the Galatians were sufficient to put us out of all doubt; where St. Paul, almost throughout two whole chapters, doth

nothing else but declare and affirm himself to be equal unto Peter, in the honour or dignity of the apostleship. For, first of all, he rehearseth how he went up to Jerusalem unto Peter, not to the intent to profess any homage and subjection unto him, but only to witness, with a common consent and agreement, unto all men the doctrine which they taught; and that Peter did require no such things at his hand, but gave unto him the right side or upper hand of the fellowship, that they might jointly together labour in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreover, that he had no less favour and grace among the Gentiles, than Peter had amongst the Jews; and finally, when Peter did not faithfully execute his office and ministry, he was by him rebuked, and Peter became obedient unto his correction.

"All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between Paul and Peter, and also that Peter had no more power over the residue of the apostles than he had over Paul: which thing St. Paul even of purpose doth treat of, lest any man should prefer Peter or John before him in the office of apostleship, which were but his companions, and not lords over one another. Whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge Peter to be superior or head over other apostles, neither the pope over other bishops: but I acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only Head of the church, the Foundation and High Priest thereof, who, with one only oblation, hath made perfect for evermore all those which are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with St. Gregory, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called, the head or universal priest or bishop, in that his pride he is the fore-rider or predecessor of antichrist; forasmuch as, through his pride, he doth exalt himself above all others.

"Furthermore, whereas they allege, out of the old law, the high priesthood and the supreme judgment which God did institute and ordain at Jerusalem; I answer thereunto, that Christ was that high bishop, unto whom the right and title of priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his honour; forasmuch as this priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but in the propitiation and mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his death, and in the intercession, by which he doth now entreat for us unto his Father.

"Whereas also they do allege out of Matt. xvi., Thou art Peter, and upon this rock, &c., if they do think that this was particularly spoken unto Peter, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine shall sufficiently

answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the unity of the church; for so saith St. Cyprian: 'In the person of one man God gave unto them all the keys, that he might thereby signify the unity of them all. For even as Peter was, even the very same were all the residue, being endued with like fellowship of honour and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take its original of one, that the church of God might be manifested to be one only.' St. Augustine's words are these: 'If the mystery of the church were not in Peter, the Lord would not have said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If this were spoken unto Peter, the church hath them not. If the church have them, then Peter, when he received the keys, did figurate the whole church. Again, when they were all demanded and asked, only Peter answered, Thou art Christ. Then was it said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys, as though that he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; for, like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that unity, received the same with them all. Therefore, one for them all, because he is united unto them all.'

"Another argument they do gather upon the words which Christ spake unto Peter, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church: which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the apostles. This argument shall easily be dissolved, if we do understand and know why Christ did give Peter that name, which otherwise was called Simon. In the first chapter of John, Christ speaketh thus unto him: Thou shalt be called Cephas; which, by interpretation, signifieth Peter: in that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the name of Abraham, who at first was called Abram, because he should be a father of many nations. Then, even as Abraham took his name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise Peter took his name of the constant confession of Christ, which indeed is the true rock whereupon the church is builded, and not Peter himself; no otherwise than Abraham, which was not the multitude itself, whereof he took his name. Besides this, the church should be stayed, or builded, upon an over-weak foundation, if it should have Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who, being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did so constantly deny Christ.

"Now, therefore, I think there is no man but

that doth understand how these Romish builders do wrest the Scriptures hither and thither, and, like unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and use they themselves think good.

"Furthermore, in that they do allege, out of John xx., Feed my sheep, it is an over-childish argument; for to feed, is not to bear rule and dominion over the whole church. Besides all this, as Peter had received commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other bishops to feed their flock, in his First Epistle and fifth chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of Christ, that either there was no authority given unto Peter more than unto others, or else that Peter did equally communicate that right and authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve it unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the bishops of Rome.

"As for such reasons as they do allege, which are not gathered or taken out of Holy Scriptures, I pass them over, lest I might seem to contend with shadows."

The second article.

"That indulgences and pardons, granted by our supreme head the pope, are of no force, strength, or effect; but tend only to the abuse of the people, and to the deceiving of their souls."

Sir John Borthwicke's answer.

"It shall be evidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I have, first of all, taught what they do call indulgences or pardons. They say, they are the treasures of the church, that is to say, the merits of Christ, of the saints, apostles and martyrs, whom they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at God's hand, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for them; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, as was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others. And, because so great a goodness should not be superfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach, that their blood was mixed and joined with the blood of Christ; and of them both, the treasure of the church was compounded, and made for the remission and satisfaction of sins. How cunning and notable cooks these are, which can make a confection of so many sundry herbs!

"Furthermore, they do feign the custody and keeping of this treasure to be committed wholly unto the bishop of Rome, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great treasures, that either

by himself may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto other to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary indulgences and pardons granted by the pope, for certain years; by cardinals, for a hundred days; by bishops, for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those saints to work or deserve for others, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of salvation? For, if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or work his salvation, how did the saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that Christ saith, in Luke xvii., When ye have done all that which is commanded you for to do, yet, saith he, ye are unprofitable servants. Besides this, all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, is, in Isaiah xxxiv., compared unto the garment menstruous and defiled, to be cast out.

"There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein man's power is so extenuated, and the corruption and frowardness of our nature so made manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten virgins, written in Matthew xxv., ought to put us out of all controversy and doubt. There Christ describeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men, which observe and keep the inward righteousness of the heart as the oil of faith; the other sort is of such as, having no mind of their oil, are answered by them that are wise, No! lest that there be not sufficient for you and for us; but go you rather to them which do sell, and buy for yourselves: in the which place it is manifestly declared how vainly the second sort of men do fly to the patronage of the elect, by whose merits they think to be saved.

"Now let us weigh and consider upon what places of Scripture they build or establish their feigned invention of pardons. They allege the saying of St. Paul to the Colossians, I supply or fulfil the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his body which is the church. But Paul, in this place, doth not refer that defect or supplement to any work of redemption, expiation, or satisfaction; but to those afflictions, by the which the members of Christ, that is to say, all the faithful, should be afflicted, so long as they live in the flesh: wherefore he saith, that this doth yet remain of the passion of Christ, that those afflictions which once he suffered in his own body, he now daily suffereth in his members. For Christ hath vouchsafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his.

"And whereas St. Paul doth add this word, for the church, he doth not understand thereby for the redemption, reconciliation, satisfaction, or expiation of the church, but for the edifying and the profiting of the same, as in the Second Epistle to Timothy, he saith, that for the elect's sake he suffered all these things, that they might obtain salvation. But, to the intent that no man should think that salvation to depend upon those things which he himself had suffered, he added further, The which is in Christ Jesu.

"As touching the reason, that the blood of the martyrs is not shed in vain, without fruit or profit: and, therefore, ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the church; I answer, that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant; to glorify God by their death, to subscribe and bear witness unto the truth by their blood, and, by the contempt of this present life, to witness that they do seek after a better life; by their constancy and steadfastness, to confirm and establish the faith of the church, and subdue and vanquish the enemy."

The third article.

"That the pope is an open user of simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualities: and that it is lawful for all bishops to be coupled and joined in matrimony."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"This article hath its several parts, for those things which we have spoken or answered unto the article before-written, do sufficiently declare, that the pope is not only a user of simony, but also a notable deceiver, who selleth such kind of merchandise as can in no place help or prevail; forasmuch as his pardons are nothing less than such as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then show himself a manifest deceiver, when he maketh fairs and markets of them?

"But, to the intent I will not seem in this behalf vainly to labour or travail, I will pass unto the second part, where I do say, that it is not only done against the word of God, but also against equity and justice, to forbid priests to marry, forasmuch as it is not lawful for any man, by any means, to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For St. Paul, in Hebrews xiii., declareth that matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, that marriage, and the undefiled bed [or chamber], is honourable amongst all men. And in 1 Cor. vii., he saith, For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own. But I know what these obstinate and stiffnecked will answer unto me, that the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of priests.

But what will they answer unto me, as touching that which is written in 1 Tim. iii. 1, A bishop ought to be without rebuke, the husband of one wife? and, by and by after, he saith, Deacons ought to be the husbands of one wife, the which should rule and govern their children and family uprightly. Unto these Paul affirmeth matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary.

"What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghost he declareth in the fourth chapter of the same Epistle, that in the latter days there should come wicked men, which should forbid matrimony? and he calleth them not only deceivers, but also wicked spirits; attending unto the doctrine of wicked spirits. But these men think that they have very well escaped, when they wrest this sentence to those old ancient heretics the Tatianists. 'They,' say these men, 'did only condemn matrimony: we do not condemn it, but only forbid churchmen to marry; unto whom we think matrimony is not convenient.' As though that albeit this prophecy were first of all complete and fulfilled in the Tatianists, that it did not also redound unto them; or as though this their subtle sophistication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally! Like as if a tyrant would contend and affirm his law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the city is oppressed.

"But now, let us hear the reasons of the contrary part: 'It behoveth,' say they, 'a priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable mark or token.' But read St. Paul, where he describeth the perfect image of a good bishop: did he not reckon and account marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret Paul: verily, that a bishop ought not to be chosen, which hath married his *second* wife. But also it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is false, forasmuch as he doth, by and by, declare and show what manner of women the wives of bishops and deacons ought to be. Wherefore St. Paul numbereth matrimony amongst the principal virtues pertaining unto a bishop: and these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the orders of the church, and not being content with that general reproach or slander, they call it in the canons, 'the uncleanness, polluting, and defiling of the flesh.'

"Now let every man consider with himself out of what shop this stuff is taken. God instituted matrimony: Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine; and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the image or figure of

his love and friendship with the church. What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of wedlock? But these unshamefaced faces do call it 'a filthy and unclean thing,' alleging the Levitical priests, which, as often as they came unto the office of ministration, were bound to lie apart from their wives, whereby they, being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things: and our sacraments, forasmuch as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomely thing that they should be handled by married men! As though that the office of the ministry of the gospel were all one with the Levitical priesthood. For they, as figures, did represent Christ, which, being Mediator between God and man, by his singular and absolute purity and cleanness, should reconcile the Father unto us. For forasmuch as on no part sinners could exhibit or show forth any type or form of his sanctity or holiness, yet, to the intent they might shadow him out with certain similitudes or lineaments, they were commanded that whensoever they should come unto the sanctuary or holy place, they should purify themselves above all men's order or fashion: for then did they most near and properly figurate Christ, which appeared in the tabernacle as peace-maker, to reconcile the people unto God. This image or personage, forasmuch as our ecclesiastical pastors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the apostle, without all exception, upon a sure and good ground doth pronounce and say, that marriage is honourable amongst all men, and that whoremongers and adulterers do abide the judgment of God.

"Besides all this, the apostles themselves, by their examples, do prove that matrimony is not unworthy of any office or function, be it ever so excellent; for St. Paul himself is witness, that they did not only keep their wives, but also carried them about with them."

The fourth article.

"That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England, or at the least, the greater or most part of them, are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen, to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all faithful Christians as most true and conformable unto the law of God; and that he had persuaded many persons to embrace the said heresies."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"St. John, in his eleventh chapter, declareth how Caiaphas, high bishop of Jerusalem, did prophesy

that Jesus should die for the people; which thing he spake, being utterly ignorant. The like image of blindness we have now presently in our luxurious cardinal of St. Andrews, and his adherents, which accused religion of heresy, which, in the year of our Lord 1540, was had in estimation in England, at which time they proclaimed me an arch-heretic, although they esteem the same religion for most Christian; for what religion at the time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of antichrist; the others not. Idols were worshipped by both nations; the profaning of the Supper and Baptism was alike unto them both; wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisy.

"Truly it is most false which they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the law of God, whereas nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodness and mercy had opened my dazzling eyes, and had drawn me out of the filthy slough of idolatry and superstition, in the which, amongst others, I have so long time wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same; except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes wished that the yoke of antichrist should be shaken and cast off from the necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing, with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind, I do now also wish and desire."

The fifth article.

"That the Scottish nation and their clergy be altogether blinded; of whom he did also say and affirm, that they had not the true catholic faith. And this he did so openly teach and preached also, that his faith was much better and more excellent, than the faith of all the clergy in the realm of Scotland."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"No man will deny that people to be blinded, which neither hear Christ nor his apostles. Such are the people of Scotland; I speak of those unto whom the verity and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested itself. There is no cause, therefore, why they should accuse me of heresy. Furthermore, how far off the nation and the people of Scotland be from the hearing of Christ, (albeit the premises do sufficiently declare,) in that they do challenge unto the Romish antichrist the authority which Christ and his apostles do declare Christ

himself to be endued withal, and that, contrary to the word of God, they forbid priests to marry, I will add something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the door whereby all men ought to enter in: see John x. Contrariwise, the Scots do say and affirm, that we must enter in by the Virgin Mary and St. Peter. Christ, in John iv., saith, The time shall come, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: the Scots build themselves high temples and chapels for idols, in which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. x., saith that Christ, by one only oblation, hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified: which saying confirmeth also the words of Christ hanging upon the cross, saying, It is finished; signifying that by his death there was a final end set to all sacrifices, which are offered up for sins. But the Scottish churchmen, as they are blasphemers indeed, so do they brag and boast, that they daily offer up Christ for the sins both of the quick and of the dead! God commandeth us that we shall not worship any graven image: the Scots do not only fall down flat before images, but also offer up incense unto them! St. Paul teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace traditions feigned and invented out by man's head, before the law of God; they stablish righteousness in their own works; sanctification in holy water and other external things; redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great antichrist. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do allege that the people of Scotland are blind, and that my faith, which doth only behold the word of God, is much better and more excellent than theirs?"

The sixth article.

"Agreeably to the ancient errors of John Wickliff and John Huss, arch-heretics condemned in the council of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached, that the clergy ought not to possess or have any temporal possessions; neither to have any jurisdiction or authority in temporalities, even over their own subjects; but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"The Lord, in the book of Numbers, chap. xviii., said thus unto Aaron, Thou shalt possess nothing in their land; neither shalt thou have any portion and inheritance amongst them, I am thy portion and inheritance amongst the children of Israel. For

unto the sons of Levi I have given all the tithes of Israel, that they should possess them for their ministry which they do execute in the tent of ordinances. Albeit I do not doubt but that the order of the Levites, and of our clergy, is far different and variable: for the administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death, passed unto their posterity as it were by right of inheritance; which happeneth not unto the posterity of our clergy in these days.

"Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possess it: but still I do affirm, that all temporal jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when twice there rose a contention amongst the disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered, The kings of nations have dominion over them, and such as have power over them are called beneficial: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equal unto the youngest or least; and he which is the prince or ruler amongst you, shall be made equal unto him that doth minister: minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the ministers of his word from all terrene and civil dominion and empire. For by these points he doth not only declare that the office of a pastor is distinct and divided from the office of a prince and ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or join together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain a harder law than he himself before did take upon him: forasmuch as in Luke xii., certain of the company said unto him, Master, command my brother that he divide his inheritance with me: he answered; Man, who made me a judge or divider amongst you? We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the office of a judge; the which thing he would not have done, if it had been agreeable unto his office or duty. The like thing also he did in John viii., when he refused to give judgment upon the woman taken in adultery, which was brought before him.

Whereas they do allege that Moses did supply both offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time, until things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certain form and rule prescribed him of the Lord, when he took upon him the civil governance; and the priesthood he was commanded to resign unto his brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages; neither was there any bishop, so long as any

true face or show of the church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the sword. Whereupon, in the time of St. Ambrose this proverb took its original, 'that emperors did rather wish or desire the office of priesthood, than priests any empire.' For it was all men's opinion at that time, that sumptuous palaces did pertain unto emperors, and churches unto priests. St. Bernard, also, writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our opinion; as is this his saying: 'Peter could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his successors that which he had, that is to say, carefulness over the congregation; for when the Lord and Master saith, that He is not constitute or ordained judge between two, the servant or disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not judge all men.' And, lest that he might seem in that place to speak of the spiritual judgment, he straightway annexeth, 'Therefore,' saith he, 'your power and authority shall be in offence and transgression; not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Why then do you invade other men's bounds or borders?' The rest I pass over for brevity's sake."

The seventh article.

"Falsely, and against the honour, estate, and reverence of the sacred Majesty of the king of Scots, he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble king of Scots, defender of the Christian faith, would appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the church, given and granted by his predecessors, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour persuaded our said noble lord and king thereunto."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"It is no marvel though these mad dogs do so bark against me, whom they think to have counselled the king's Majesty, (I would to God I had also thoroughly persuaded him,) that he should take away from these unjust, sacrilegious possessors the riches wherewithal they are fatted and engreased like swine. For this is the nature of dogs, that if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him, and tear him with their teeth. It is out of all controversy unto such as have any wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and judgment, which did so fat and feed with their possessions these belly-beasts. For who would no'

judge it more than childish, to bestow the king's victuals or meat upon the bellies of the prophets of Baal and Jezebel? But all they that, at this present, do endure such filthy sinks (I will not call them dens of thieves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of Jezebel; for what other thing do they, when daily they are bleating and bowing before their images, burning of incense, and falling flat down before their altars, but that which in times past the prophets of Baal did, when they transported the worship of God unto an idol? Wherefore, if Daniel and Elias were spotted with heresy, when they would have destroyed the priests of Baal, I grant that I also must be a heretic.

"But forasmuch as he then did nothing but that which was commanded him of the Lord, who was able to kill the prophets that had allured the people to follow strange gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of heresy: so neither can my adversaries spot me therewithal, except, peradventure, they will condemn in me, that whereas Elias dealt more rigorously with the prophets of Baal, for he cast them into the brook Kedron, I required or desired no more, but that the riches which were wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions, might be taken from them."

The eighth article.

"He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed, that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruin, as the church of England was already come unto."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"If the church of Israel decayed, when in the time of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and other holy men, it was released and set at liberty out of Babylon; I grant also, that it was a ruin unto the Englishmen, to have departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredom; upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the wine of her whoredom and unshamefacedness. They had rather cause to give me thanks, who, with so sincere and good a heart, wished unto them so happy a fall. But these unthankful persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to tear me asunder, but now also, as blind rage and madness have taken away all sincerity and uprightness of mind and judgment, they lie in wait, and lay snares for my life."

The ninth article.

"He hath openly holden, said and affirmed,

preached and taught, that the laws of the church that is to say, the sacred canons, approved and allowed by the holy catholic and apostolic church, of no force, strength, or effect; alleging, that they are made and invented contrary to the law of God."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"God forbid that I should say, that the laws which are approved and allowed by the holy catholic church, should be of no effect or value. As well I know, that the holy apostolic church never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord. The apostles are witnesses thereof, Peter and Paul, who one of them dareth not freely utter or speak of those things which Christ hath not willed himself for the obedience of the Gentiles. The apostles other exhorteth, that if any man speak, let him speak the praises of God. But I condemn the laws which the bishops of Rome have made according to their own will and mind, and which are spiritual, pertaining unto the soul, and lead unto everlasting life; forasmuch as the apostles do evidently declare, that they have authority known amongst them to make or alter any ordinances or laws.

"Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifest the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lord's mouth, this aforesaid authority is taken from the ministers of the church; so that no excuse remaineth, but that they be plain rebels against the word of God, how many soever do presume upon them to appoint or set any new laws upon the people of God: which thing is more manifestly evident than the light itself, in many places of Scripture; for in Joshua xxiii., it is written, I shall observe and do all that is written in the book of Moses, neither shall you swerve from the law to the right hand or to the left hand. And in which is written in Deuteronomy xii., thou shalt move them somewhat more. Whatsoever the Lord shall command, saith the Lord, that shall ye observe: and thenceforth thenceforth ye shall add nothing, neither shall ye take any thing from it. The like he had said before in chapter iv. of the same book. And also Moses, in chapter xiii. of the same book, doth witness, that he did put forth life and blessing unto the people when he gave them that law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuse themselves of perjury, who ordain new laws to live by?"

"But let us proceed further, and see what authority the priests of Levi's stock had to make laws. They do not deny but that God, in Deut. xvii., ordained a great penalty, that the authority of the priests

should not be contemned, but had in reverence. But in Malachi ii. he also declareth under what condition they are to be heard, where he saith, He hath made a covenant with Levi, that the law of truth should be in his mouth. And, by and by after, he addeth, The lips of the priest shall keep and maintain wisdom; and the law they shall require at his mouth, who is the messenger of the Lord of hosts. Therefore it is fit and necessary, if a priest will be heard, that he doth show himself the messenger of God, that is to say, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For where Malachi speaketh of hearing of them, he putteth this specially, that they do answer according to the law of the Lord. Therefore, like as the Levitical priests did break their covenant made with God, if they did teach any other law than that which they had received of him, so, likewise, these men must either acknowledge themselves to be covenant-breakers, or else they may not bind the consciences of men with any new law.

“Furthermore, what power the prophets had universally, it is very lively described in Ezekiel, chapter xxxiii. Thou son of man, saith the Lord, I have made thee a guide unto the house of Israel: thou shalt hear the word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me. He then who is commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speak any thing of himself? for what other thing is it to speak from the Lord, but so to speak that he may boldly affirm and say, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lord, which he speaketh?

“Further, God, by his prophet Jeremy, calleth it chaff, whatsoever doth not proceed from himself. Wherefore none of the prophets have opened their mouths at any time to speak, but being premonished by the word of God. Whereupon it happeneth, that these words are so often pronounced by them, The word of the Lord; the charge or burden of the Lord; the vision of the Lord; thus saith the Lord; the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

“Now, that we may also confirm that which is before spoken, by the examples of the apostles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the law which Christ prescribed unto them, when he endowed them with the dignity and honour of the apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In Matthew xxviii. he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such things as they themselves did rashly invent or devise, but those things which he had commanded them.

Furthermore, Paul, in 1 Corinthians ii., denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the faith of

the Corinthians, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of St. Paul, read chap. x. of his Epistle to the Romans, where he teacheth, that faith cometh by hearing. It cometh not by the dreams of the bishop of Rome, or of any other bishop, but only by the word of God.

“Neither ought any man to think it strange, that Christ restrained his apostles by the law, that they should not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord: he set the same law upon himself, because it should not be lawful for any man to refuse it. My doctrine, saith Christ, is not mine, but his which sent me; my Father's. He who hath been the only and eternal counsellor of the Father, who also is ordained by the Father the Lord and Master over all, yet, for so much as he hath the office and part of a minister, he doth by his example prescribe unto all ministers, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching. Wherefore the power of the church is not such, that she may, at her own will and discretion, teach new doctrines, or, as they term it, frame new articles of faith, or establish new laws; but is subject unto the word of the Lord, and as it were included in the same.

“But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their constitutions. The apostles, say they, and the elders of the primitive church, established a decree, besides the commandment of Christ, whereby they did command all people to abstain from all things offered unto idols, suffocation, and blood: If that were lawful for them so to do, why is it not lawful for their successors, as often as necessity shall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

“But I deny that the apostles, in that behalf, did make any new decree or ordinance, forasmuch as Peter, in the same council, pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the disciples. Even he himself doth subvert and overthrow his own sentence, if they consent to lay any yoke upon them.—But a yoke *is* laid upon them, if the apostles, by their own authority, do decree to prohibit the Gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto idols or strangled. But, you will say, they *do* write that they should abstain from these things.—I grant that they do so write: but what doth St. James declare? that the Gentiles which are converted unto God, are not to be troubled and vexed in such extern decrees and outward elements as these be. And the apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing less, than to restrain the liberty of the Gentiles, but only to admonish and warn them, how they should moderate and rule themselves among

their brethren, lest they should abuse their liberty to the offence of the others.

"They allege furthermore, that which is written in Matthew xxiii., The scribes and Pharisees have sitten in the chair of Moses; therefore, all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do; but do you not as they do.

"I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply instructing his hearers whom before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow, yet, for all that, they should not refuse to do these things which they did teach by the word: I say, by the word, and not of their own head."

The tenth article.

"Divers and many ways he hath said, holden, and also affirmed, and openly taught, that there is no religion to be observed or kept, but simply to be abolished and destroyed, as it is now in England; and, despising all religion, affirming that it is but an abusion of the people, he hath taught that their habits and vestures are deformed and very monstrous, having in them no manner of utility or holiness; inducing and alluring, as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all religion in the kingdom of Scotland should be subverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the catholic church, and the diminishing and detriment of the Christian religion."

Sir John Barthmike's answer.

"The prophet Isaiah, in his fifth chapter, crieth out, saying, Woe be unto you which call evil good, and good evil, darkness light, and light darkness, sour sweet, and sweet sour. And it followeth in the same place in the said prophet, Woe, saith he, to you that be wise and sapient in your own eyes, and prudent in your own estimation. No man can deny but that the cardinal of Scotland and his adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when they do so generally confound the Christian religion and their wicked monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they do it by a sacrilegious audacity or boldness, unto such as, setting apart all preposterous affection, will embrace the truth, when she doth manifestly show herself.

"But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to understand, that I do not touch that kind of monkery, which St. Augustine and others do so often make mention of; as in which the monks, being ga-

thered together, utterly contemning and despising the vanities of this world, did lead a most chaste and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and disputations; not puffed up with pride; nor contentious with frowardness, neither full of envy: no man possessed any things of his own; no man was chargeable or burdensome unto others. They wrought with their hands, to get that which might sustain the body, the spirit and mind not let and hindered from God. Whatsoever did superabound more than was necessary for their sustentation, (as, by the restraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their hands,) it was with such diligence distributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them that did give the same. For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but sought all means possible, that nothing should remain by them more than sufficient. Besides this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or suffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refused, neither was he condemned of the rest, which confessed himself unable to imitate or follow. They had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembered that all things are clean to them which are clean: therefore they did not refuse or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole industry and labour was applied to subdue lust and concupiscence, and to retain love amongst brethren. Many of them did drink no wine, yet, notwithstanding, they thought not themselves defiled therewithal: for unto such as were sick and diseased, who could not recover the health of their body without the same, they did most gently permit it. And whereas many foolishly refused the same, they brotherly admonished them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain superstition.

"Hitherto I have repeated that which St. Augustine writeth of the monks of his time, whereby I would, as it were, paint out in a table, what manner of monkery there was in the old time, that all men might understand how great difference there is between that, and the monkery in these our later days. For he would have all extreme compulsion to be taken away in such things as, by the word of God, are left to us at liberty. But, now-a-days, there is nothing more severely and cruelly exacted: for they say it is a remediless offence if any do, but ever so little, swerve from their prescript order, in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

"St. Augustine doth straightly affirm, that it is not lawful for monks to live idle upon other men's labour. He plainly denieth that in his time there

was any such example of any well-ordered monastery. But our monks do constitute the principal part of holiness in idleness, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the state or monkery of the old time, and of these our days, is in all points so diverse, that scarce can any thing be more unlike (I will not say, utterly contrary); for our monks, not content with that godliness to the study and desire whereof Christ commandeth all his continually to be attentive, imagine a new kind of godliness, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect than all others. But it is a most pestilent error, (which all godly men ought to abhor,) to feign any other rule of perfection, than that common rule delivered unto the whole universal church, which we suppose to be sufficiently approved in the refutation of the article before passed.

"Now I also pass over with silence the great blasphemy, whereby they compare their monastical confession unto baptism. I also hold my peace, that they do dissipate and divide the communion of the church, when they do separate themselves from the lawful society and fellowship of the faithful, and claim unto themselves a peculiar ministry and private administration of the sacraments: but, as St. Augustine witnesseth, it was so far off, that the monks, in times past, had any several church or administration of the sacraments from others, that they were a part and portion of the common people, albeit they dwelt asunder.

"But if a man may touch the manner of these our monks, what shall I call the cloisters in these our days, otherwise than brothel-houses, swine styes, and dens of discord. Besides that, I will pass over their fairs and markets, which, in these later days they do make of their relics of martyrs, to build up Sodom again. Wherefore, I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themselves, is utterly wicked and naught, the which is not established or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him; wherefore I may be bold to say that it is unlawful, because their conscience hath nothing whereby to sustain itself before God; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

"And furthermore, so long as they do entangle and bind themselves with so many and so perverse and wicked kinds of worshipping as the monkery now-a-days doth contain in it, I may well say that they are not consecrated unto God, but unto the devil. For why? was it lawful for the prophets to say, that the Israelites did offer their children unto wicked spirits, and not unto God, because they did corrupt and violate the true worshipping of God with profane ceremonies—is it not lawful then to speak the like of our monks, who, together with

their cows, have put on a thousand snares of most wicked superstitions? Let every man now weigh and consider with himself, if I have done wickedly to wish such religions as is this our monkery, to be utterly extinguished and rooted out. Moreover, all Christian princes should rightly and truly do their office, if, as in times past Josias pulled down and overthrew the high places which his elders, the kings of Judah, had builded, so they would abolish and drive away this kind of monks."

The eleventh article.

"It is plainly manifest by lawful proofs, that the said John Borthwike had, and presently hath, divers books suspected of heresy, condemned as well by the papal, as also regal and ordinary, authorities, and prohibited by the law: that is to say, especially the New Testament, commonly printed, in English; Ocolampadius, Melancthon; and divers treatises of Erasmus and other condemned heretics; also a book entitled Unio Dissidentium, the which containeth most manifest and great errors and heretical assumptions; and hath read and studied the same as well openly as privately, and hath presented and communicated them unto others; and, also, hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the end and purpose to divert and turn them away from the true Christian and catholic faith."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"O good God! who can suffer so great a blasphemy? with what a filthy cankered stomach do these Romish swine note the New Testament with heresy! Who would not judge it a most venomous tongue, which dare pronounce and utter such contumelious words against the holy gospel of our Saviour Christ? Truly these men (howsoever they do pronounce me an arch-heretic) do fill up the measure of all other heretics, (I will not say blasphemers,) as the Jews, which put Christ to death, did of all other murderers. How then shall these serpents and stock of vipers escape and flee the judgment of everlasting fire? I do not greatly stand or stay, that they do suspect Ocolampadius, Melancthon, or Erasmus, neither am I so mad to plead their cause, who, as they are men of singular learning and eloquence, so do their writings manifestly declare, how falsely and wickedly these sycophants impute this crime and slander of heresy unto them."

The twelfth article.

"It is manifest, that the said John Borthwike was so obstinate in all the aforesaid errors and

heresies, and so maintained and taught them, with such an obdurate heart and mind, that he would not by any means be persuaded from them by his friends, and divers other persons which did dearly love and favour him, but chose rather obstinately to persevere in his said errors."

Sir John Borthwike's answer.

"I am willingly contented to be reduced to the catholic faith, but if Satan raise up any storms or tempests against that, those I do something resist. Wherefore they most shamefully lie, which do otherwise jest or talk of me; for I know not by what reason they call them my friends, who so greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more esteem them than the Midianites, which, in times past, called the children of Israel to do sacrifice unto their idols. And furthermore, I desire the most high and mighty God, that he will never suffer me to swerve or turn away from this holy, godly, and Christian obstinacy and stubbornness. The man is blest, that hath set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud, or those which follow after lies."

The sentence of condemnation against Sir John Borthwike, knight, by the cardinal, bishops, and abbots in Scotland, A. D. 1540.

"Of all which the premises and many other errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said Sir John Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many, as a heretic, and principal heretic, which holdeth evil opinions of the catholic faith.

"Wherefore we, David, by the title of St. Stephen in Mount Celo, prelate and cardinal of the holy Church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy Gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice; having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith, before our eyes; his holy name being first called upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwike, called Captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned as is aforesaid, and, by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convict and lawfully

cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be a heretic, and is, and hath been, convict as a heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit, all and singular his goods, movables and unmovables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices, whatsoever he hath hitherto had: reserving, notwithstanding, the dowry, and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm, unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike, being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our city to our cathedral church, and afterwards to the market-cross of the same city, and there, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such punishment as is due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour ecclesiastical or temporal they be honoured withal, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared a heretic and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatsoever they be; or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing, whatsoever it be; they show unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures: and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefor as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished therefor, according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf."

And now, to prosecute such others as followed,

beginning first in order with Thomas Forret and his fellows: their story is this.

The story of Thomas Forret, priest, and his fellows.

Thomas Forret, priest; Friar John Kelow, Friar Beverage, Duncan Sympson, priest; Robert Foster, a gentleman, with three or four other men of Stirling; martyrs.

Their persecutors: David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews; George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld.

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Master Gurlay above-mentioned, in the days of David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews, and George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld, a canon of St. Colm's Inche, and vicar of Dolor, called Dean Thomas Forret, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a Black Friar or a Grey Friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld, (in whose diocese he remained,) as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the friars' instigation, called the said Dean Thomas, and said to him, "My joy Dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself." To whom Thomas said, "I thank your Lordship heartily." Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner:

Bishop.—"My joy Dean Thomas! I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy Dean Thomas, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday: for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be."

The martyr.—Thomas answered, "My Lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my Lord, we agree right well, and there is no

discord among us. And whereas your Lordship saith, It is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your Lordship did the like."

Bishop.—"Nay, nay, Dean Thomas," saith my Lord, "let that be, for we are not ordained to preach."

Martyr.—Then said Thomas, "Whereas your Lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my Lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the Epistles and Gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel: but, if your Lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil."

Bishop.—Then spake my Lord stoutly and said, "I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; [and of these words rose a proverb which is common in Scotland, Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeldene, that knew neither new nor old law:] therefore, Dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuese and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it, when you may not mend it."

Martyr.—"I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon."

And so my Lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews and the said bishop of Dunkeld, upon the said Dean Thomas Forret, upon two Black Friars, one called Friar John Kelow, and another called Beverage, and upon one priest of Stirling, called Duncan Sympson, and one gentleman, called Robert Foster, in Stirling, with other three or four with them, of the town of Stirling; who, at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies; and, especially, because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Tulibothy beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. And so they were all together burned upon the castle hill at Edinburgh, where they that were first bound to the stake godly and marvellously did comfort them that came behind.

The manner of persecution used by the cardinal of Scotland against certain persons in St. John's-town, or Perth.

Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, Hellen Stirke, his wife; martyrs.

Persecutor: David Beaton, bishop and cardinal of St. Andrews.

First, there was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the Lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and language; secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by public proclamation, lacked not its own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations; amongst whom were certain persons in St. John's-town, as after is declared.

At this time there was a sermon made by Friar Spence, in St. John's-town, otherwise called Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. Which blasphemous doctrine a burgess of the said town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him, in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him, in God's name, to utter the truth. This the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the friar could have no audience, and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, namely, of the women, who, contrary to nature, addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

At this time, A. D. 1543, the enemies of the truth procured John Charterhouse, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the said city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said governor's authority, and a papist, called Master Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked enterprise to an end.

After the deposing of the former provost, and election of the other, in the month of January the year aforesaid, on St. Paul's day, came to St. John's-town, the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice Sir John Campbell of Lundie, knight, and Justice Defort, the Lord Borthwike, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused

for the crime of heresy, (as they term it,) persons only were apprehended upon the day of St. Paul's day: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, and Hellen Stirke, his wife, and were cast into the Spay Tower of the said city, the next day to abide judgment.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared before the court brought forth to judgment in the town, was made general to all their charge, the violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their disobedience in hearing and expounding the Scriptures against the tenor of the said act. Robert Lamb was accused, in special, for interrupting the service in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of every man which understood and knew the truth, to speak the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, shewed the burden in God's presence, for consenting to the same.

The said Robert also, with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused for having made the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing the horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his back, for eating of a goose on Allhallow-even.

James Hunter, being a simple man, and without learning, and a flesher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge of doctrine, yet, because he often used that which was contrary to the company of the rest, he was accused.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accused, in that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call by the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted to do so by her neighbours, but only upon God for Christ's sake; and because she said, in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her for the same, and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ: thereby meaning that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but only God's free mercy exalted her to that state, which words were counted most execrable in the face of the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house upon the round of his fourth stair, the three crowns diadem of Peter carved out of a tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinalship, and this procured no favour to the said James, but to their hands.

These aforesaid persons, upon the morrow of St. Paul's day, were condemned and judged to death.

and that by an assize, for violating (as was alleged) the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scripture, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring of images. and for blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated : which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforementioned, to the governor, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered : but the governor was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were certain priests in the city, who did eat and drink before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat for their hostess at the cardinal's hands : but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, than preservation. So cruel are these beasts, from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lamb, at the gallows' foot, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations, and manifestly there prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered ; yet, following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and, parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, " Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days ; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever ; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." The woman, after that, was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a child sucking on her

breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So, after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking bairn was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.

The condemnation of Master George Wisheart, gentleman, who suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ Jesus at St. Andrew's in Scotland, A. D. 1546, March the first : with the articles objected against him, and his answers to the same.

With most tender affection and unfeigned heart consider, gentle reader, the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George Wisheart, made by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant church, in persecuting of this blessed man of God ; and, on the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their glorious menaces and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in writing by a certain scholar of his, some time named Emery Tylney, whose words of testimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

" About the year of our Lord 1543, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Master George Wisheart, commonly called Master George of Benet's College, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best ; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled ; having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of being with him.

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and, in one light night, discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here, in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to King Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me and all men; his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words, than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

Τέλος.

"EMERY TYLNEY."

To the said Master George, being in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, the dean of the same town was sent by the commandment of the cardinal, and his wicked counsel, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should, upon the morning following, appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom Master George thus answered:

Wisehart.—"What needeth," said he, "my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer of his extort power? or believeth he that I am unprovided to

render account of my doctrine? To manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men."

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, accompanied with a hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid. Like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called Dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of Matthew xiii.

Brief account of the sermon of Dean John Winryme.

The sermon was divided into four principal parts. The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist. The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known; which he defined on this manner: "Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God."

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. "The cause of heresy," quoth he, "is the ignorance of them that have the cures of men's souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul: A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harbourous; one that loveth goodness; sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine; that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to disprove that which they say against him."

The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. "Heresy," quoth he, "be

known after this manner: as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the imperfect, by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone; that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God." At last he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life: to which proposition the gospel appeared to repugn, which he treated of. Let them grow unto the harvest. The harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law.

And when he ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against him stood by one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and hitting him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding Master George stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When that this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate! traitor! thief! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?" Master George, hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and Christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

Master George Wischart.—"Many and horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to receive, but also once to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine.

"This my petition, my Lords, I desire to be heard for three causes. The first is, because, through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

"The second reason is, because that your health springeth of the word of God; for he worketh all

things by his word. It were, therefore, an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

"The third reason is, because your doctrine uttereth many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable, that your discretions should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and, in the mean time, I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

"First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the Ten Commandments of God, the Twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall show your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attent."

Suddenly then, with a high voice cried the accuser, the fed sow, "Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher too long."

Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, said these words; "If we give him licence to preach, he is so crafty, and in the Holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us."

Master George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Mirepois, commendator of Aberbrothwick, *legatus natus, legatus a latere?*" And so, reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass, "Is not he," quoth John Lauder, "an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom else desirest thou to be thy judge?"

To whom this humble man, answering, said thus:

Wischart.—"I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your Lordships mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner."

Hereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge!" speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and other the nobles; meaning them, also, to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Master George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak: for when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and to show the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

First article. "Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people! thou despisest the holy church's, and in like case contemneth my lord governor's, authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. Yet, notwithstanding, thou didst continue obstinately."

Wischart.—"My Lords! I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, We shall rather obey God than man. I have also read in Malachi, I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord: believing firmly, that he will turn your cursings into blessings."

II. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that the priest, standing at the altar, saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July."

Wischart.—"My Lords! I said not so. These were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts: therefore, who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him."

Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

III. "Thou, false heretic! preachedst against the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven sacraments."

Wischart.—"My Lords! if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments,

whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and are showed to us by the evangely, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

IV. "Thou, false heretic! hast openly taught, that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest, that we should only confess unto God and to no priest."

Wischart.—"My Lords! I say that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the evangely, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David saith, I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin. Here confession signifieth the secret acknowledging of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reprov'd as manner of confession. And further St. James saith. Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed."

When he had said these words, the bishops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?"

V. "Thou, heretic! didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was: contrary to general councils and the estate of the holy church."

Wischart.—"My Lords! I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism. For this cause I believe ye have confirmation."

Then said Master Blecker, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

VI. "Thou heretic, traitor, and thief! thou saidst, that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and that all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God."

Wischart.—"O Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my Lords! I never taught any thing against the Scripture; which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being therefore ready to suffer death.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is

very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly show your Lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing on the water of Rhine. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, by the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the Scripture, I vanquished him, and proved that Messiah was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, 'When Messiah cometh, he shall restore all things: and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but, amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found.'

"Secondly, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God only is to be honoured: but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols.

"Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say that it is your God.'—I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true. Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear."

VII. "Thou, false heretic! didst say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! forsooth, I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or no."

VIII. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnest conjuring, and saidst, holy church's cursings avail not."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! as for holy water what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjuring, and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God I would commend them; but, insomuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

IX. "Thou, false heretic and runagate! hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such like. Thou saidst, that the pope hath no more power than any other man."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of the which the one saith, He hath made us kings and priests;

the other saith, He hath made us a kingly priesthood. Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man, being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesu Christ, hath his power given him of God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by which he bindeth or looseth; that is to say, the word of God."

After he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," saith he, "my Lords? Though that these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your Lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, did greatly mourn and lament.

X. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, that a man hath no free-will, but is like to the Stoics, which say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I said not so, truly. I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformably to the saying of St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free. On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bondservants of sin; He that sinneth, is bound to sin."

XI. "Thou, false heretic! saidst, it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday, as on Sunday."

Wisehart.—"Pleaseth it your Lordships, I have read in the Epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God: but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man: but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer."

After these sayings of Master George, then said all the bishops with their complices, "What needeth us any witness against him? hath he not ~~been~~ openly spoken blasphemy?"

XII. "Thou, false heretic! didst say,

should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly!"

Wisehart.—"For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers," he said, "without doubt plainly—saints should not be honoured. My Lords," said he, "there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plain and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart. But, as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or not, invocation made unto them: therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our Master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by the which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He [Christ] is the verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your Lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing."

These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

XIII. "Thou, false heretic! hast preached plainly, saying that there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the Scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture."

Then said he to Master John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But this dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

XIV. "Thou, false heretic! hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying, that whosoever was bound to do such-like vows, they vowed themselves to the state of damna-

tion. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live sole."

Wisehart.—"Of sooth, my Lords, I have read in the evangely, that there are three kinds of chaste men; some are eunuchs from their mothers' womb; some are made such by men; and some have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangely have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten concubines, than one wife.

XV. "Thou, false heretic and runagate! sayest, thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! what your general councils are, I know not; I was never exercised in them: but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness and said, "Wherefore do we let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John "Grey-fiend" Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named."

XVI. "Thou, heretic! sayest, that it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priest's hands."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! Solomon saith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have builded? And Job consenteth to the same sentence: Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. So that God cannot be comprehended into one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should

be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place; and, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them."

Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, show forth your reasons before this auditory." Then he, without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

XVII. "Thou, false heretic! contemnest fasting, and sayest, Thou shouldst not fast."

Wisehart.—"My Lords! I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast."

XVIII. "Thou, false heretic! hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

Wisehart.—"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me! I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life: which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented: nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but shall live ever immortal with Christ. To the which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen."

When the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burned as a heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformably to the saying of Christ, They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service.

The prayer of Master George Wisehart.

"O Immortal God! how long shalt thou suffer the madness and great crudelity of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to

do the contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord! we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast showed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then, by and by, they caused the common people to void away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man to speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the castle, then there came two grey fiends, Friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, ye must make your confession unto us." He answered and said, "I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence." But what he said in this confession, I cannot show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against that part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle-gate, there met him certain beggars, asking his alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, "I want my hands, wherewith I should give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities, both unto your bodies and souls." Then afterwards met him two false fiends, I should say friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not thren!" After this he was led to the

rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of heaven! I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters! that ye be not offended in the word of God, for the affliction and torments, which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

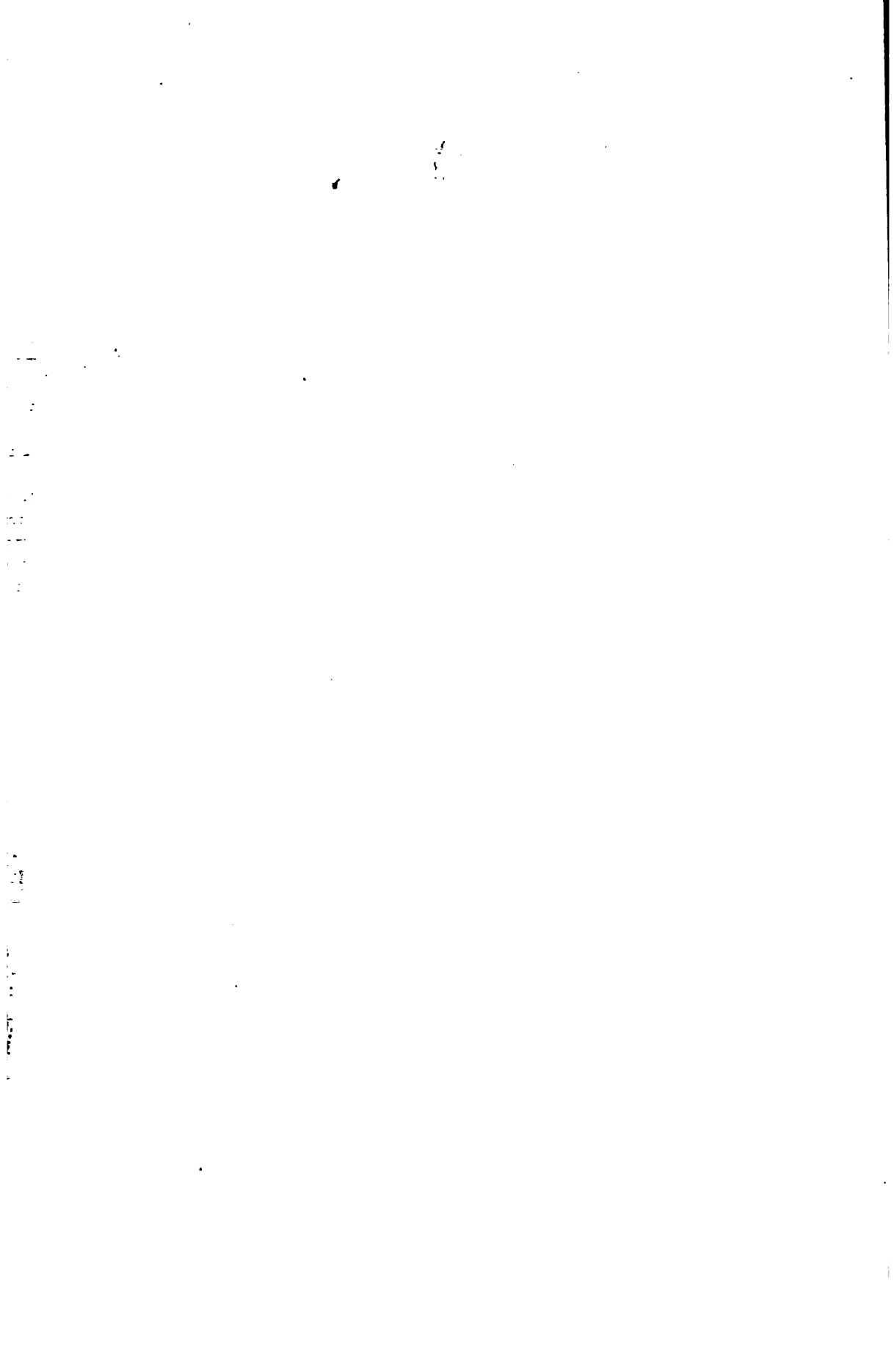
"Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which lasteth not; and show unto them, that my doctrine was no old wives' fable, after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men: but, for the word's

sake and true evangely, which was given to the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. I cause I was sent, that I should suffer this for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, shall not see me change my colour. This I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if persecution come unto you for the word's sake, not to fear them that slay the body, and shall have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the soul of man should last until the last day. But I know surely, and so is such, that my soul shall sup with my body for Christ this night, (ere it be six hours,) for I suffer this."

Then he prayed for them that accused him, saying:

"I beseech thee, Father of heaven! to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have an evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day unrighteously."

And last of all he said to the people



Antonia

"I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him. And, last of all, the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you, forgive me; for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.

A note of the just punishment of God upon the cruel cardinal archbishop of St. Andrews, named David Beaton.

It was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master George Wisehart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, A. D. 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own castle of St. Andrews, by the hands of one Leslie and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, "Alas! alas! slay me not! I am a priest!" And so, like a butcher he lived, and like a butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a carrion was buried in a dunghill, A. D. 1546, the last day of May.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, A. D. 1549, who, to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose story here followeth.

The story and martyrdom of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

There was set, upon a scaffold made hard to the chancery wall of the Black Friars' church in Edin-

burgh, on seats made thereupon, the lord governor. Above him, at his back, sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back, and aside somewhat, stood the official of Lothian. Next to the bishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Moray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrews, and other doctors of that nest and city; and at the other end of the seat sat Master Uchiltry. On his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy Sir John Campbell of Lundie under his feet. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the Lord Forbes, Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, &c.

At the further end of the chancery wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbotle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people, in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that, Sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles's church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a sentence of divorce, (whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful wife,) in the name of the dean of Restalrig, and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant or moved by the aforesaid judges, and was agreed to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his lifetime, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cumnock, servant to the bishop of St. Andrews, and set in the midst of the scaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said, that he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Fean. Then asked he where he was born? "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle." Then said the accuser, "I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great encumbrance this day by your vain speaking." "And I must speak," said he, "as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body." "Would God," said the accuser, "ye had never

spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined in this country before, and that shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will yea thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of."

Accuser.—"Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under written. In the first, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ."

He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying thus:

Wallace.—"I never said nor taught any thing but that I found in this book, and writ, (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English,) which is the word of God: and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me: for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writ."

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser.

Wallace.—"I said that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his latter supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take ye, eat ye: this is my body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the cup he blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance."

Then said the bishop of St. Andrews and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, "We know this well enough." The earl of Huntley said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto."

Wallace.—"If ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said: for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world."

"Why," quoth the earl of Huntley, "hast thou not a judge good enough? and trowest thou that we

know not God and his word? Answer to that is spoken to thee." And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again. "Thou sayest," quoth the accuser, "and hast taught, that the bread and the wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Wallace.—"I never said more than the writ saith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul, when he saith, Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation. And therefore, when I taught, (which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me,) I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his divine power, by the which he is over all."

The bishop of Orkney asked him, "Believest thou not," said he, "that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of God; flesh, blood, and bone?"

Wallace.—"I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and hath a natural body with hands, feet, and other members; and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried; and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day: and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead."

"And that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he showeth well himself; for which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear. When the woman brake that ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged thereat, he said, The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always: meaning of his natural body. And likewise at his ascension, said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall not come to you (meaning that his natural body behoved to be taken away from them): but be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the world's end."

"And that the eating of his very flesh profiteth

not, may well be known by his words which he spake in John vi., where, after he had said, Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you; they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their gross and flesh taking of his words, and said, What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing (to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it)."

"It is a horrible heresy," said the bishop of Orkney. When Wallace began to speak again, and bade the lord governor judge if he had right by the writ, the accuser cried, *Ad secundam. Nunc ad secundam*, answered the archbishop of St. Andrews.

Then was he bidden to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, "Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God."

Wallace.—"I have read the Bible and the word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word mass in it all: but I found," said he, "that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say, the mass is holden greatly in estimation, and high amongst men, and is not founded in the word; therefore, I said, it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by God's word, I will grant mine error, and that I have failed: otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment."

Ad tertiam, said the archbishop. Then said the accuser, "Thou hast said and openly taught, that the God which we worship, is but bread sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else."

Wallace.—"I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein, of nought: but I know not which God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can, by my judgment."

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?"

Wallace.—"What the body of God is, and what kind of body he hath, I have showed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture."

Then said the accuser, "Thou hast preached,

said, and openly taught, divers and sundry other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which, for shortness of time, I pretermit and overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy aforesaid articles that thou art accused of, or no? and thou shalt hear them shortly." And then repeated the accuser the three articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

Wallace answered that which before he had said of his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood; so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him: and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death. And he said thus to the lord governor and other lords:

Wallace.—"If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance as it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward."

Then gave they forth sentence, and condemned him by the laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbell, justice-deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle Hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the said house, an ignorant minister and imp of Satan and of the bishops, who, by direction, sent to the poor man two Grey Friars to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two Black Friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbuthnot, with the which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures; who answered, he had no commission to enter into disputation with him: and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a wordly wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Restalrig, who gave him Christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the Holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God, to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after

he was condemned, was with him, wherever he went. After that Sir Hugh Terry knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devilish venom, to have perverted him, a poor innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day; which day the lord governor, and all the principal both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, came the dean of Res-talrig to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit; who answered as before, He would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said dean in other behalf, as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in Sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would gar devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he answered, "You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do: therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace." Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, "Is your fire making ready?" Who told him, it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late, as it shall please him." And then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his forthcoming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his forthcoming, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him; as belike he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the Castle Hill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon him." "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his Master." Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, "They will not

let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance, to our sights.

The schism that arose in Scotland for the Pater-noster.

After that Richard Marshall, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the Pater-noster) should be done only to God, and not to saints, neither to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the Grey Friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater-noster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a Grey Friar, called Friar Tottis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater-noster to saints; who, finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit the first of November, being the feast of All-hallows, A. D. 1551, and took the text of the gospel for that day read in their mass, written in Matthew v., containing these words: Blessed are the poor in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdom of heaven."

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition thereof appertaineth to them. "For if we meet an old man in the street," said he, "we will say to him, 'Good-day, father!' and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to every one of them, Our Father which art in heaven: further, God hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy; and so we may say to any of the saints, Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. And for the same cause," said the friar, "as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so, praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, Thy kingdom come. And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom. And therefore, seeing their will is God's will, we may say with every one of them, Thy will be done."

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, (not finding such a colour for that part, as for the other which went before,) and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and conscience; and so

he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, "that we," said he, "may obtain our daily bread by their intercession:" and so glossed he the rest to the end. Not standing yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed, most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow, did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah's cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

Upon this followed, incontinent, a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland: for not only the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry; in such sort that there rose a proverb, "To whom say you your Pater-noster?" And although the papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for law, (so great was the blindness of that age,) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English, (which was then said in Latin,) utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to saints: so that the craftsmen and their servants in their booths, when the friar came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, "Friar Pater-noster!" "Friar Pater-noster!" who at the last being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

In the mean time of this bruit, there were two pasquils set on the abbey church, the one in Latin, bearing these words:

"Doctores nostri de collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo;
Et se tuuntur gravatorio
De mandato officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis—
Gaw et Harvey, non varii
In præmissis connotarii."

The other in English, bearing these words:

"Doctors of Theology, of fourscore of years,
And old jolly Lupoy, the bald Grey Friars;
They would be called Rabbi and Magister noster!
And wot not to whom they say their Pater-noster!"

Shortly, the Christians were so hotly offended, and the papists on the other side so proud and wilful, that necessary it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the clergy, at least, should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, who-

soever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry; for some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God formally, and to saints materially. Others, ultimately, and not ultimately. Others said it should be said to God chiefly, and to saints less chiefly. Others, that it should be said to God primarily, and to saints secondarily. Others, that it should be said to God taking it strictly, and to saints taking it largely. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before; so that a well-aged man, and a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, called the sub-prior's Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater-noster, answered, "To God only." Then they asked again, "What should be said to the saints?" He answered, "Give them *Aves* and Creeds enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoil God of his right." Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, that because Christ (who made the Pater-noster) never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter; which being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded, that the Lord's Prayer should be said to saints. But, because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and sometimes despitful and injurious talk: as Friar Scot, being asked of one to whom he should say the Pater-noster, he answered, saying, "Say it to the devil, knave." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to pass to voting.

But then, incontinent, they that were called churchmen were found divided and repugnant among themselves: for some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Pater-noster should be said to saints; but the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness and Athens, with other learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally, with consent of both the parties, commission was given by the holy church to Dean John Winryme, then sub-prior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how, and after what manner, they should pray the Lord's Prayer: who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God; with some other restrictions, which are not neces-

sary to be put in memory. And so, by little and little, the bruit and tumult ceased.

*The martyrdom of the blessed servant of God,
Walter Mille.*

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence; out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die, than to be any longer overtrodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and brutal bishops, abbots, monks, and friars. And so began the congregation of Scotland to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists, who sought always to depress and keep down the same; for it began soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille, of which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord 1558, in the time of Mary duchess of Longueville, queen regent of Scotland, and the said John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille, (who in his youth had been a papist,) after that he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, he returned again into Scotland: and setting aside all papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife; which thing made him unto the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresy; and, after long watching of him, he was taken by two popish priests, one called Sir George Strachen, and the other, Sir Hugh Terry, servants to the said bishop for the time, within the town of Dysart in Fife, and brought to St. Andrews and imprisoned in the castle thereof. He, being in prison, the papists earnestly travailed and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a monk's portion, for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermling, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, &c., the abbots of Dunfermling, Lindores, Balindrinot, with doctors of theology of St. Andrews; as John Grison, Black Friar, and Dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the old college, with divers others, as sundry friars Black and Grey. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was

taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, April the twentieth. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they, seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travail, and partly by evilentreatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him, for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church to ring and sound again with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present were no less rejoiced, than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He, being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop's priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying on this manner, "Sir Walter Mille, arise, and answer to the articles; for you hold my Lord here over-long." To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God more than men: I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. And whereas you call me Sir Walter, call me Walter, and not Sir Walter; I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."

*The articles whereof Walter Mille was accused,
with his answers.*

Oliphant.—"What think you of priests' marriage?"

Mille.—"I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But you think it not free to you; ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters; and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were."

Oliphant.—"Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments."

Mille.—"Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?"

Oliphant.—"Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest, that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry."

Mille.—"A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the din-

ner ; but the Lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them :—so do ye.”

Oliphant.—“Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.”

Mille.—“The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man’s trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice.”

Oliphant.—“Thou deniest the office of a bishop.”

Mille.—“I affirm that they whom ye call bishops, do no bishop’s works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock ; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called ‘my Lords.’”

Oliphant.—“Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to whoredom.”

Mille.—“I affirm that and say, that it is not commanded in the Scripture ; and that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.”

Oliphant.—“Thou preachest secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.”

Mille.—“Yea, man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship.”

Oliphant.—“Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions ? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.”

Mille.—“I am accused of my life ; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, what thou doest, do quickly. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff : I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail ; but I will abide both.”

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other light trifles, to augment their final accusation ; and then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic ; which was, to be burned. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop’s steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Lermond, refused to be his temporal judge ; to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just : also the bishop’s chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop’s servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake,

or a tar-barrel to burn him ; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master’s own pavilion, to serve their turn.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop’s more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Somervaille, enterprising the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardiness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake. And he said, “Nay ! wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death ? thou shalt see me pass up gladly : for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself.” Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, I will go to the altar of God ; and desired that he might have space to speak to the people, which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken over-much ; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops their masters, to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day ; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise :

“Dear friends ! the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge, (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us ; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercy, among the rest of his servants, to seal up his truth with my life : which, as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of antichrist ; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation.”

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude ; for they, perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was thr

martyr that died in Scotland for the religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!" and so he constantly departed.

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which passed both in number and costliness, were burned in the time of reformation.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered, in the realm of Scotland, for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

Persecution in Kent.

N revolving the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find, moreover, besides these above comprehended, in the time and reign of King Henry;

the names of divers others, whereof some suffered martyrdom for the like testimony of God's word, and some recanted; which, albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before, in the beginning of King Henry's reign, yet, rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the reader; being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others of their fellows before them.

A table of certain true servants of God and martyrs omitted, which were burned in the diocess of Canterbury, under William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury: with the names of their persecutors and accusers, A. D. 1511.

Martyrs:—William Carder, of Tenterden, weaver. Agnes Grebil, of Tenterden, wife of John Grebil the elder, and mother to John and Christopher Grebil, who, with her own husband, accused her to death, being threescore years of age; Robert Harrison, of Halden, of the age of sixty years;

John Browne, of Ashford; Edward W. Maidstone, cutler.

Accusers and witnesses:—William Rich, of den; Agnes Ive, of Canterbury; Robert of Tenterden; Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden; John Grebil, of Tenterden, husband to Grebil the martyr; Christopher Grebil, natural son of Agnes Grebil the martyr; Grebil the younger, the natural son of Grebil the martyr; William Olbert, of Gham; Lawrence Chyterden; Thomas of Rolvenden; Joan Harwood, his wife; Harwood; William Baker, of Cranbrook; ward Walker; Robert Reynold, of Bess. Persecutors and judges:—William Warham, bishop of Canterbury; Dr. Cuthbert, doctor of both laws, and chancellor of the bishop; Dr. Sylvester, lawyer; Dr. William Clement; Dr. Brown; Dr. John Collet, of Paul's; Dr. Wodington.

The articles whereupon these five blessed martyrs were accused and condemned by the judges and witnesses were these:

"First, For holding that the sacramental altar was not the true and very body of Christ, only material bread in substance.

"II. That auricular confession was not made to a priest.

"III. That no power is given of God to laymen of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or Divine service, more than to laymen.

"IV. That the solemnization of matrimony was not necessary to salvation of soul, neither was the tute of God; for a sacrament, they meant.

"V. That the sacrament of extreme unction was not available, nor necessary to soul's health.

"VI. That the images of the cross, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, were to be worshipped; and that those who worshipped do commit idolatry.

"VII. That pilgrimages to holy places, and to relics, be not necessary, nor meritorious to soul's health.

"VIII. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that he only hears their prayers.

"IX. That holy bread and holy water have more virtue after their consecration, than before.

"X. That they have believed, taught, and held all and every of the same damnable opinions as they did at that present.

"XI. That whereas they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them.

else but for fear to be convicted by them: they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.

“XII. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore, with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same.”

The order and form of process used against these martyrs aforesaid: and first of William Carder, A. D. 1511.

William Carder, being convented before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tonsal, Doctors Sylvester, Wells, Clement, Brown, with others more, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cooper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did nor doth hold any such opinions, otherwise than becometh that every Christian man should do, ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine; and therefore, to clear himself the better against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the same. The like also did every of the other four martyrs after him.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable archbishop, seeking all advantages against him that he might, and more than right law would give, brought in against him such witnesses as before were abjured, who, he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew; to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Stephen Castelin: whose depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himself, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying, moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. Which being done, the archbishop, this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the register maketh no mention of any relapse, contrary to good law, at least contrary to all Christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind sentence; and so condemned him, who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing contrary to the mind of Holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth Agnes Grebil, and examined of the said twelve articles above recited, which she, in like manner, denied, as the other had done before, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop, calling for John Grebil her husband, and Christopher and John

Grebil her two sons, (who before had been abjured,) caused them, upon their oath, to depose against their own natural mother; and so they did.

First John Grebil the elder, her husband, examined, by virtue of his oath, to say how Agnes, his wife, hath and doth believe of the sacrament of the altar, of going in pilgrimage, offerings and worshipping of saints, images, &c., and how long she hath thus holden, deposed thus:

“That first, about the end of King Edward the Fourth’s days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she [Agnes, his wife] was brought to that belief; and so forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, she hath continued.

“And besides that,” said he, “when my children Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said error of the sacrament of the altar, and by the said Agnes my wife divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ’s body, flesh and blood, but only bread.” Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was stedfast in the said error, he said, “that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said, the said opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid were of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar,” &c.

The bishop, with his catholic doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their catholic zeal, caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one of the age of two-and-twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural mother; who likewise, being pressed with their oath, witnessed and said:

“That the aforesaid Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ’s flesh and blood: that baptism was no better in the font, than out of the font: that confirmation was of no effect: that the solemnization of matrimony was no sacrament: that confession to God alone was sufficient: also that going in pilgrimage and worshipping of saints and images was of none effect,” &c.

“Item, That their father and the said Agnes their mother, held, taught, and communed of the said errors within their houses divers times, by the space of those three years past, as well on holy-days as working days, affirming and teaching that the said opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained; and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefs in any wise.

“Finally, That they never heard their said father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, than be the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, as far as they could remember,” &c.

Here hast thou, Christian reader, before thine eyes a horrid spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impiety; first of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own natural mother: which although they had so done, the cause being of itself just and true, (as it was not,) yet had they done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such as which, by God's word, standeth firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety were it for men to accuse a poor innocent in case of heresy, which is no heresy! Now, besides all this, the husband to come in against his own wife, and the children to bring the knife wherewith to cut the throat of their own natural mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but impiety upon impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Christian ears to hear! And yet the greatest impiety of all resteth in these pretended catholics and clergymen, which were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

The cause why this good woman so stood, as she did, in the denial of these aforesaid articles objected, was this; for that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who only were privy to her religion, would testify against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose thus against her, denying still (as she did before) that she did ever hold such manner of errors, and being now destitute of all friends and comfort, burst out in these words openly, (as the register reporteth,) “that she repented the time that ever she bare those children of her body.” And thus the archbishop with his doctors having now the thing that they sought for, albeit she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet, notwithstanding, they, refusing her readiness and conformity, proceeded to their sentence, and so condemned her to death.

After whose condemnation, next was brought to examination Robert Harrison, whom, in like manner, because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, William Olbert, Agnes Ive, who, a little before, had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and applicable to serve the bishop's humour, for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which wit-

nesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet, notwithstanding, it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up of them together to the king, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same, A. D. 1511, May 2.

Over and besides these three godly martyrs above recited, I find in the aforesaid registers of William Warham, two other like godly martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, Thomas Harwood, Philip Harwood, Stephen Castelin, William Baker, Robert Reynold, John Bampton, Robert Bright, William Rich, &c.; whereupon they were adjudged likewise for heretics to be burned, the year aforesaid, 1511. The names of which two martyrs were John Brown and Edward Walker.

Moreover, besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their sentence did condemn to death, we find also, in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom they, for the same doctrine and like articles, caused to be apprehended and put to open recantation; the names of which persons in the catalogue here following be these.

A table containing the names of them that were abjured in the diocese of Canterbury, at the same time, under William Warham, archbishop.

A. D. 1511.—John Grebil the elder; also Christopher Grebil and John Grebil, sons of John Grebil the elder; all of Benenden. William Rich, of Benenden. W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Agnes Ive, and Agnes Chytenden, both of Canterbury. Thomas Manning, of Benenden. Joan Colin; Robert Hills; and Alice Hills, his wife; all of Tenterden. Thomas Harwood, Joan Harwood, his wife, and Philip Harwood, all of Rolvenden. Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden. W. Baker, of Cranbrook; Margaret Baker, his wife. William Olbert the younger, and Robert Reynold, both of Godmersham. Agnes Reynold, of Cranbrook. Thomas Field, of Bexley. Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Elizabeth White, of Canterbury. Thomas Church, of Great Chart. Vincent Lynch, of Halden. John Rich, of Wittersham. John Lynch, of Tenterden. Thomas Browne, of Cranbrook. John Frank, of Tenterden. Joyce Bampton, wife of John Bampton, of Berstead. Richard Bampton, of Bexley. Robert Bright, of Maidstone. William Lorkin, of East Farleigh.

A. D. 1512.—John Bannes, of Bexley. John

Buckherst, of Staplehurst. Joan Dod, wife of John Dod. John Benet, of Staplehurst; Rebecca Benet, his wife. Joan Lowes, wife of Thomas Lowes of Cranbrook. Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills, of Tenterden. Robert Franke, of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five martyrs aforesaid. Which were for believing and defending,

"First, That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but material bread.

"II. That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest.

"III. That there is no more power given of God to a priest, than to a layman.

"IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary for the weal of man's soul.

"V. That the sacrament of extreme unction, called anointing, is not profitable nor necessary for man's soul.

"VI. That pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not necessary nor meritorious for man's soul.

"VII. That images of saints, or of the crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.

"VIII. That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God.

"IX. That holy water, and holy bread, are not better after the benediction made by the priest."

By these articles and abjurations of the before-named persons, thou hast to understand, Christian reader, what doctrine of religion was here stirring in this our realm of England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us.

Three divers sorts of judgments amongst the papists, against heretics as they call them.

As touching the penance and penalty enjoined to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the catholic fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three divers and distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings. For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that others being brought into terror by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their kingdom, and reign as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid; and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosom of the mother church, yet could they not be received; as by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence above specified, may well appear.

And this sort of persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either of such as have been before abjured, and have fallen again into relapse; or else

such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terror and example to all others, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five martyrs last named. So was also John Lambert, who, submitting himself to the king, could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Mekins the silly lad, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives; with many others in like case. Against this sort of persons, the process which the papists use is this. First, after they begin once to be suspected by some promoter, they are denounced and cited; then, by virtue of inquisition they are taken and clapped fast in irons in prison; from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before killed by famine, cold, or straitness of the prison. Then be articles drawn, or rather wrested, out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them: which articles if they seem to deny, or to salve by true expounding, then are witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soever they are, be they never so much infamous; usurers, ribalds, women, yea, and common harlots. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in, and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the natural mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebil. Or, if no such witness at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other bitter torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have; neither must any public or quiet audience be given them to speak for themselves, till at last sentence be read against them, to give up to the secular arm, or to degrade them, if they be priests, and so to burn them.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries doth not here cease; for after the fire hath consumed their bodies, then they fall upon their books, and condemn them, in like manner, to be burned; and no man must be so hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have abolished these books, first they gather articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest and wring them after their own purpose, falsely and contrary to the right meaning of the author; as may seem, after their putting down, to be most heretical and execrable. Which being done, and the books then abolished, that no man may confer them with their articles, to espy their falsehood; then they divulge and set abroad those articles, in such sort as princes and people may see

what heretics they were. And this is the rigour of their process and proceeding against these persons whom thus they purpose to condemn and burn.

To the second order belong that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign them unto monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, with bread of sorrow, and water of affliction: and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said monastery so long as they live, without they were otherwise, by the archbishop himself or his successors, dispensed withal. Albeit many times the said persons were so dispensed withal, that their penance of bread and water was turned for them to go to woolward Wednesdays and Fridays every week, or some other like punishment, &c.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them penance, either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a faggot about the market, or in procession, or else to wear the picture of a faggot bordered on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown upon the same; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses; or to say so many Pater-nosters, Aves, and Creeds, to such or such a saint; or to go in pilgrimage to such or such a place; or else to bear a faggot to the burning of some heretic; or else to fast certain Fridays bread and water; or, if it were a woman, to wear no smock on Fridays, but to go woolward, &c.

And thus much by the way out of the register of William Warham aforesaid; like as also out of other bishops' registers many more such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of these volumes would suffer all to be inserted that might be found. Howbeit, amongst many other things omitted, the story and martyrdom of Launcelot and his fellows is not to be forgotten; the story of whom (with their names) is this:

About the year of our Lord 1539, one John a painter, and Giles Germane, were accused of heresy; and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition, than strong and tall of body.

This man, standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause, and the poor men his friends; whereupon he, being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, was carried with them into St. Giles in the fields, and there burned; being but a small concourse or company of people at their death.

In the company and fellowship of these blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of King Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man also cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed, and was burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London. His name was called Stile, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient knight, named Sir Robert Outred, who was the same time present himself at his burning, and witness of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which belike he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened unto the stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse," said he, "how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalypse, were both together in the fire consumed.

And thus, through the gracious supportation of Christ our Lord, we have run over these seven-and-thirty laborious years of King Henry's reign; under whose time and governance, such acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church, we have here discoursed, with such statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes and matters to the said church appertaining: albeit not comprehending all things so fully as might be, yet pretermittting so few things as we could, of such matters as came to our hands; save only that certain instruments, with a few other occursents somewhat pertaining to the course of this king's history, have past our hands, as the false lying bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, against Martin Luther, with the form also of the said Martin Luther's appeal from the pope unto a general council. All which, with other matters more besides omitted, we have deferred by themselves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the sequel of this present story, as in his due place shall appear.

In the mean season, amongst other omissions here overpast, forasmuch as a certain instrument of the pope's sentence definitive against King Henry's first divorce with Lady Katharine, dowager, hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be committed to history, I thought here presently to place the same, to the intent that the reader, seeing the arrogant and impudent presumption of the pope in the said sentence, going about by force and authority so to constrain and compel kings and princes against their wills, and against right and Scripture, to apply to his imperious purpose, may the better understand

thereby, what was the true cause and ground why the king first began to take stomach against the pope, and to send him clean packing out of this realm. But before I shall produce this aforesaid sentence definitive of the pope, to make the matter more plain to the reader, it shall not be amiss, first, to decipher and rip up the original of such occasions as shall induce the reader to the better understanding of this falling out between the king and the pope.

For so I find by the letters of Dr. Stephen Gardiner, written to Cardinal Wolsey from Rome, (at what time he and Foxe were sent ambassadors by the king to Pope Clement the Seventh, about the expedition of the king's divorce, A. D. 1532,) that the said Pope Clement, with the counsel of the Cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor and other cardinals, at first was well willing, and very inclinable, to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the king's desire in that behalf, and that for divers respects.

As first, for the great benefits received, and the singular devotion of the king toward the see apostolic, in taking war for the church's cause: in surceasing war at the pope's desire; and, especially, in procuring the pope's deliverance, whereby the pope then thought himself with his whole see much obliged to the king, in all respects, to pass by his authority whatsoever reasonably might be granted in gratifying the king's so ample merits and deserts.

Secondly, for the evident reasons and substantial arguments in the king's book contained, which seemed well to satisfy the pope's liking, and to remove away all scruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the pope had in the excellent wisdom, profound learning, and mature judgment of the king, which the pope (as he said in formal words) would sooner lean unto, than unto any other learned man's mind or sentence, so that the king's reasons, he said, must needs be of great efficacy and strength of themselves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cause moving the pope to favour the king's request, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his conscience, which, otherwise, in that unlawful marriage with his brother's wife, could not be settled.

The fifth cause was, for the consideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwise might happen to the realm, by the pretended titles of the king of Scots, and others, without any heir male to establish the king's succession: for the avoiding of which perils, and also for the other causes above rehearsed, the pope showed himself at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the king's desired purpose in that behalf.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to suggest and repeat to the reader, albeit the same is also sufficiently expressed before: to the end that the studious reader, pondering these first proceedings of the pope, and comparing them with this sentence definitive which under followeth, may the better understand what inconstant levity, what false dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in itself, are in this pope's holy see of Rome, as by this case of the pope may well appear; who, in short time after all this, was so clean altered from what he was, that whereas before, he pretended to esteem so gratefully the king's travail, and benefits exhibited to the see apostolic, in his defence against the emperor and the Spaniards, now he joineth utterly with the Cæsarians against the king. And whereas before, he so greatly magnified the king's profound learning and mature judgment, esteeming his mind and sentence above all other learned men, to be as a judge sufficient in the direction of this case; now, turning head to the tail, he utterly refuseth to bring the matter in *judicium orbis*, but will needs detain it at home.

Again, where before he pretended a tender provision for the state of this realm, now he setteth all other realms against it; and finally, whereas he before seemed to respect the quiet and tranquillity of the king's conscience, now he goeth about to command and compel the king, against his will and conscience, to do clean contrary to that which he himself before in his judgment had allowed, thinking to have the king at his beck, and to do and undo what he listed and commanded; as by the tenor and true copy of this his sentence definitive ye may understand; which, as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might see what just cause the king had (being so presumptuously provoked by the pope) to shake off his proud authority, and utterly to exile him out of his realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the pope's proud sentence, how presumptuously it proceedeth.

The effect of this sentence is as much as to mean, "that Pope Clement the Seventh, with the consent of his other brethren, the cardinals assembled together in this consistory, sitting there in the throne of justice, calling upon the name of Christ, and having God only before his eyes, doth pronounce, define, and declare—in the cause and causes between his dear daughter, Katharine, queen of England, appealing to the see apostolic, and his beloved son, Henry the Eighth, king of England, concerning the validity and invalidity of the matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and

“ Rise up, Paul! also, we pray thee, who hast illuminated the same church with thy doctrine and like martyrdom. For now is sprung up a new Porphyry, who, as the said Porphyry then unjustly did slander the holy apostles, so, semblably, doth this man now slander, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark against the holy bishops our predecessors, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of heretics, whose uttermost refuge is this, (as Jerome saith,) that when they see their cause go to wreck, then, like serpents, they cast out the venom with their tongue; and when they see themselves near to be overcome, they fall to railing. For though heresies (as thou sayest) must needs be, for the exercise of the faithful, yet, lest these heresies should further increase, and these foxes gather strength against us, it is needful that, by thy means and help, they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

“ Finally, let all the whole universal church of God’s saints and doctors rise up, whose true expounding of Holy Scripture being rejected, certain persons whose hearts the father of lies hath blinded, and wise in their own conceits, (as the manner of heretics is,) do expound the Scriptures otherwise than the Holy Ghost doth require, following only their own sense of ambition and vain-glory; yea, rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as Jerome saith, now they make it not the gospel of Christ, but of man, or, which is worse, of the devil. Let all the holy church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed apostles together make intercession to Almighty God, that the errors of all schismatics being rooted and stocked up, his holy church may be conserved in peace and unity. For of late, (which for sorrow we cannot express,) by credible information and also by public fame it hath come to our ears, yea, we have seen, also, and read with our eyes, divers and sundry errors, of which some have been condemned by councils and constitutions of our predecessors, containing expressly the heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; some again respectively, either heretical, or false, or slanderous, or offensive to good ears, or, such as may seduce simple minds, newly to be raised up, by certain false pretended gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the doctrine of the apostles, would be more wise than becometh them; whose babbling, (as St. Jerome calleth it,) without authority of the Scriptures, would find no credit unless they should seem to confirm their false doctrine even with testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much

the more grief, for that those heresies be sprung up in the noble nation of the Germans, unto which nation we, with our predecessors, have always borne special favour and affection. For after the empire was first translated by the Church of Rome, from the Greeks unto the Germans, the said our predecessors and we, have always had them as special abettors and defenders of this our church, and they have always showed themselves as most earnest suppressors of heresies: as witness whereof remain yet those laudable constitutions of German emperors, set forth and confirmed by our predecessors, for the liberty of the church, and for expulsiug heretics out of all Germany; and that under grievous penalty and loss of all their goods and lands; which constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

“ Furthermore, the heresy of the Hussites, Wicklevists, and of Jerome of Prague, being condemned and punished in the council of Constance, doth witness the same: moreover doth witness the same, so much blood of the Germans, spilt fighting against the Bohemians. To conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true confutation, reprobation, and condemnation, set forth by the universities of Cologne and Louvain in Germany, against the aforesaid errors. Many other witnesses also we might allege, whom here (lest we should seem to write a story) we pretermit.

“ Wherefore we, for the charge of our pastoral office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the pestiferous poison of these aforesaid errors; of the which errors we thought here good to recite certain, the tenor of which is this as followeth:

“ ‘ It is an old heresy to say, that the sacraments of the new law do give grace to them which have in themselves no let to the contrary.’

‘ To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is to tread down Paul and Christ under foot.’

‘ The origin of sin, although no actual sin do follow after, doth stay the soul, leaving the body, from the entrance into heaven.’

‘ Unperfect charity of a man departing must needs bring with it great fear, which of itself is enough to deserve the pain of purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.’

‘ To say that penance standeth of three parts, to wit, contrition, confession, satisfaction, is not founded in Holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian doctors.’

‘ Contrition, which a man stirreth up in himself, by discussing, remembering, and detesting his sins, in revolving his former years in bitterness of sorrow and in pondering the weight, number, and filthi-

of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and getting of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a man a hypocrite, and a great sinner.'

'It is an old proverb, and to be preferred before the doctrine of all that have written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to transgress no more. The chiefest and the best penance is a new life.'

'Neither presume to confess thy venial sins, nor yet all thy mortal sins; for it is impossible to remember all the mortal sins that thou hast committed, and therefore, in the primitive church, they confessed the mortal sins which only were manifest.'

'While we seek to number all our sins sincerely unto the priest, we mean nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.'

'In confession no man hath his sins forgiven, except he believe, when the priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise, his sin remaineth unforgiven, unless he believe the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the priest, and giving of grace, doth not suffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.'

'Think not thy sin to be assailed for the worthiness of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c. When thou art absolved of the priest, trust confidently upon these words, and believe firmly thyself to be absolved, and then art thou truly remitted.'

'Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite, (which is impossible,) or that the priest pronounced the words of loosing not in earnest, but in jest; yet, if the party believe that he is absolved, he is truly absolved indeed.'

'In the sacrament of penance and absolution, the pope or bishop doth no more than any inferior priest can do: yea, and where a priest is not to be had, there every Christian man, yea, or Christian woman, standeth in as good stead.'

'None ought to say to the priest, that he is contrite; neither ought the priest to ask any such matter.'

'It is a great error of them who come to the holy house trusting upon this, that they are confessed, that their conscience grudgeth them in no deadly sin, that they have said their prayers, and done such other preparatives before; all those do eat and drink to their own judgment: but, if they believe there to obtain God's grace, this faith maketh them pure and worthy.'

'It were good that the church should determine in a general council, laymen to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians so doing be therein neither heretics nor schismatics.'

'The treasures out of which the pope doth grant

his indulgences, are not the merits of Christ, nor of his saints.'

'Indulgences and pardons be a devout seducing of the faithful, and hinderance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things lawful, but not expedient.'

'Pardons and indulgences, to them which have them, avail not to remission of the punishment due before God for actual sins committed.'

'They which think that indulgences are wholesome and conducive to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.'

'Indulgences are only necessary for public transgressions, and are only granted to them that are obstinate and impatient.'

'Indulgences and pardons are unprofitable to six sorts of persons: first, to them that be dead, or lie in dying: secondly, to them that be weak and infirm: thirdly, to such as have lawful impediments: fourthly, to them that have not offended: fifthly, to such as have offended, but not publicly: sixthly, to those that amend and do well.'

'Excommunications be only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the public spiritual prayers of the church.'

'Christians are to be taught rather to love excommunication, than to dread it.'

he bishop of Rome, successor of Peter, is not the vicar of Christ, ordained by Christ in St. Peter, to have authority over all the churches in the world.'

'The words of Christ to Peter, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c., extend no further but only to those things which be bound of Peter himself.'

'It is not in the hands either of the church or of the pope, to make articles of the faith, yea, or laws either of manners or good works.'

'Albeit the pope, with a great part of the church, teaching so or so, did not err therein, yet is it no sin nor heresy for a man to hold contrary to them; namely, in such things which are not necessary to salvation, so long as it is not otherwise condemned or approved by a general council.'

'We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the authority of councils, and freely to gainstand their doings, and to judge upon their decrees, and boldly to speak our knowledge, whatsoever we judge to be true, whether the same be approved or reproved by any general council.'

'Some of the articles of John Huss, condemned in the council of Constance, are Christian, most true and evangelical, which the universal church cannot condemn.'

'In every good work, the just man sinneth.'

'Every good work of ours, when it is best done, it is a venial sin.'

'To burn heretics, is against the will of the Spirit.'

'To fight against the Turks, is to repugn against God, visiting our iniquities by them.'

'Free-will, after sin, is a title and name only of a thing; and while man doth that which lieth in him, he sinneth deadly.'

'Purgatory cannot be proved out of Holy Scripture which is canonical.'

'Souls in purgatory be not certain of their safety, at least not all; neither is it proved by reasons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the state to deserve or increase charity.'

'Souls in purgatory do sin without intermission, so long as they seek rest, and dread punishment.'

'The souls being delivered out of purgatory by the prayers of the living, be less blessed than if they had satisfied for themselves.'

'Ecclesiastical prelates, and worldly princes, should not do amiss, if they would scour away all the bags of Begging Friars.'

'All which errors there is no man in his right wits but he knoweth the same, in their several respects, how pestilent they be, how pernicious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds; and finally, how much they be against all charity, and against the reverence of the holy Church of Rome, the mother of all the faithful and mistress of the faith itself, and against the sinews and strength of ecclesiastical discipline, which is obedience, the fountain and well-spring of all virtues, and without which every man is to be convinced easily to be an infidel.'

'We, therefore, desiring to proceed in the premises more earnestly, as behoveth in things of most importance, and meaning to cut off the course of this pestiferous and cankered disease, lest it should spread itself further in the Lord's field, like hurtful brambles or briars; and using upon the said errors, and every of them, diligent trial, debating, strait examination, ripe deliberation; and further, weighing and thoroughly sifting all and every of the same together, with our reverend brethren the cardinals of the Church of Rome, the priors of the orders regular, or ministers general; also with divers other professors and masters of divinity, and of both laws, and those the best learned: do find the aforesaid errors or articles respectively, as is aforesaid, not to be catholic, nor to be taught as catholic, but to

be against the doctrine or tradition of the catholic church, and against the true interpretation of Holy Scripture, received by the same; to whose authority Augustine thought we ought so much to lean, that he would not (as he said) have believed the gospel, if the authority of the church had not thereunto moved him.

'For by these errors, or at least by some of them, it followeth consequently, that the same church, which is guided by the Holy Ghost, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly against that which Christ at the time of his ascension, (as we read in the holy Gospel of Matthew,) promised to his disciples, saying, I am with you until the end of the world, &c.; and also against the determination of the holy fathers, against the express ordinances or canons of councils and head bishops, whom not to obey, hath always been the cause and nurse of all heresies and schisms, as Cyprian doth witness.

'Wherefore, by the counsel and assent of the said our reverend brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the premises, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, all and singular the articles or errors aforesaid respectively, as some to be heretic, some to be slanderous, some to be offensive to godly ears, or else seducing simple minds, and repugnant to the catholic truth; and, by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they ought of all Christian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reprov'd, and rejected. And therefore, forbidding here, under pain of the greater curse and excommunication, losing of their dignities, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and to be deprived and made incapable of all regular orders and privileges, given and granted by the see apostolic, of what condition soever they be; also of losing their liberties to hold general schools, to read and profess any science and faculty; of losing also their tenures and feoffments, and of inability for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under pain of secluding from Christian burial, yea, and of treason also, and incurring such pains and punishments expressed in the law, as are due for all heretics and abettors of the same: we charge and command all and singular Christian people, both men and women, as well of the laity as of the clergy, both secular and also regular, of what order soever they be; and, briefly, all other persons, of what degree or condition soever they be, or in what dignity soever they are placed, either ecclesiastical or temporal: as first, the cardinals of the Church of Rome, patriarchs, primates, archbishops

bishops, with the prelates and heads of the churches patriarchal, metropolitan, or other cathedral, collegiate, and other small and inferior churches; also all clerks and other persons ecclesiastical, as abbots, priors, or ministers, general or particular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt: also universities of schools, and all others, as well secular priests, as regular and religious persons of all orders, yea of the Begging Friars also: Item, kings, electors of the imperial crown, princes, dukes, marquises, barons, captains, conductors and servitors, and all officers, judges, notaries, whether they be ecclesiastical or secular; commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, castles, lordships, and places, with the inhabitants of the same: and, finally, all other persons whatsoever, ecclesiastical or regular, dispersed in whatever places through the whole universal world, or who shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high Almany, that they shall not presume, publicly or privately, under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour, the aforesaid errors or any of them, or any such perverse doctrine.

“Over and besides, forasmuch as the aforesaid errors, and many others, are contained in the books or writings of the aforesaid Martin Luther, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reprovèd, and rejected, the aforesaid books, and all the writings of the said Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue soever they are found, wherein the said errors, or any of them, are contained; willing and commanding, under the virtue of holy obedience and incurring the penalties aforesaid, to all and singular Christian people, both men and women above rehearsed, that they presume not by any manner of ways, directly or indirectly, colourably or expressly, privily or apertly, either in their houses, or in other public or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by others; but, straightways after the publishing hereof, they do burn, or cause to be burned, the said errors, by their ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole clergy and the people, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

“Now, as touching the said Martin, O good Lord, what have we left undone? what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not showed, whereby to have reduced him from these errors? For, after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers tractations had with our legate, as by our own letters, that he would relinquish the aforesaid errors, or else, having safe-conduct

offered to him, with money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cast out; and so, after the example of our Saviour and his apostle St. Paul, he would speak, not in corners and in secret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less but that, reforming himself, he would have recognised his errors, neither should have found so many faults in the court of Rome, which he, being seduced with the rumours of malicious people more than he ought, doth so much reprehend: where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome, our predecessors, (whom he, without all modesty, most injuriously doth rail upon,) did never err in their canons and constitutions, which he so much depraveth. For, as saith the prophet, Neither is there resin nor physician lacking in Gilead. But he hath always showed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear; and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn mind and heart indurate, hath remained more than a year under our curse; yea, and moreover, adding mischief to mischief, (which is worst of all,) he, hearing of this our citation, burst out into a presumptuous appellation from us, unto the next general council, against the constitution both of Pope Pius the Second and Pope Julius the Second, our predecessors, which so decreed, that all they which so did appeal, should be punished as heretics.

“In vain, also, he seeketh refuge to the general council, who profeseth himself not greatly to regard such councils. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one notoriously suspected of his faith, yea, a very heretic indeed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of a heretic, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we, notwithstanding, by the counsel of our brethren aforesaid, following the clemency of Almighty God, who willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the see apostolic, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might; and so to work (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation; so that he, forsaking his former errors, might be received as the lost child, and return home again into the lap of his mother the church.

“Wherefore, in most hearty wise we exhort and beseech the said Martin and all his adherents, receivers, and abettors, by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom and by whom is made

the redemption of mankind, and the edification of holy mother church, that they will cease to disturb the peace, unity, and verity of the said church, for which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father; and that they will abstain from such pernicious errors aforesaid; who, in so doing, shall find with us, (if they shall obey, or shall certify us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein,) the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency: willing and charging the said Martin, notwithstanding, from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or else, if the love of justice and virtue shall not restrain the said Martin from sin, neither the hope of our pardon shall reduce and bring him to repentance, to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish the said Martin and his adherents, abettors, favourers, and receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the virtue of holy obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, strictly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first, ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediately following after the setting up of these present letters, the said Martin, his abettors, favourers, adherents, and receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the aforesaid errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same; also from setting out of book or scriptures upon the said errors, or any of them; and, furthermore, that they burn, or cause to be burned, all and singular such books and scriptures as contain the aforesaid errors, or any of them, by any manner of way. Also, that the said Martin do utterly revoke those errors and assertions, and so to certify us of the revoking thereof by public testimony, in due form of law, signed by the hands of two prelates, to be sent unto us within the term of other like forty days, or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come, (which would please us much rather,) with a full safe-conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true obedience, should hereafter remain.

“Contrariwise, if the said Martin, (which God defend,) his abettors, favourers, adherents, and maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all and singular the premises within the term aforesaid, we then, following the doctrine of the apostles, which teacheth us to avoid an heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now—declaring, by our authority, the said

Martin, his abettors, favourers, adherents, maintainers, and receivers, as withered branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnant to the catholic faith, slanderous and damnable, to the great offence of God’s majesty, to the detriment and slander of the universal church and catholic faith, and despising the keys of the church, to be, and to have been, notorious and obstinate heretics,—do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such by all Christian people aforesaid.

“Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that no man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said books and writings; not only those wherein the errors aforesaid are contained, but also all others, whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written, or made by the said Martin, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the catholic faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all Christian people; or rather, with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

“We admonish, moreover, all and singular Christ’s faithful people, under the said pain of the great curse, to avoid, or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the aforesaid heretics not obedient to our commandments, and to have no fellowship, nor any conversation or communion, with them, or with any of them, neither to minister to them things necessary.

“And moreover, to the more confusion of the said Martin, with his abettors, adherents, and maintainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as heretics after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command all and singular Christ’s faithful people, both men and women, as patriarchs, archbishops, prelates of churches (either patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral, collegiate, and other inferior churches); to deans and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons secular, and of all other orders, even of the Begging Friars also (especially of that congregation, where the said Martin is professed, or hath his abode); also to regulars exempt, and not exempt: Item, to all and singular princes, (what dignity or calling soever, either ecclesiastical or temporal, they be of,) to kings, princes, electors, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, captains, conductors, servitors, commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, lands, castles, and places, or the citizens and inhabitants thereof: and briefly, to all and singular others aforesaid, through the universal world dispersed, especially in Almany, that they and ever

of them, under all and singular penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said Martin, his abettors, adherents, receivers, and favourers, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who, in so doing, for their good work shall receive of us and the see apostolic condign reward and recompence); or, at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches, houses, monasteries, convents, cities, dominions, universities, commonalties, castles, lands, and places respectively, as well the clergymen, as the regulars and laymen, all and singular aforesaid.

"These cities, dominions, lands, castles, villages, commonalties, holds, towns, and places, wheresoever they be situate respectively; metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches; monasteries also, priories, convents, and religious and devout places, or what order soever (as is aforesaid) unto which it shall chance the said Martin to come; so long as he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the ecclesiastical interdiction.

"And that the premises may be known to all men, we command moreover to all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of the patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral and collegiate churches; to deans and chapters, and other persons ecclesiastical, and of what order else soever aforesaid; to regular brethren, religious monks, exempt and not exempt as aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within Almany, that they and every of them, under like censures and pains, do publicly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced by others, the said Martin, with all and singular his aforesaid adherents, which shall not obey our commandments and monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every Sunday, and other festival days, within their churches, when the greatest concourse of people shall resort to divine service, to be declared and condemned for heretics; and that all Christ's faithful people shall avoid them under the said censures and penalties as be afore expressed; and that they do set up these presents, or cause to be set up, or the transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensu-

ing, in their churches, monasteries, houses, convents, and other places, there openly to be seen and read.

"Item, We do excommunicate and curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, pre-eminence, dignity, or excellency they be, who shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or others, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these presents, or the copies transcribed, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their lands and dominions, &c.

"Let no man therefore be so bold to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary, this writing of our damnation, reprobation, rejection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, commandment, exhortation, beseeching, request, admonition, assignation, grant, condemnation, subjection, excommunication, and curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure, that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, A. D. 1520, the seventeenth of the calends of July, and of our popedom the eighth year."

Although it was somewhat long before this bull aforesaid of Pope Leo, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of Luther, yet as soon as he, by means of his friends, might get a sight thereof, he shaped an answer again to the same, in such sort as, I am sure, the pope himself will say that this bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his days; as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his answer, may evidently appear. The contents and copy of which answer I thought here, next under the said bull, immediately to exhibit to the Christian reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the pope, out of his painted vizard, appear in his own perfect colours. The answer now to the bull here followeth: *

* The following remarks of Thomas Carlyle on the character of Luther are extremely apposite:

"It is curious to reflect what might have been the issue, had Roman popery happened to pass this Luther by; to go on in its great wasteful orbit, and not come athwart his little path, and force him to assault it! Conceivable enough, that in this case he might have held his peace about the abuses of Rome; left providence and God on high to deal with them! A modest, quiet man; not prompt he to attack irreverently persons in authority. His clear task, as I say, was to do his own duty; to walk wisely in this world of confused wickedness, and save his soul alive. But the Roman high priesthood did come athwart

him; afar off at Wittenberg he, Luther, could not get live in honesty for it; he remonstrated, resisted, came to extremity, was struck at, and struck again, and so it came to wager of battle between them! This is worth attending to in Luther's history. Perhaps no man of so humble, peaceable a disposition, ever filled the world with contention. We cannot but see that he would have loved privacy, quiet diligence in the shade; that it was against his will he ever became a notoriety. Notoriety, what would that do for him? The goal of his march through this world was the Infinite Heaven; an indubitable goal for him. In a few years he should either have attained that, or lost it for ever! We will say nothing at all, I think, of that

"Martin Luther to the Christian reader, wisheth the grace of Christ to eternal salvation. I heard a fame afar off, Christian reader, that a certain bull was past out against me, and sent almost over all the world before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For what cause I cannot tell, except, peradventure, it was for that the said bull, like unto a night-crow, and as a bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not fly in the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night-fowl, after long time, by help of friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me in his own likeness to behold. Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my papists do dally and jest with me, in setting out such famous libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad-men so against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the style, (as it is called,) nor the process of the court of Rome observed. And again, (which maketh me more to doubt,) herein be brought and condemned such articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most Christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, that the said monster was hatched by John Eckius, a man wholly compacted, and framed altogether, of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

sorrowfulest of theories, of its being some mean shopkeeper grudge, of the Augustine monk against the Dominican, that first kindled the wrath of Luther, and produced the Protestant Reformation. We will say to the people who maintain it, if indeed any such exist now, Get first into the sphere of thought by which it is so much as possible to judge of Luther, or of any man like Luther, otherwise than distractedly; we may then begin arguing with you.

"The monk Tetzel, sent out carelessly in the way of trade, by Leo the Tenth,—who merely wanted to raise a little money, and for the rest seems to have been a pagan rather than a Christian, so far as he was any thing,—arrived at Wittenberg and drove his scandalous trade there. Luther's flock bought indulgences; in the confessional of his church, people pleaded to him that they had already got their sins pardoned. Luther, if he would not be found wanting at his own post, a false slug-gard and coward at the very centre of the little space of ground that was his own and no other man's, had to step forth against indulgences, and declare aloud that *they* were a futility and sorrowful mockery, that no man's sins could be pardoned by *them*. It was the beginning of the whole Reformation. We know how it went forward from this public challenge of Tetzel, on the last day of October, 1517, through remonstrance, and argument;—spreading ever wider, rising ever higher; till it became unquenchable, and enveloped all the world. Luther's heart's desire was to have this grief and other griefs amended; his thought was still far from introducing separation in the church, or revolting against the pope, father of Christendom. The elegant pagan pope cared little about this monk and his doctrines; wished, however, to have done with the noise of him. In the space of some three years, having tried various softer measures, he thought good to end it by *fire*. He dooms the monk's writings to be burnt by the hangman, and his body to be sent bound to Rome—probably for a similar purpose. It

"The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruited abroad, that the said Eckius is thought and said to be the apostle of such a goodly bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet apostle for such an apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, than that a bull was in working against me at Rome, partly by the workmanship of Eckius; which, because (as the style and composition thereof declareth) it displeased the good and learned men there, was therefore deferred, and should have been suppressed.

"But, whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this apostle Eckius beareth rule, there to be the kingdom of antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope Leo the Tenth, with his learned cardinals, to be the authors of this furious madness; which I do, not so much for the honour of the see of Rome, as because I will not be puffed up too much with pride, and seem to myself as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a truth of such a proud prelate? wherein what were more to be

was the way they had ended with Huss, with Jerome, the century before. A short argument, fire. Poor Huss: he came to that Constance council, with all imaginable promises and safe-conducts; an earnest, not rebellious, kind of man: 'three feet wide, six feet high, seven feet long;' *burnt* the true voice out of this world; choked it in smoke and fire. That was not well done!

"I, for one, pardon Luther for now altogether revolting against the pope. The elegant pagan, by this fire-decree of his, had kindled into noble, just wrath the bravest heart then living in this world. The bravest, if also one of the humblest, peaceablest, it was now kindled. 'These words of mine, words of truth and soberness, aiming faithfully, as human inability would allow, to promote God's truth on earth, and save men's souls, you, God's vicegerent on earth, answer them by the hangman and fire! You will burn me and them, for answer to the God's message they strove to bring you! You are not God's vicegerent; you are *another's*, I think! I take your bull as an emparchemented lie, and burn it. You will do what you see good next: this is what I do.'—It was on the tenth of December, 1520, three years after the beginning of the business, that Luther with a great concourse of people took this indignant step of burning the pope's fire-decree in the market place of Wittenberg. Wittenberg looked on 'with shoutings.' The whole world was looking on. The pope should not have provoked that 'shout!' It was the shout of the awakening of nations. The quiet German heart, modest, patient of much, had at length got more than it could bear. Formulism, pagan popism, and other falsehood and corrupt semblance, had ruled long enough; and here once more was a man who durst tell all men, that God's world stood not on semblances but on realities; that life was a truth and not a lie!"—*Carlyle's Hero Worship*, p. 212—216.

wished for by me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and furious antichrist? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my hap at any time—in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find its martyr worthy for the same: I, for my sins, am not worthy to come to that honour.

“Let other men, therefore, think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the author of this bull, he is a very antichrist; and against antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboureth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy angels, and all the world, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this bull, which bull I also do curse and execrate, as an enemy, a church-robber, and blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, our Lord, Amen.

“Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my spirit, those articles in the said bull condemned and excommunicated; and I affirm, that the same ought to be holden by all faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction; and that they are to be counted for antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said bull, whom I also, together with the spirit of all them which purely know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the precept of our Lord Jesu Christ, Amen. And let this stand for my revocation, O thou bull, which art the very daughter of all vain bubbles.

“This my confession and protestation made, (for witness whereof I take all them that shall read these presents,) before I proceed to defend and declare these aforesaid articles, I will first begin with certain arguments for the confutation of the said bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish antichrist. For the apostle Peter so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a reason of that faith and hope which is in us; and the apostle Paul willet a bishop to be mighty to exhort in sound doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers. And these things be they, which, now three years ago, I have desired and looked for out of Rome, or from them that take part with Rome: which things, also, we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient fathers, whensoever they condemned heresy: neither do we read that the apostles did ever decree any thing in their councils, but they first alleged the Holy Scripture. So I also, when I waited that they would answer me

with grapes, and inform me with true testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me sour and wild grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words; whereas I have fortified my matter with plain Scriptures.

“I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned antichrist, hast thou joined such brain-sick rashness together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into stocks and blocks, and to think that thou, with thy bare and naked words only, canst triumph against the invincible force and power of God’s holy word? hast thou learned this manner of condemning the magistralities of Cologne and of Louvain?

“If this be the manner of the church to damn errors, only to say, ‘I like it not,’ ‘I deny it,’ ‘I will not,’ what fool, what patch, what ass, what block, cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the public sight of the church to dare once to set the trifling vanities of thy naked and bare words only against the thunderbolts of God’s eternal word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for antichrist! who hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident Scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, ‘I condemn thee.’ And why then do we not believe the Turk? why do we not admit the Jews? why do we not honour the heretics, (who also condemn our writings as well as he,) if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some Scriptures and reasons. But these men, after a new-found fashion, utterly, without all Scriptures or reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause, why they proceeded against me with their bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their mere blockishness, whereby they, seeing my allegations to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrify me with their vain rattling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee, antichrist, that Luther, being accustomed to war, will not be terrified with these vain bulls, and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of paper and the omnipotent word of God.

“Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the articles in their orders; for they feared lest they should note him for a heretic, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this adverb *respectivè*: and after the numbering of the articles, then come they, and say that some be ‘respectively’ heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; which is as

much to say, that we suppose them to be heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous : but we cannot tell which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou ! how art thou afraid of the light ! how dost thou turn and return into all things, lest thou shouldst be taken, like a Proteus ! And yet, for all that, thou shalt not so escape ; yea, in thy wiliness thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

“ Come out therefore, O thou ass-headed antichrist ! show forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us, if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this article is heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth ; and too shameful it is to condemn an article for heretical, and yet cannot name the same : neither will I be answered here with ‘ respectively,’ but I look to be taught simply and plainly ; for I am one of Ocham’s faction, which condemn these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

“ Thou seest therefore, good reader, the ignorant dotage of this antichrist ; how craftily, and yet grossly, he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb ‘ respectively,’ who not only doth not teach the truth, and the cause of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any error, nor show forth what it is that he condemneth ; and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this, trow you, a proper kind of damning, to damn, and cannot tell what he damneth ? Is not this a fine manner of elocution, passing all rhetoric, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh ? What purgations might we wish sufficient to purge the doltish brains of these bull-bragging bedlamites ? with such blindness and doltishness are all these adversaries of God’s truth worthy to be plagued.

“ But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origin thereof is this : Eckius, mine old adversary, remembering how he was put to shame enough at Leipsic, when he, rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, with a furious voice called me three hundred times ‘ heretic,’ for the articles of Huss, and yet afterwards was not able to prove the same, whereas the sentence condemnatory of the council of Constance, alleged of me otherwise than Eckius looked for, noted there no certain article for heretical ; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishness called some of Huss’s articles heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive ; and Eckius, hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashness, perceiving that he had called me heretic falsely and untruly, he thought then to

to heal this wound again at Rome, and there to establish his false and impudent lying. But the lying sophister shall not prevail, by the help, I trust, of Christ ; for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do show what is, and what is not, heretical. But when will they so do ? When Christ and Belial, or when light and darkness, shall agree together.

“ And what shall I do then in the mean time ? First, I will condemn these dastardly dotipoles and unlearned papists and apostles of antichrist. And I will scorn them as Elias did, and say, If Baal be God, let him answer. Peradventure he is drunk, or busy in his journey : cry out higher, for he is a god, and peradventure sleepeth. For what other thing do these bull-bragging asses deserve else, which condemn that they know not, and confess all their own ignorance ?

“ Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretic, erroneous, or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my papists, these blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will show me at least my error ; that is, that they will show me, if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For so long as they assign me no heretical article, I am at free liberty to deny what article soever they lay unto me to be heretical, and say it is catholic.

“ Again, what a rudeness is it in this wicked and doltish antichrist, worthy to be laughed at, whereas these dromedaries do distinguish heretical articles from those that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offensive, and those again from slanderous ? By the which subtle distinction of those gross-headed dolts this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous is not heretical ; and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to these ecclesiastical condemners, who ought to condemn those things only which be heretical ? For that which is not heretical, is catholic ; as Christ himself saith, He that is not against us is with us. Yea, I would wish that these jolly sophisters would show me in all the church an article that is erroneous and not heretical : for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in stiffness of defending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or less. Ye see therefore again, how these men, for all their bragging bulls,

are not able to produce me one article which is erroneous and not heretical; and yet, like wise brain-sick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot stand either in matter or in words; so that such as are the articles, such is the condemnation.

"The like wisdom also they show in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That article I would fain see either in my books, or in the words and works of any writer else from the beginning of the world to the latter end. What made my papists then to excogitate these so prodigious monsters, but only their monstrous fury and madness? unless, peradventure, they mean those articles to be as scandalous as commonly all true and catholic articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous than verity? Yea, only truth and verity is scandalous to all proud and senseless persons, as it is said of Christ: We preach, saith St. Paul, Christ crucified; a stumbling-stone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness; and, He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in Israel. Wherefore, whereas my papists do distinguish scandalous articles from heretical and erroneous, and forasmuch as that which is not heretical or erroneous must needs be catholic and true; it followeth thereof, that these scandalous articles be understood and condemned by them for such as be very catholic and sound. O worthy condemnations, and meet for the papists!

"Mark here, good reader, the impiety of these blind buzzards; whither they roll themselves; how they deride and mock themselves; how easily they are taken in their own words; how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not only in not proving any error or slander in these articles, but also in going about only to express them; how they cast out things impossible, and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless bull, thy doltish *respectivē* now become? whither respectedst thou? Verily into the bottomless pit of impiety, and thine own brutish stolidity.

"The like, also, is to be said touching the articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, nor erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great rabbins. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wisdom of these papists, who could find out that to be offensive in the church, which is neither false, nor heretical, nor slanderous, but true, sound, catholic, and edifying, and yet must that also be condemned? And who would not now desire and covet to be condemned, also, by such hair-brained idiots, who, by their own

condemning, do utter themselves to approve things damnable, and to condemn things justifiable; that is, who openly show themselves, to their own great ignominy and shame, to be more senseless than stocks, rocks, or blocks? Go ye now, therefore, O ye impious and brainless papists, and if ye will needs write, show yourselves more sober: for this bull, it appeared, was either spewed out in your night feasts, among drabs and harlots, or else huddled up in the canicular days, or mad midsummer moon: for never were there any dizards that would show themselves so mad.

"Let us now return this dirt of antichrist, and cast it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For, as the proverb saith, A liar had need to have a good memory. If some articles be offensive, and others heretical, and thou condemnest him which is no heretic, and consequently a true catholic, although he be six hundred times offensive, doth not thy shameless mouth then condemn thyself, not only of heresy, but of extreme impiety, blasphemy, and treason against God's holy truth, showing thyself to be the man indeed who is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is called God, or is worshipped? Art not thou, then, the man of sin, the son of perdition, that denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of truth, to establish the setting forth of his error, for men to believe iniquity; as Paul foretold? for if the article be not heretical, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but only to such heretics as antichrist is, and satanists of all piety. See therefore how his shameless and most foolish bull, while it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the authors thereof to be true heretics, and the enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counsel against the Lord, seeing blind impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth: so truly it is said, that he that casteth up a stone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.

"And (which is chiefest of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to pass, that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their own wickedness which they covet most to conceal, that all men may see how ready they are to condemn all verity even at once. For when they affirm such articles to be heretical, which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare show or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are adversaries of Christ from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all truth? and

yet, notwithstanding, with their damnable hypocrisy, they pretend themselves to be condemners of heresies! Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed asses with your blustering bulls, learn, I say, what it is, Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence. How soon and easily are all your inward impiety and your ignominy disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the same! Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest argument, that the afore-said bull proceedeth from none other than very antichrist himself, the chiefest adversary of God and of all godliness. And now let either Eckius, or the pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what opinion we ought to have of him, or what name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree, as impiety, blasphemy, ignorance, foolishness, hypocrisy, lying, yea, briefly, Satan himself with his antichrist.

“Neither doth this impiety any thing less appear in that also which I will now say. For this worshipful bull decreeth in plain and most impudent words, that those books also of mine ought to be burned, in which are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

“Canst thou, O Christian reader, now doubt that the great dragon of hell himself speaketh in this bull? It is an old proverb, ‘that the ass singeth therefore evil-favouredly, because he taketh his note too high.’ So this bull, in like manner, should have piped more tuneably, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth. But this man of sin, the adversary that is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily, but apertly, and that in the open church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned, the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed both of him and of all others. What more could be done amongst the Turks? What place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of hell? And are ye not afraid, ye antichrists! with your brutish bulls, lest stones and trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

“Where art thou now, good Emperor Charles? Where are ye, Christian kings and princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in baptism, and can ye now abide these infernal voices of such an antichrist? Where be ye bishops? where be ye doctors? where be all ye that confess Christ? Can

ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious monsters of the papists? O miserable church of God! which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking-stock of Satan! O miserable are all they which live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the papists, enemies to the cross of Christ and verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached; as St. Paul said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious bull doth make me to be, a heretic, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my books; yet why should the other books of mine be condemned that are catholic, Christian, true, edifying, and peaceable? Where have these wretched papists learned this religion, that, for the person’s cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and sound verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good wheat also with the cockle? Will ye also scatter the corn away together with the chaff? And why then receive ye Origen in his catholic books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked Aristotle, (in whom is nothing taught but errors,) and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical decretals of the pope? Why do ye not all this, I say? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for no other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in Daniel, which should put down truth and set up lies, and the operation of error: for this thing, and no other, becometh the seat of antichrist.

“Wherefore this I say to thee, Pope Leo the Tenth, and to you, lords cardinals, and all others whosoever, in any part or doing in that court of Rome, and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by the which I am made in my baptism the son of God, and coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure rock, which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heaven, nor earth—and say, admonish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform yourselves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those diabolical blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties. And this I allege, that unless ye so do, know for certain that I, with all them that worship Christ, do account your seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned seat of antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject nor congregate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the prin-

cial and chiefest enemy of Christ ; being ready, in this our sentence and profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish censures, but also do pray you heartily, that you will never assoil us again, nor ever number us in your fellowship : and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer ourselves to die for the same. And, according to the power and might that the Spirit of Christ and the efficacy of our faith can do in these our writings, if ye shall still so persist in your fury, we condemn you ; and, together with this bull, and all the decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the flesh, that your spirit in the day of the Lord may be delivered, in the name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen !

“ For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth, (in whom I do nothing doubt,) who, I firmly trust, will shortly come and slay with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this man of sin, and son of perdition ; forasmuch as I cannot deny, if the pope be the author and doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and famous antichrist, that subverteth the whole world by the operation of his delusions ; as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

“ But whither doth the burning zeal of charity carry me ? neither am I as yet fully persuaded this to be the pope’s bull, but to proceed from his wicked apostle Eckius, who, with his fathers, furiously gaping at me like a gulf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, Let us swallow him up quick and whole like hell, and like one descending down into the pit. For little careth this furious mad-brain how the verity of God be extinguished, (yea, he would count that for a lucre,) so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his brother. Oh miserable state of the church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood ! But who heareth our groanings ? or who comforteth our weepings ? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

“ Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, that besides other great friendship which they have showed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberality, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the city of Rome, which, after it hath pillaged and polled the whole world of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intolerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offereth money ? But this impudent lie, I know

with whose hammer it was coined : Cajetan the cardinal, a man born and formed to lie for the whetstone, after his worshipful legation despatched in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and feigned that he promised me money ; whereas he, being at Augsburg, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his family. But thus it becometh the bull to be a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

“ And so these great judges and condemners, after all this, have yet authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lie ; and that they are good catholics, when they be stark heretics ; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very antichrist : and all by the virtue of this universal Whatsoever thing thou bindest, &c., so that where nothing is excepted, they think they may do all things. Who not only do lie most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency) do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men falsely to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me : whereas these tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now, if there were no other matter else to bring this bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this bull is. What ! would Rome, think ye, offer money to me ? And how then cometh this, which I know to be most certain, that out of the bank (as they call it) two or three hundred crowns were assigned in Germany to be disposed and given to ruffians and catchpoles, to murder Luther ? For these be the reasons and arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy apostolic see, the mistress of faith, and mother of all churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very seat of antichrist, and manifold ways heretical, if she had fought with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God ; whereof she herself is nothing ignorant. And therefore, because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth, and taketh on like as she were mad, in the church of Christ ; confounding and consuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction ; and yet, for all this, they must needs be counted most holy fathers in God, vicars of Christ, and pastors of his flock !

“ But go to (that I may also dally with them a while) ; let them yet send me the money they spake of—for as touching their promise and safe-conduct, (because I will not overcharge them,) that I gladly

reign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, to conduct me safe to Rome; and so, for any other promise of safe-conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, that devour-eth up her inhabitants; neither keepeth, nor ever did keep, promise with any; where these most holy fathers do slay their beloved children in the charity of God, and brethren destroy their brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and the style of Rome. In the mean time, I will keep myself free and safe from the citation of the most reverend bull. O ye miserable varlets! which are so confounded with the truth, and with your own conscience, that neither ye can lie handsomely, neither dare ye speak the truth; and yet neither can ye so keep yourselves quiet: to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

“Furthermore, here in this bull is brought in a strange fashion of style not heard of before. For whereas Augustine hath said, that he would not believe the gospel except he had been moved by the authority of the church, now cometh in this goodly bull, and maketh this catholic church to be a few reverend cardinals his brethren, and priors of regular orders, masters of divinity, and doctors of the law, out of whose counsel the said bull boasteth herself to be born and brought forth; blessed babe, forsooth, of such a universal church! O happy travail, no doubt, of this catholic church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as Augustine, the valiant impugner of sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the synagogue of the devil! See, therefore, the madness of these papists: The universal church is a few cardinals, priors, and doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all; when, also, it is possible enough, that never a one of them all is the member of one chapel or altar. And whereas the church is the communion of saints, as we say in the Creed, out of this communion of saints, that is, out of this universal church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons: and so, whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the universal church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be liars, heretics, and antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

“Would there ever any man think such doltishness and madness to be in Rome! Are there any brains in these men's heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? Augustine speaketh of the church dispersed through the whole world, confessing the gospel with one consent; neither would God, that

any book else should be received with such consent of the whole world as the Holy Scripture, (as the said Augustine, in his Confessions, affirmeth,) lest, by the receiving of other books, schisms may take occasion to rise; according as the wicked see of Rome hath long sought by her decrees, and hath, for a great part, brought the same to pass already. But yet the universal church did never agree thereto; for in the east, west, and south there have been Christians, who, being content only with the gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular church to make herself a universal church, and accuseth other churches as schismatical; whereas she hath cut off herself from the universal church, and striveth in vain to draw the whole universal church to her, being the mother and fountain of all schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

“Let no man, therefore, ever think that this true catholic church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable bull here prattleth, when neither that which is the very true Church of Rome indeed doth herself so think, nor taketh that by and by to be catholic, whatsoever is known to proceed from the Church of Rome: for, as I said, there is no book which shall be called catholic hereafter, as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the Holy Scripture. For the Church of Rome, it may suffice to glory herself to be a little parcel or piece of the universal church; and so let her vex herself only with her own decrees. Neither let any man think this to be the bull of the catholic church, but rather to proceed out of the court of Rome. For such wisdom and religion may well beseem that seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole universal church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked bulls most arrogantly and vainly on the whole world, instead of sincere catholic doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she, trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, taketh upon her to prescribe laws to all men, of all their doings and sayings; as though, for dominion only and loftiness of spirit, she were to be counted the house and church of Christ: whereas, by this means, Satan also, (the prince of the world,) or the Turk, might be counted the church of Christ. Again, neither can the monarchies of the Gentiles abide mighty princes to reign over them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the church the spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man; and not the pope alone, or the court of Rome, unless they be spiritual.

“But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible champion of the church, St. Paul, who saith, If any thing be revealed to another

that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace. Here have ye plainly, that the pope, or any other elder, whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to another that is inferior in the church. I, therefore, upon his authority, contemning the presumptuous proceeding of this swelling bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea, of the pope himself, with his whole church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first article is this :

“I. ‘It is an heretical sentence, and also common, to say, that sacraments of the new law do give grace to them that have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary.’

“*Answer.*—I acknowledge this article to be mine, and I ask of you, good masters respectivists, which make these articles respectively, some to be heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, &c., whither respected this article, I pray you? to heresy, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the Holy Scripture? to the holy fathers? to faith? to the church? To which of these, I beseech you, tell me? Neither do I here put you to the labour of proving, but only require you to show your judgment, what you think, that I may know wherein I say amiss. Will you that I should tell you, you babish infants and noddies, whither this article respecteth? I will. This article hath two respects; whereof the one respecteth the papists, the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be mules, some to be horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense; and yet, notwithstanding, they will needs condemn all things. Another respect it hath to the Holy Scripture, which saith, Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin. Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the sacraments of the new law can give no grace to the unbelievers, (forasmuch as the sin of infidelity is the greatest obstacle,) but only to the believers: for only faith putteth no obstacle. All other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the sophisters understand, meaning only of the actual purpose of external sin. I confess therefore this article not only to be mine, but also to be the article of the catholic and Christian verity; and the bull which condemneth the same, to be twice heretical, impious and blasphemous, with all them which follow the same, who, little regarding the sin of incredulity, foolishly and madly do hold, that the obstacle is taken away, if a man cease from sinning, although the unbeliever can think no good thing. But these things I have discussed more at large in my books, and will more

discuss, if those prating Romanists dare at any time prove their opinion, and confute mine.

“II. ‘To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul together under foot.’

“*Answer.*—I would also require of them to show the cause why this article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantastical respects that they are not able to perceive why they would have this article condemned: and yet I cannot tell whether it be heretical or erroneous; and no marvel when the condemners themselves cannot tell me. I hold, therefore, this article by the apostle, I myself in my mind do serve the law of God, and in my flesh the law of sin. Here the apostle confesseth plainly of himself, that in his flesh he serveth sin. And also, Christ is made to us of God our righteousness, our wisdom, sanctification, and redemption. And how then doth he sanctify them that be sanctified already? unless it be as the Apocalypse saith, He that is holy let him be holy still. To be sanctified, is as much as to be purged from sin: but what have these our respectivists to do with the apostle Paul, seeing they are the whole universal church, by whose authority Paul either standeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the church? The Lord rebuke thee, Satan, and these thy Satanical papists!

“III. ‘The original root of sin, although no actual sin do follow, stoppeth the soul departing out of the body from entrance into heaven.’

“*Answer.*—As touching this matter, I never defined any thing hitherto, but largely and probably I have disputed hereof; neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done with such a soul. But our papists, more blind than buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cause this article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that, which the whole universal church is ignorant of: I yet, notwithstanding, contemning this foolish and fond condemnation aforesaid, do hold this article probably to be true. For, seeing this original root, which I spake of, is truly sin, as I have proved, and seeing that sin letteth a man from entering into heaven; as it is written, No polluted thing shall enter; I suppose, therefore, that original sin withholdeth a man from entering into heaven: neither do I any thing at all esteem the fantastical dreams of them, whereby they, extenuating original sin, do call it openly the pain of sin, and imperfections; plain against the manifest Scriptures, which call it sin, and teach the same to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true, and not of feigned, sin.

“IV. ‘The imperfect charity of a man departing,

necessarily carrieth with it great fear, which of itself is enough to make the pain of purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.'

"*Answer.*—This followeth of the other going before, which, in like manner, I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet hold the same, asking, before, a dispensation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: 'We are the highest powers in the church, yea, we are the church itself: *ergo*, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the Holy Ghost, which cannot err, although we stink like a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kinds of sins, and drowned in ignorance.' But all these reasons prevail nothing with me: peradventure they may with them which fear lest, if my sentence should prevail, then purgatory should be taken out of the pope's hands; and then priests and religious men, having lost their gainful offices of vexing (of releasing, I would have said) the dead, should be pinched by the bellies and brought to penury. It was time, therefore, for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to suffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and so to be overthrown.

"V. 'Whereas they say penance standeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confession, and satisfaction, it is not founded in Holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and Christian doctors.'

"*Answer.*—This article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceive; for the respect thereof is to greedy covetousness, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this: If this article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vex them with confessions, cases reserved, restricted, or amplified for our gain: and so should we become beggars, and God's service should be minished in vigils and masses: but it is wicked that God's service should be minished; therefore, Luther is a heretic. This consequence holds from the bull to the papists, and contrariwise.

"I beseech thee, by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned reader shall read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my levity, and, as it may seem, my childishness. For thou seest how I have to do with such men as be twice children, and yet do brag themselves to be peers and principal pillars of all men. I assure you, I know it most certainly to be true, that there be many and great governors of the people, which this so ridiculous and foolish reason above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my books. Unless I perceived (with tears

I speak it) the anger of God sharp and fierce against us, in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate children, and such dregs of the earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burst for very grief and sorrow.

"My sentence is, and hath been, this: That the satisfaction, which the keys are able to dispense withal, standeth not by the law of God: for, if it did, then could it not be dispensed withal by the keys. If these bull-founders do charge me with any other thing besides in this article, they do nothing else but as they are wont to do: for what matter or marvel is it, if antichrist do lie?

"VI. 'Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembering, and detesting our sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the bitterness of his soul, in pondering the greatness, the multitude, and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and the purchasing of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a hypocrite, yea, rather a man to be more a sinner.'

"*Answer.*—O the incredible blindness and brutishness of these Romish bulls! This article is truly mine, and very Christian; which I will not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the popes and papists in the world. For this I meant by that doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in faith and charity; which thing they also would teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, either what faith or charity is. And therefore, in condemning my doctrine, they condemn also their own, foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say, therefore, that he that teacheth repentance in such wise and manner that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of Judas Iscariot; he is pestilent, a devil to men's souls, and tormentor of consciences. Read the books of these sophisters, where they write of repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or faith: for these lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with these dead contritions. But hereof we will hereafter treat more at large.

"But what should I here stand upon every article, seeing my books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine adversaries also had brought to light theirs? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, That they count all my sayings as damned? whereas I did write to this end only, that they should acknowledge their errors wherewith they have so long bewitched

the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, who, understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned before, with sufficient authority both of Scripture and reason: neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough); but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught; and, behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these asses nothing to understand either the things that I say, or yet themselves; but they be such blind buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my books: for they dream that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing that I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth, and showed myself as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned by them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous; and so openly to denounce them as heretics and erroneous, unless they showed some better reason and ground of their doings and doctrine; whereas they, on the other side, like foolish minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but 'we condemn that we have condemned;' proving, after a new kind of logic, the same thing by itself. O most idiot huddipeaks, and blockish condemners! Where is the saying of Peter, Be always ready to render an account of that faith and hope which is in you?

"Wherefore, seeing these ignorant papists, being thus confounded, do so flee away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves or of their cause, and have blasted out with much ado this timorous bull of theirs; I, being comforted with the flight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation, instead of a full justification of my cause; and so rebound again their own damnation upon their own heads. For how could they more condemn themselves, than while they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of heresy, if they should be driven to give account of their doctrine) do flee to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say 'I will not, I damn thee; I hear thee not, I allow thee not?' If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear declareth what cowards they are.

"Wherefore, not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every arti-

cle, I here protest in these presents, that I confess all these things here condemned by this miserable bull, for pure, clear, and catholic doctrine, whereof I have sufficiently given account in my books which be extant abroad.

"Furthermore, I will also that the said my books, being extant abroad, shall be taken as a public accusation against these wicked sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of their doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lieth, denounce them as guilty of errors, heresy, and sacrilege; admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting, all them that truly confess Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous doctrine; and not to doubt, but that the true antichrist reigneth by them in the world amongst us.

"And if any shall contemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from his blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ: for I have left nothing undone, which Christian charity did bind me to do.

"Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babbling and trifling condemners, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel; that is, this life and blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, than to revoke one syllable of these articles, which they have condemned. And now, as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable heresy, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God. Christ, who is the Judge of all, judge and determine this matter between us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him! Amen."

In storying the life of Luther, it was declared before, how the said Luther in the beginning, being rejected first by the Cardinal Cajetan, appealed from the cardinal unto the pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the pope be received, but that the pope with his cardinals, contrary to all equity and conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the express truth of God's word, thinking by mere authority to bear down the verity as he had used before to do: Luther, following the justness of his cause, was then compelled to appeal from the pope to the next general council, and so did, as before you may read; which was two years before the pope's bull against Luther came out. The tenor of this appellation, before omitted, I thought here to exhibit; whereby the reader, considering the great

of religion and state of the church which hath ensued, may also perceive the true cause and occasion how it first began; by order and degrees it after increased; what error and submission, first on Luther's part showed; and, again, what insolency, wrong, violence, of the pope's part, were declared. Further, whereas Pope Leo, in his bull above cited, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of charity, and money offered to Luther in the appeal, how false and vain that is, by this preface may appear.

the manner and form of the appeal of Martin Luther from Pope Leo to the next general council.

INASMUCH as the liberty of appealing is used for a remedy to relieve the oppressed from the violence of the superior, it was therefore for Martin Luther so to do; especially being in many ways injured and molested by the see of Rome and other the pope's confederates, as he, in his appeal, declareth. For at first, whereas he, by disputing of the errors and abuses of the papal pardons, did somewhat withstand the imputing and blasphemies of them that came with the pope's pardons, to poll and rob the church, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their public sermons to be a heretic, and, consequently upon the same, accused to Pope Leo for a heretic, by Marius the pope's procuration and others.

When was obtained of the pope a commission to the said Luther to appear at Rome before the cardinals, by Hieronymus, and Sylvester Priests, mortal enemies, whereas he could by no way appear without manifest danger of his life, both by way, and also in the city of Rome.

At the consideration whereof, Duke John Frederick elector, and the landgrave, entreated for to have his cause indifferently to be heard, and committed to two parties that were equal, and impartial: yet, notwithstanding the earnest suit of the princes, the contrary labour of the cardinals, and his capital adversaries, so prevailed at Rome, that the cause of Luther was still detained in their hands; and, contrary to all indifferency, committed to the hearing of the pope's legate in Germany, called Cardinalis Sancti Sixti; being no less enemy against Luther than the emperor, and notwithstanding that Luther obediently obeyed at his call, and with humble protestation committed himself to be answered by the Scriptures; referred himself to the judgment of the see of Rome, and of four universities, to wit, Basil, Fri-

burg, Louvain, and Paris; yet, contrary to all equity, showing forth no Scripture nor reason, rejecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his requests and suits, he would needs forthwith have him to revoke his errors, threatening and menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

"Whereupon Luther, being thus proudly rejected of the cardinal, made his appeal from the said cardinal to Pope Leo, being better informed.

"This appellation also being contemned of the pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor show Luther his errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would needs per force proceed against him by mere authority and oppression at Rome, Luther then, seeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own defence, and seeing, moreover, the truth of God's word to lie under foot, by might and authority oppressed, so that none durst almost confess the same, and that the poor flock was so nursled in errors and vain opinions, to the seduction of their souls; for these, and other such causes, he, being necessarily thereunto compelled, commenced this appeal from the pope misinformed, to the next general council that should be, calling for the help of the public notary, and testimony also of sufficient witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly."

The death of King Henry the Eighth, with the manner thereof.

AND thus closing up this eighth book with the death of King Henry the Eighth, I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and reign of King

Edward his son, after that first I shall intermit a few words touching the death of the said King Henry his father, and the manner of the same; who, after long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, lay from St. Stephen's day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of January. His physicians at length perceiving that he would depart away, and yet, not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of the king's death, (the act being made only for sooth-

sayers, and talkers of prophecies,) moved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity; which when the rest were in dread to do, Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him what case he was in, to man's judgment not like to live; and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betimes for grace and mercy, as becometh every good Christian man to do.

Although the king was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of the physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past; which although he much accused, "yet," said he, "is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they be." Master Denny, being glad to hear him thus to speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer withal, and to open his mind unto. To whom the king answered again, that if he had any, he would have Dr. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore Master Denny, asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep; and then, as I feel myself, I will advise upon the matter."

After an hour or two the king, awaking, and feeling feebleness to increase upon him, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for; but before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Dr. Cranmer to be come, he, reaching his hand to Dr. Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could utter no word unto him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could; and so, shortly after, departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Moreover, forasmuch as mention is inserted in this place of the good inclination of King Henry, in his latter days, to the reformation of religion, by the occasion hereof it cometh to mind also, somewhat likewise to add, by way of appendix, touching the talk between the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, the Duke of Suffolk, and Charles Bran-

don, as concerning the king's purpose and intent conceived against the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, in that he could never allow any reformation in religion in this realm, and especially being offended with this, that men should use in their talk, "the Lord," as well as "our Lord." The said duke said unto the said archbishop, "We of the council had him once at a good lift, and should well have despatched him from his authority, if the king's Majesty our master had stayed himself from admitting him to his presence; as then his Highness was content that we should thoroughly have sifted and tried him. "It was, my Lord," quoth the duke to the archbishop, "at that time when Gardiner's secretary was attached and suffered for defending the pope's authority. For then I, and certain of the council, having conference with the king's Majesty for that matter, his Highness was fully persuaded, that the bishop's secretary, being in such special favour with his master, would never stand so stiff in defence of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority without his said master's both advice, knowledge, and persuasion. 'For already, (quoth the king,) he played but a homely part with me, when he was ambassador to the pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore, (quoth the king to me,) send for him, my Lord, incontinently; and, by assistance of two or three more of the council, whom you think good, let him be committed to the Tower, to answer to such things as may be objected against him.'

"This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the king's pleasure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the privy chamber, (where he had many friends then,) suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof; who incontinently repaired to the king's presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the king, his Highness said to the bishop, 'We do marvel that your secretary hath thus notoriously offended against us and our laws. It is surely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him; and, therefore, my Lord, be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault: but if you halt or dissemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.'

"With this monition Winchester fell down upon his knees, and besought his Majesty for mercy and pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said secretary; and there bewailing himself, promised from that day

forward to reform his opinion, and become a new man. 'Well, (quoth the king,) this way you have of me that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.'

"The next morning I had word how the matter was handled; whereupon I came to his Highness and said, 'Your Majesty hath prevented our commission, which I and others had from your Grace, concerning my Lord of Winchester's committing to the Tower.' 'Wot you what (quoth the king); he hath confessed himself as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath, with much sorrow and penitiveness, sued for my pardon; and you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters, evermore to pardon them that will not dissemble, but confess their fault.'

"Thus wilily and politicly Gardiner got himself out of our hands. But, if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the Tower over-night, and have stopped his journey to the court."

"Well," said my Lord of Canterbury, "he was evermore too good for you all."

Moreover, as touching this aforesaid bishop of Winchester, forasmuch as he, in King Edward's time, bragged so much of his old master of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, to the intent that the glorious vanity of this bishop, and of all others like unto him, may appear more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of Master Denny, as also of Sir Henry Nevil, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this: that King Henry, before the time of his sickness, taking his horse upon the terrace at Windsor to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the Lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, with divers other councillors; and, amongst them, the bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the lord chancellor, and said, "Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you?" (meaning the bishop.) Whereupon the lord chancellor answered, that his coming was to bring his Majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the clergy: whereat the king said, "Ah! let him come hither;" and so he did his message, and the king went straight away.

Item, another time the king, immediately after his repair to London, fell sick, and caused divers times his whole council to come unto him about his will, and other his grave affairs. At that time the bishop also would come up with them into the outer privy chamber, and there remain until the council came from the king, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the world withal.

Furthermore, as the king grew more in sickness, he, considering upon his will and testament made before, at his going over to Boulogne, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the bishop of Winchester by name from amongst his executors: which being to him no small slight, and a cutting off all their purposes, a way was found, that Sir Anthony Brown, a principal pillar of Winchester's side, pretending unto the king, as though by the negligence of the writer the bishop's name had been left out of the king's will, kneeled down to the king's Majesty, lying in his bed, and said, "My Lord of Winchester, I think, by negligence is left out of your Majesty's will; who hath done your Highness most painful, long, and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them."

"Hold your peace," quoth the king, "I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out: for surely, if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry," quoth the king, "I myself could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me; but so shall you never do; and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf." Sir Anthony Brown, perceiving the king somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the king's words at that time: howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more persuasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the king to have the bishop one of his executors. When the king perceived that this instant suit would not cease, "Have you not yet done," quoth the king, "to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the faith I owe unto God, I will surely despatch thee out of my will also; and therefore let us hear no more of this matter." All this Sir Anthony Denny was heard to report to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, by the said archbishop's secretary, who is yet alive, and witness unto the same.

And thus much touching the end of King Henry, who, if he had continued a few months longer, (all those obits and masses, which appear in his will made before he went to Boulogne, notwithstanding,) most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one mass in all England. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me: the one is, the assured report and testimony of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing the

Bonner's letter to Cloney, keeper of the Coal-house; for the abolishing of images.

"Forasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present month, we have received the letters of our sovereign lord, by the grace of God king of England, &c., to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majesty, by us to be executed in tenor of words which here I send unto you. We therefore will and desire, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenor hereof, in the king's behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you, incontinent upon the receipt hereof, do effectually warn all and singular parsons and vicars of this city of London, and of all our diocess, that they, immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present articles and interrogatories hereunder written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made: to wit,

"Whether there be used and continued any superstition, hypocrisy, or abuse within any their

parishes or cures, contrary to any junction, or commandment given and the king's Majesty, or by his authority.

"Item, Whether they have in their within their parishes, any shrines, shrines, tables of feigned miracles, images, and bones, resorted and offered other monuments and things wherewith have been illuded, or any offering or lights or candles, other than be permitted by the king's Majesty's injunctions; or whether the same injunctions be duly observed and kept in the said parishes or cures, or else transgressed and in what part.

"And further, after the said inquisition made, that you do certify us, or our vicar-general, whether the same inquisition is done in the premises, upon the eve of St. Jude, or thereabouts, under the peril threatening.

"Dated the 14th day of October, A. 1534, and the second of our translation."

sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then he asked whether she were damned, and for what desert or offence : whether it were for covetousness, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new sprung up heresy and Lutheranism. Moreover, what was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet : whether it were that the body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place. To all these things he answered by signs in like case as he was commanded ; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, striking twice or thrice upon the table.

“ When he had thus signified that Luther’s heresy was the cause of her damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens that were there present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they, taking advisement lest they should both offend the mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the pix with the host and the Lord’s body, (as they call it,) and all their saints’ relics, and carried them to another place, and there they said their masses ; which they are wont to do by the pope’s law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again. And when the bishop’s official heard of this, he came thither to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men, he commanded the friar to conjure in his presence ; and would have appointed certain to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit did there appear. But Stephen of Arras was sore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the official did earnestly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the mayor, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the king, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come in judgment, the king chose certain out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gave them full authority so to do : whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to make answer ; but they would confess nothing.

“ Then they were sent again to prison, and kept apart one from another ; and the novice was kept in the house of Fremeus, a senator ; and being oftentimes examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he should afterwards be murdered of them, for slandering their order. But, when the judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more in the friars’ hands, he de-

clared to them the whole matter in order ; and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken in the deed, yet refused they their judges, and bragged of their privileges : but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to Orleans, and committed to prison, and afterwards brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed ; and there should make open confession of their wickedness.

“ But even at the same time chanced a persecution against the Lutherans, which was the cause that this sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For because the name of the Lutherans was most odious, they feared lest the punishment of these men should not have been so much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the order ; and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the Lutherans a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to rejoice.

“ This order of the Franciscans was esteemed of the common people very holy ; so that what time they were carried out of Paris, certain women, moved with pity, followed them unto the gate of the university, with many tears and sighs.

“ After they came to Orleans, and were bestowed in several prisons, they began to boast again of their liberties and privileges ; and at length, after long imprisonment, they were discharged and set at liberty without any further punishment. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the king had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their house, and make it even with the ground.”

But to leave the memory of this idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the time with some better matter.

Amongst other injunctions and letters of King Henry the Eighth, written and set forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Thomas Cranmer, for abolishing of images, pilgrimages, shrines, and other monuments of idolatry ; which letter being before expressed, we should also have annexed to the same the letter or mandate of Bonner, directed in Latin to Richard Cloney his sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof : which letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here, in this vacant space, to supply. The letter written to Cloney is this :

Bonner's letter to Cloney, keeper of the Coal-house: for the abolishing of images.

"Forasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present month, we have received the letters of our sovereign lord, by the grace of God king of England, &c., to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his Majesty, by us to be executed in tenor of words which here I send unto you. We therefore will and desire, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenor hereof, in the king's behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you, incontinent upon the receipt hereof, do effectually warn all and singular parsons and vicars of this city of London, and of all our diocess, that they, immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present articles and interrogatories hereunder written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made: to wit,

"Whether there be used and continued any superstition, hypocrisy, or abuse within any their

parishes or cures, contrary to any ordinance, injunction, or commandment given and set forth by the king's Majesty, or by his authority.

"Item, Whether they have in their churches, or within their parishes, any shrines, covering of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and bones, resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the king's Majesty's injunctions; or whether the said injunctions be duly observed and kept in their parishes or cures, or else transgressed and broken; and in what part.

"And further, after the said inquisition thus by them and every of them respectively being made, that you do certify us, or our vicar-general, what is done in the premises, upon the eve of Simon and Jude, or thereabouts, under the peril thereof following.

"Dated the 14th day of October, A. D. 1541, and the second of our translation."

King Edward 17th

THE NINTH BOOK,

CONTAINING

THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.

NEXT after the death of King Henry, succeeded King Edward his son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the twenty-eighth day of January, A. D. 1547; and reigned six years, five months, and nine days; and deceased A. D. 1553, the sixth day of July.

Of the excellent virtues and singular graces of King Edward, wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet, because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince shall not utterly pass our story without some grateful remembrance, I thought, in few words, to touch some little portion of his praise, taken out of the great heaps of matter which might be inferred. For to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long; and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind. If kings and princes, who have wisely and virtuously governed, have found in all ages writers to solemnize and celebrate their acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we Englishmen bound not to forget our duty to King Edward: a prince, although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so, again, I see not many to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here, to use the example of Plutarch, in comparing kings and rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble Edward, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good Josias: for, as the one began his reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in God's cause much discrepant: for as mild Josias plucked down the hill altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple, the like cor-

ruptions, dross, and deformities of popish idolatry, (crept into the church of Christ of long time,) this evangelical Josias, King Edward, removed and purged out of the true temple of the Lord. Josias restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests! King Edward likewise, in England, abolishing idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced again religion to a right sincerity; and more would have brought to perfection, if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the idolatrous sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

Moreover, in King Josias's days the Holy Scripture and book of God's word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most graciously repaired and restored again. And did not King Edward the like, with the selfsame book of God's blessed word, and with other wholesome books of Christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days, by sharp laws and severe punishments, here in England? Briefly, in all points and respects, between him and this our godly king no odds are to be found, but only in length of time and reign; who, if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias's reign, proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to his church and realm. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

In the mean time, to proceed in the excellent virtues of this Christian young Josias, (as we have begun,) although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of, all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of

the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, whereby the reader may esteem with himself, what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

And first, to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other extern things in a prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his subjects: such were the hearts of all English people toward this king inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came prince in this realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his subjects; but especially of the good and the learned sort: and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable, by reason of his rare towardness and hope both of virtue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was entirely of his subjects beloved, so with no less good-will he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with Master Cheek, in favouring the life of heretics; insomuch that when Joan Butcher should be burned; all the council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him, and yet neither could he, with much labour, induce the king so to do; saying, "What, my Lord? will ye have me to send her quick to the devil in her error?" So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to put to his hand, saying that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of religion was in him from his childhood. Such an organ, given of God to the church of England, he was, as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies and other great virtues in him, add, moreover, skill and knowledge of tongues, and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born, than brought up.

Moreover, there wanted not in him, to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happiness of institution of good instructors; neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him; insomuch that in the midst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study, using the same with much attention, till time called him again from his book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours, he did so profit, that Dr. Cranmer, the archbishop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both tongues, in translating from Greek to Latin,

from Latin to Greek again; in declaiming with his school-fellows without help of his teachers, and that extempore; would weep for joy, declaring to Dr. Cox, his schoolmaster, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his council, add thereunto, of his own, more reasons and causes, touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he, in these immature years, could tell and recite all the ports, havens, and creeks, not within his own realm only, but also in Scotland, and likewise in France; what coming in there was; how the tide served in every haven or creek; moreover, what burden, and what wind, served the coming into the haven.

Also, of all his justices, magistrates, gentlemen that bare any authority within his realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation, what it was. Few sermons, or none, in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerpt them, or note them with his own hand.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christ's holy gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many others, may notably appear.

In the days of this King Edward the Sixth, Charles the emperor made request to the said king and his council, to permit Lady Mary (who after succeeded in the crown) to have mass in her house without prejudice of the law. And the council, on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to entreat the king for the same; who, coming to his Grace, alleged their reasons, and persuasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the king, hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures so groundedly, gravely, and fully, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his Majesty, laboured politically in another sort, and alleged what

dangers the denying thereof might bring to his Grace; what breach of amity on the emperor's part; what troubles, what unkindness, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the king answered, willing them to content themselves; for he would (he said) spend his life, and all he had, rather than agree and grant to what he knew certainly to be against the truth: the which when the bishops heard, notwithstanding, they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his nay. Then the good king, seeing their importunate suit, that needs they would have his Majesty to consent thereto, in the end, his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content; whereat the bishops themselves, seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his Grace. And coming from him, the archbishop took Master Cheek, his schoolmaster, by the hand, and said, "Ah! Master Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life, that you have such a scholar, for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in all our bodies." Thus the Lady Mary's mass, for that time, was stayed.

Over and besides these heavenly graces and virtues, most chiefly to be required in all faithful and Christian magistrates which have governance of Christ's flock, neither was he also unprovided with such outwards gifts and knowledge as appertain to the governance of his realm politic; insomuch that he was neither inexpert nor ignorant of the exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the sea: but was as skilful in the practices, and could say as much thereof, as the chiefest doers in his affairs. Likewise, in the entertaining of ambassadors; to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their oration, to the great wonder of them that heard him, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many princes, at their mature age, seldom are wont to do but by others. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to princely affairs, so had he a chest severally to himself, for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as passed, and were concluded by the council; of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should pass their judgments: and of this chest he would evermore keep the key about him. His notes also he ciphered in Greek letters, to the end that those that waited upon him should not read nor know what he had written.

He had, moreover, great respect to justice, and to the despatch of poor men's suits, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then master of his requests, how, and by what order, they might

be sped in their causes without long delays and attendance; and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What Jerome Cardan saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal sciences, I thought here to express in his own words, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his own experiment, and upon the present talk which he had with the king himself.

"There was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancy, apt to all human literature; as who, being yet a child, had the knowledge of divers tongues, first of the English, his own natural tongue, of the Latin also, and of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and of other languages, peradventure, more: in his own, in the French, and in the Latin tongue, singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all others. Neither was he ignorant in logic, in the principles of natural philosophy, or in music. There was in him lacking neither humanity, (the image of our mortality,) a princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardness be-seeming a noble king. Briefly, it might seem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardness that appeared in him, being yet but a child. This I speak not rhetorically, to amplify things, or to make them more than truth is; yea, the truth is more than I do utter.

"Being yet but fifteen years of age, he asked of me, in Latin, (in which tongue he uttered his mind no less readily and eloquently than I could do myself,) what my books which I had dedicated unto him, *De Verietate Rerum*, did contain. I said, that in the first chapter was showed the cause of comets, or blazing stars, which hath been long sought for, and yet hitherto scarce fully found. 'What cause,' said he, 'is that?' 'The concurrence or meeting,' said I, 'of the light of the wandering planets and stars.' To this the king thus replied again: 'Forasmuch,' said he, 'as the motion of the stars keepeth not one course, but is divers and variable, by continued alteration, how is it, then, that the cause of these comets either doth not quickly evade and vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the said stars and planets?' Whereunto I answered, that the comet hath his course and moving, but much more swift than they, because of the diversity of aspect; as we see in crystal, and in the sun, when the form of the rainbow reboundeth on the wall: for a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then said the king, 'And how can that be, having no subject; for of the rainbow the wall is the subject?' 'Like,' said I, 'as in *lactea via*, or in reflection of lights; as,

where many candles be lighted and set near together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightness to appear,' &c.

"And so, by this little trial, a great guess may be given, what was in this king: in whom, no doubt, was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men, both for the ingenuous forwardness, and amiable sweetness, which in his conditions appeared. First, he began to love and favour liberal arts and sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them; whose mortal condition and sudden decease and decay, in those tender and unripe years, not only England, but all the world, hath cause to lament. Oh how truly is it said of the poet,

'Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.'

"A show or sight only of excellency he could give us: example he could not give. Where a kingly majesty required gravity, there you should have seen him a sage and an old man; and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the lute; he had, also, to do in handling of weighty affairs of the realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart; and therein he imitated his father," &c.

Thus, after the godly disposition and properties of this king briefly in this wise declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the states, as well politic, as especially ecclesiastic; who, after the decease of his father coming unto the crown, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen governors. Amongst them, especially the Lord Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, his uncle, was assigned and joined to him, as protector and overseer of him and of the commonwealth; a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble virtues; and, especially for his favour to God's word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the endeavour and industry of this man, first that monstrous hydra with six heads, (the six articles, I mean,) which devoured up so many men before, was abolished and taken away: by reason whereof the counsels and proceedings of Winchester began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the lord protector in the cause thereof, as by his letters is to be seen.

The Holy Scriptures he restored to the mother tongue. Masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of

the churches. Then such as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a stage, new players coming in, the old being thrust out; for the most part the bishops of churches and dioceses were changed: such as had been dumb prelates before, were then compelled to give place to others that would preach and take pains.

Besides others also, out of foreign countries, men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Phagius; of whom the first taught at Oxford, the other two professed at Cambridge, and that with no small commendation of the whole university. Of the old bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea, and afterwards, for his contempt and misdemeanour, deposed from his bishopric, as in further process followeth to be seen. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas five years together; more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had not otherwise pleased God to have meant a further plague to this realm, by that man.

But these meek and gentle times of King Edward, under the government of this noble protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, for that amongst the whole number of the popish sort, of whom some privily did steal out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries; yet, of all that multitude, there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the six years of this king, much tranquillity, and, as it were, a breathing-time, was granted to the whole church of England: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries' hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor any other quarter of this realm, were any heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or another, except only two, one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George, who died for certain articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Besides these two, there was none else in all King Edward's reign, that died in any manner or cause of religion, but one Thomas Dobbe, who, in

the beginning of this king's reign, was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the mass, and in the same prison died; as in the story here ensueth to be seen.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a master of arts in Cambridge, was brought up in the college called St. John's College, and fellow of the same; where he increased in the study of good letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to no man; of much like sort and condition as in doves, which, without all bitterness of gall, are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong to any. At length this godly man, intending with himself and addicting his mind to the Christian state of matrimony, resorted to a certain maiden not far off where he dwelt: for the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused, by three of that college, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tayler, who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the college: who there having no rest or quietness, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place, wherein to settle himself. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto London, it chanced him to pass through Paul's church, where it happened that at the south side of the church, at the same time, there was a priest at mass, (more busy than well occupied,) being at the elevation as he passed by. The young man, replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but, opening his mouth, and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c.; with such other words more of Christian information. For which cause, straightway, he was apprehended by the mayor, and afterwards accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to the Compter, then in Bread Street, where he not long continued, but, falling into a sickness, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this mortal life: whose pardon, notwithstanding, was obtained of the lord protector, and should have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and others.

Over and besides, I find that in the first year of the reign of King Edward, which was A. D. 1547, there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lew-

nax, of Wressel, apprehended, accused, and sent up to the archbishop of Canterbury, by the said Master Lewnax, his master, and Margaret Lewnax, his mistress, for these articles.

"I. First, for denying the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar, to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.

"II. For saying that he would never veil his bonnet unto it, to be burned there-for.

"III. For saying that if he should hear mass, he should be damned."

For this was he sent up by his master and mistress aforesaid, with special letters unto the archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the law for the same. But, because I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore pass over this story of him.

These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young prince (endued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably established in his kingdom, and had a council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in God's cause, especially his uncle the duke of Somerset, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realms and dominions: and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of King Josias, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of religion in the church of England. And, forasmuch as at his first entry, (notwithstanding his father's good beginning, in abolishing the usurped power of antichrist,) he yet found most of his laws greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed, by the advice of his said wise and honourable council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by consent of the whole estate of parliament, he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Whereupon, intending first a general visitation over all the bishoprics within his realm, (thereby as well to understand, as also to redress, the abuses in the same,) he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet, and worshipful personages, to be his commissioners in that behalf; and so, dividing them into several companies, assigned unto them several diocesses to be visited; appointing, likewise, unto every company, one or two godly learned preachers, which, at every session, should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to

the same; and, also, earnestly dehort them from their old superstition and wonted idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their commission, there were delivered unto them certain injunctions and ecclesiastical orders drawn out by the king's learned council, the which they should both inquire of, and also command in his Majesty's behalf, to be thenceforth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertain within their sundry circuits.

Certain ecclesiastical laws, or general injunctions, given by King Edward to the Church of England.

"The king's most royal Majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the duke of Somerset, lord protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and the residue of his most honourable council, (intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth,) doth minister unto his loving subjects these godly injunctions hereafter following, whereof part were given unto them heretofore by the authority of his most dearly beloved father King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his Majesty: all which injunctions his Highness willeth and commandeth his said loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same injunctions hereafter expressed.

"The first, that all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lay, shall cause to be observed and kept of others, all and singular the laws and statutes made as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretended and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the Church of England and Ireland.

"And, furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment or ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished: and

that, therefore, no manner of obedience or subjection within his realms or dominions is due unto him: and that the king's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre; nor allure the people, by any enticements, to the pilgrimage of any saint or image; but, reproving the same, they shall teach, that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other.

"Item, That they, the persons above rehearsed, shall make, or cause to be made, in their churches and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God, and in the same exhort the hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by man's fantasies, beside Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to relics or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, and such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them; but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they do things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor; for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

"Item, That such images as they know, in any of their cures, to be, or to have been, so abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any thing made thereunto, or that shall be hereafter incensed unto, they, and none other private persons, shall, for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down and destroy the same; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor candles, tapers, nor images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still; admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images, if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

"Item, That every holy-day throughout the year, where they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the gospel, plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the Pater-noster, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in consequence, to do.

"Item, That they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either in learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting and counselling, and by all their ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations as others, persuading their said fathers and mothers, masters, and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee, that the youth be in no manner of wise brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward, for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest mean to live by, they be driven to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall some to begging, and some to theft and murder, which after, brought to calamity and misery, do blame their parents, friends, and governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth: whereas, if they had been well brought up in good learning, some occupation, or craft, they should, being rulers of their own household, have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

"Also, That the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide, that the sacraments be reverently and duly ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special licence given by the king's Majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert curate, that can, by his ability, teach the rude and unlearned of their cure, wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and which will also execute their injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf; and accordingly may and will profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with the declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same, if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they, nor their curates, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the

souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

"Also, That they shall provide, within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within one twelvemonth next after the said visitation, the paraphrase of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, where their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto, and read the same; the charges of which books shall be rateably well borne, between the person or proprietary, and the parishes aforesaid; that is to say, the one half by the person or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man, authorized and licensed thereunto, from the reading of any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but shall rather conform and exhort every person to read the same as the very lively word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all Christian persons are bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if they look to be saved, whereby they may the better know their duties to God; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in his Majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that, in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

"Also, the said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner or supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at dice, cards, tables-playing, or any other unlawful game: but, at all times as they shall have leisure, they shall hear or read somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise; and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty with endeavour to profit the common weal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and Christianly.

"Item, That they shall, in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession, whether they can recite the Articles of their faith, the Pater-noster, and the Ten Commandments in English; and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare, then, that every Christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar; and monish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly; or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge and will to ob-

serve the same; and if they do, it is at the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

"Also, that they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's Majesty, his Grace the lord protector, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York in his province, or the bishop in his diocese: and such as shall be so licensed they shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

"Also, if they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now, openly, before the same, recant and reprove the same; showing them, as the truth is, that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error or abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

"Also, if they do or shall know any man, within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the king's Majesty's injunctions, or a favourer of the bishop of Rome's pretended power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirped, and taken away, utterly they shall detect and present the same to the king, or his council, or to the justice of the peace next adjoining.

"Also, that the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish for their time; and so every man succeeding them likewise; and also therein shall write every person's name, that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried; and, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one big coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish, church, or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up: which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and, in the presence of the said wardens or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials, made the whole week before; and, that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as before; and, for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof,

shall be forfeit to the said church 3s. 4d., to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish.

"Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and, at these days, nothing is less seen, than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, pensioners, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may dispend yearly £20, and above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be men worthily noted of ingratitude, who, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable to them.

"And, to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend, in benefices and other promotions of the church, a £100, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which, after they have profited in good learning, may be pertainers of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the common weal, with their counsel and wisdom.

"Also, that all proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions, within this deanery, shall bestow yearly, hereafter, upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they be fully repaired; and the same, so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

"Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and clerks, shall, once every quarter of the year, read these injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately, before all their parishioners; to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

"Also, forasmuch as, by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by the curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble and requite one wrong with another, or be his own judge; but shall truly pay the same as he hath been accustomed, to the parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or

diminution. And such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for the reformation thereof, at their ordinary's, and other superiors' hands; who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

"Also, that no parson, from henceforth, alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is so commanded, nor of Common Prayer, or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the king's authority.

"Also, that the parson, vicar, curate, chantry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament, both in Latin and English, with paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus; and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitation, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons, how they have profited in the study of Scripture. Also, in the time of high mass, within every church, he that sayeth or singeth the same, shall read, or cause to be read, the epistle and gospel of that mass, in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And also every Sunday and holy-day, they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English, in the said place at matins, immediately after the lessons; and at evensong, after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament. And, to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the king's Majesty's pleasure is, that when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them should be omitted and left out, with their responds; and at evensong-time, the responds, with all the memories, shall be left out, for that purpose.

"Also, because those persons which be sick and in peril of death, be oftentimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil, who is then most busy, and specially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and stedfast belief, that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God, of his bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in him; therefore, that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and stedfast hope surely conceived by all their parishioners being in any danger, they shall learn, and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of

Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons; that they may, at all times when necessity shall require, comfort promptly their flock with the lively word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

"Also, to avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen amongst the king's Majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and changing of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung, to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church, at any time use any procession about the church or church-yard, or other place; but immediately before high mass, the priests, with others of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly or distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the king's Grace shall hereafter appoint; and, in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint. And in the time of the Litany, of the high mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells, shall be utterly forborne for that time, except one bell, in convenient time, to be rung and knolled before the sermon.

"Also, like as the people be commonly occupied on the work-day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the holy-day, at the first beginning, godly instituted and ordained, that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God: and whereas, in our time, God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured upon the holy-day, because of idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling, and brawling, which are most used on such days (people, nevertheless, persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day, if they hear mass and service, though they understand nothing to their edifying); therefore, all the king's faithful and loving subjects shall, from henceforth, celebrate and keep their holy-day according to God's holy will and pleasure; that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging their offences to God; in amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick; in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet, notwithstanding, all parsons,

vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the thing which God hath sent. And if, for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

"Also, forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, curates shall in no case admit to the receiving thereof, any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them. And, nevertheless, their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to hear the same.

"Also, that every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary, being priest, shall preach by himself personally, twice every year at the least, either in the place where he is entitled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

"Also, that they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, by the king commanded to be observed, as yet not abrogated. And, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril of his soul's health; as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images, and other dead things; or bearing about him holy bread, or St. John's Gospel; or making crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion; or keeping of private holy-days, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such others do; or ringing of the holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or drive away devils, or to put away dreams and fantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ. And if any use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

"Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy, all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindles, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so

that there remain no memory of the same on walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere, within their churches or houses; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.

"Also, that the churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every church shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's word.

"Also, they shall provide and have, within three months after this visitation, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys, whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from year to year; which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblations and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours, to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them that whereas, heretofore, they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to the friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought, at this time, to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation; and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him; that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life, the which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall, at all times convenient, take out of the church, and distribute the same in the presence of the whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours; and if they be provided for, then to the reparations of the highways next adjoining. And also, the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church, except by the king's Majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed, shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use; and also the rents of lands, the profit of cattle, and money given and bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use; saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparations of the church, if great need require, and

where the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

“And forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the church, and upon the holy-days ought to apply themselves to the common ministration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in childbed, except in time of dangerous sickness; and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the church-yard: and if the woman be sick, or the corpse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.

“Also, to avoid the detestable sin of simony, because the buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotions: and such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow them for their own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment for that time; and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertain to the king's Majesty.

“Also because, through lack of preachers, in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continued in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall read in their churches every Sunday, one of the homilies which are and shall be set forth, for the same purpose, by the king's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do, in the preface of the same.

“Also, whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably condemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them (having small learning) have of long time favoured phantasies, rather than God's truth; yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the king's Majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving subjects, that, from henceforth, they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and ministration's sake; and, especially, all such as labour in the setting-forth of God's holy word.

“Also, that all manner of persons, who understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray on no other Primer but upon that which was lately set forth in English by the authority of King Henry the Eighth, of most famous memory; and that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer. And all those who have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin Primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority. And that all graces to be said at dinner and supper, shall be always said in the English tongue. And that none other grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the king's

realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority.

“Item, That all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners, and other virtuous exercises.

“Item, When any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted.”

Besides these general injunctions and laws ecclesiastical, set out by the godly prince, King Edward, with the consent of his uncle, for the whole estate of the realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the bishops only, which, being delivered unto the commissioners, were likewise at their visitations committed unto the said bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure; the copies whereof here ensue in tenor and effect following:—

“Injunctions given by the most excellent prince, Edward the Sixth, to the reverend father in God, Thomas, bishop of Westminster, in his Highness's visitation.

“First, you shall, to your uttermost wit and understanding, see, and cause all, every, and singular the king's injunctions heretofore given, or hereafter to be given, from time to time, in and through your diocese duly, faithfully, and truly, to be kept, observed, and accomplished.

“Item, you shall personally preach in your diocese, every quarter of a year, once, at the least; that is to say, once in your cathedral church, and thrice in the year in other several places of your diocese, where to you shall seem most convenient and necessary; except you have a reasonable excuse to the contrary.

“Item, You shall not retain into your service or household, any chaplain or chaplains but such as be learned, or able to preach the word of God; and these you shall cause to exercise the same.

“Item, you shall not give orders to any person or persons, not being learned in Holy Scripture, nor deny them that be learned in the same, and of honest conversation and living.

“Item, you shall not, at any time or place, preach or set forth unto the people, any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and content contained and set forth in the king's Highness's homilies; neither yet admit, or give licence to preach to, any within your diocese, but to such as you shall know, or, at least, assuredly trust, will do the same. And if, at any time, by hearing or by report proved, you shall perceive the contrary, you shall, incontinent, inhibit that person so offending, and punish him, and revoke your licences. All which and singular injunc-

tions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

"Given, the twenty-ninth day of August, in the chapter-house of the cathedral church of St. Peter's of Westminster, the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lord, King Edward the Sixth.

"Anthony Cook ; John Godsalue ; John Gosnold ; Christopher Nevinson ; John Madew."

"Injunctions given by the king's Majesty's visitation, by us, Sir Anthony Cook, knight ; Sir John Godsalue, knight ; John Gosnold, esquire ; Christopher Nevinson, doctor of law ; and John Madew, doctor of divinity ; commissioners specially appointed by the king's Majesty to visit the churches of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely : to the right reverend Father in God, Thomas, bishop of Westminster.

"In primis : In consideration, that above and before all other things, such ways and means are to be sought for, whereby the people may learn to know their duties to God, their sovereign lord, and one another : you shall cause, every Sunday, divine service to be done and ended in every parish church within this city of Westminster, before nine of the clock the same days ; to the intent that the priests and the laity of the city may resort to the sermon to be made in your cathedral church, except they have a sermon made and preached in your own parish churches.

"Item, Whereas, by the ignorance of the clergy, not only God's glory is greatly obscured, but, also, the same clergy much disdained and evil spoken of by some of the laity, you shall cause that every parson, vicar, chantry-priest, and other stipendiary within this city of Westminster, be present at every lecture of divinity to be made within the college of St. Stephen, except they or any of them have some reasonable let, to be allowed and admitted by your chancellor, commissary, or other officer for that purpose, or the reader of the said lecture.

"Also you, your chancellor, commissary, and others, exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical under you, shall proceed in all kinds of causes summarily, and *de plano, sine figura et strepitu judicii* : and shall give sentence in every cause within four assignations after the term *ad audiendum sententiam finalem*. All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's Majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

"Given at Westminster the third day of Sep-

tember, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith ; and, in earth, of the Church of England, and also in Ireland, the supreme head.

"Anthony Cook ; John Godsalue ; John Gosnold ; Christopher Nevinson ; John Madew."

Now, during the time that the commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the king and his council, his Majesty, (with the advice of the same,) yet still desiring a further reformation as well in this case of religion, as also in some others of his civil government, appointed a parliament of the three estates of his realm to be summoned against the fourth day of November, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, which continued unto the twenty-fourth day of December then next following ; in which session, forasmuch as his Highness minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewithal also duly weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were in, for professing the gospel of Christ, through many and divers cruel statutes made by sundry his predecessors against the same, (which being still left in force, might both cause the obstinate to contemn his Grace's godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their Christianlike profession,) he therefore caused it among other things, by the authority of the same parliament, to be enacted, "that all acts of parliament and statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, religion or opinions ; that is to say, as well the statute made in the first year of the reign of King Richard the Second, and the statute made in the second year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, and the statute made in the 25th year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards, and every provision therein contained ; and the statutes made for the abolishment of diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning Christian religion, commonly called the six articles, made in the 31st year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, and also the statute made in the parliament begun the 16th day of January, in the 33d year of the reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, and, after, prorogued unto the 22d day of January, in the 34th year of his said reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, books of the Old

and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the Scriptures, or in any wise touching, mentioning, or concerning, any of the said matters; and also one other statute, made in the 35th year of the reign of the said King Henry the Eighth, concerning the qualification of the statute of the six articles, and all and every other act or acts of parliament, concerning doctrine or matters of religion; and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, pains, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wise declared, in any of the same acts and statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect."

By occasion hereof, as well all such his godly subjects as were then still abiding within this realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the gospel; as also many learned and zealous preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travail in their function and calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people, in many places, greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same session his Majesty, with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the apostles, and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the said holy sacrament should be ministered unto all Christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only; and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles and primitive church, that the people, being present, should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone; did, by their authority, moreover enact:

"That the said holy sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both the kinds of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise required; and, also, that the priest that should minister the same, should, at least one day before, exhort all persons who should be present, likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, wherein

should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them that worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God, threatened to them which presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come thereto; the said minister should not, without a lawful cause, deny the same to any person that would devoutly and humbly desire it: any law, statute, ordinance, or custom contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding."

After which most godly consent of the parliament, the king, being no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures, and first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish the same by the authority of his own regal laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned bishops, and others of his realm, to assemble together at his castle of Windsor, there to argue and treat upon this matter, and to conclude upon, and set forth, one perfect and uniform order, according to the rule and use aforesaid.

And, in the mean time, while that the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the lord protector and the rest of the king's council, further remembering that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies against the glory of God and truth of his word, (determining the utter abolishing thereof,) directed their letters unto the godly and reverend father, Thomas Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, requiring him that, upon the receipt thereof, he should will every bishop within his province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the curates of their diocesses, that neither candles should be any more borne upon Candlemas-day, nor yet ashes used in Lent, nor palms upon Palm-Sunday.

Whereupon the archbishop, zealously favouring the good and Christian-like purpose of the king and his council, did immediately, in that behalf, write unto all the rest of the bishops of that province, and, amongst them, unto Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London; of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy, for that we have hereafter more to say, I thought not to stand now long thereupon, but only by the way somewhat to note his former dissimulation and cloaked hypocrisy, in that he outwardly, at the first, consented as well unto this, as also unto all other the king's proceedings; but whether for fear or for any other subtle fetch I know not; howbeit most like it is rather for one of them, or both, than for any true love. And there-

fore, receiving the archbishop's letters, as one of them seeming to allow the contents thereof, he did presently write unto the bishop of Westminster, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give such knowledge thereof in their diocesses, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by these his own letters here inserted, which here do follow.

A letter missive of Edmund Bonner, sent to the bishop of Westminster, with the tenor of the archbishop's letter for abolishing of candles, ashes, palms, and other ceremonies.

"My very good lord, after most hearty commendations, these be to advertise your good Lordship, that my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, this present twenty-eighth day of January, sent unto me his letters missive, containing this, in effect: that my lord protector's Grace, with the advice of other the king's Majesty's most honourable council, for certain considerations them moving, are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth ashes or palms used any longer: requiring me thereupon, by his said letters, to cause admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your Lordship, and other bishops, with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these letters unto your said Lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your diocese, as appertaineth. Thus I commit your good Lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can best desire.

"Written in haste, at my house in London, the said twenty-eighth day of January, 1548.

"Your good Lordship's to command,
"EDMUND LONDON."

Now, about that present time, credible and certain report was made unto the lords of the council, that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people, in divers parts of this realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such images out of the churches, as had been idolatrously abused by pilgrimage, offerings, or otherwise, (according to the tenor of one of the injunctions given by the king in his late visitation,) some affirming that that image was abused, others that this, and, most, that neither of them both; so that, if speedy remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one advice, thinking it best, (of good experience,) for avoiding of all discord and tumult, that all manner of images should be clean taken out of all churches, and none suffered to remain, did thereupon again write their

letters unto the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready aid therein, in manner following.

Another letter of the council, sent to the archbishop of Canterbury for the abolishing of images.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: whereas now of late, in the king's Majesty's visitations, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his Highness's realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings, albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of this realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet, in many other places, much strife and contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same (some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would, by their good will, retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused); and in some places also the images, which by the said injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not: and while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have, in some places, been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away, and that the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years; we have thought good to signify unto you, that his Highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the lord protector and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as convenient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also, by your letters, signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, his Highness's pleasure, for the like order to be given by them and every of them, within their several diocesses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said bishops, to use such foresight that the same may be quietly done, with as good satis-

faction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good Lordship heartily well.

"From Somerset-place, the 11th of February, 1547.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,
Edward Somerset, John Russell,
Henry Arundel, Thomas Seymour,
Anthony Wingfield, William Paget."

When the archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept unto Bonner, bishop of London, requiring, and in the king's Majesty's name commanding him, that, with all speed, he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the bishops within the province of Canterbury, to look immediately, without delay, unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the said letter through all places of their diocess; as also, that he himself should do the like within his own city and diocess of London. Whereupon he, seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the said precept) did send out his mandate as well unto the rest of the bishops, as also again unto the bishop of Westminster.

Now, by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men whom the king had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the primitive church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advices, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorized within this realm and Church of England, commonly called, The Communion. Which agreement, being by them exhibited unto the king, and of him most gladly accepted, was thereupon publicly imprinted, and, by his Majesty's council, particularly divided and sent unto every bishop of the realm, requiring and commanding them, by their letters on the king's Majesty's behalf, that both they, in their own persons, should forthwith have diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should, with all diligence, cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every parson, vicar, and curate within their diocess; that they, likewise, might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same communion, (according to the tenor of the said book,) against the feast of Easter then next ensuing, as more fully appeareth by these their letters here following.

Letters missive from the council, to the bishops of the realm, concerning the communion to be ministered in both kinds.

"After our most hearty commendations unto your Lordship: Whereas in the parliament late holden at Westminster, it was, amongst other things, most godly established, that, according to the first institution and use of the primitive church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine: according to the effect whereof, the king's Majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God, (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving subjects, to their comforts and wealth,) hath caused sundry of his Majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter; who, after long conference together, have, with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the king's Majesty's dominions, in the distribution of the said most holy sacrament, as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit, knowing your Lordship's knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will, of your own good will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the king's Majesty: yet, remembering the crafty practice of the devil, who ceases not, by his members, to work by all ways and means the hinderance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties require—we have thought good to pray and require your Lordship, and nevertheless, in the king's Majesty's, our most dread sovereign lord's name, to command you, to have an earnest diligence, and careful respect, both in your own person, and by all your officers and ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within your diocess, with such diligence as they may have sufficient time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time; and that they may, by your god

be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be; praying you to consider, that this order is set forth, to the intent there should be, in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation, so do we oftsoons require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the king's Majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your Lordship right heartily farewell.

"From Westminster the 13th of March, 1548.

"Your Lordship's loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,	Henry Arundel,
Richard Rich,	Anthony Wingfield,
William St. John,	William Peter,
John Russell,	Edward North,
	Edward Wooton."

By means as well of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, as also of the statute and act of parliament before mentioned, made for the establishing thereof, all private blasphemous masses were now, by just authority, fully abolished throughout this realm of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored instead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done by the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtly to deface the same, so likewise, at this present, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling frowardness of many of the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedrals, and other churches of this realm, there did arise a marvellous schism, and variety of fashions, in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church. For some, zealously allowing the king's proceedings, did gladly follow the order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted popery.

Whereof the king and his council having good intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithal loth, at first, to use any great severity towards his subjects, but rather desirous, by some quiet and godly order, to bring them to some conformity, did, by their prudent advices, again appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and pon-

der the premises; and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure Christian religion taught by the Holy Scriptures, as also to the usages of the primitive church, to draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used within this his realm of England, and the dominions of the same; who, after most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the king's Highness, a book in English, entitled, A Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England. Which his Highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the lords and commons of the parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the fourth of November, in the second year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1548, and continuing unto the fourteenth day of March, then next ensuing.

Whereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the said parliament assembled, well and thoroughly considering, as well the most godly travail of the king's Highness, of the lord protector, and others of his Majesty's council, in gathering together the said archbishop, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned, with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same book; as also the honour of God, and great quietness, which, by the grace of God, should ensue upon that one and uniform rite and order in such common prayer, rites, and extern ceremonies, to be used throughout England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, did first give unto his Highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his Majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as followeth:

"That not only all and singular person and persons that had hitherto offended concerning the premises (other than such as were then remaining in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet) might be pardoned thereof; but also, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish churches, or other places, within the realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, should, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use

the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as were mentioned in the said book, and none other or otherwise.

"And, albeit that they were so godly and good that they gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet, lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this realm, should go unpunished, they further requested, that it might be ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any manner of parson, vicar, or whatsoever other minister that ought or should say or sing Common Prayer, (mentioned in the said book,) or minister the sacraments, should, after the said feast of Pentecost then next coming, refuse to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer than was mentioned and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak, any thing in derogation or depraving of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, should lose and forfeit unto the king's Highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence, one whole year's profit of such one of his benefices or spiritual promotions, as it should please the king's Highness to assign and appoint; and also, for the same offence, should suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. But, if any such person, after his first conviction, should afterwards offend again, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year; and should also be deprived, *ipso facto*, of all his spiritual promotions for ever, so that it should be lawful to the patrons and donors thereof, to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the said party so offending were dead. And if any the said person or persons should again the third time offend, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for the same third offence, suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice,

or spiritual promotion, that then he should, for his first offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprize, and, for his second offence, imprisonment during his life."

Which request, or rather actual agreement, of the lords and commons of the parliament, being once understood by the king, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his regal consent and authority; and thereupon the said book of Common Prayer was presently imprinted, and commanded to be exercised throughout the whole realm and dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute. Moreover, in the same session of the said parliament it was enacted and established by the authority thereof, as followeth:

"That forasmuch as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed, inconveniences had, from time to time, risen amongst the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy, through their compelled chastity, and by such laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful use of marriage; that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances theretofore made by the authority of man only, which did prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, who, by God's law, may lawfully marry; in all and every article, branch and sentence, concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the said laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the said ecclesiastical persons, should also be thenceforth clearly and utterly void, frustrate, and of none effect."

By occasion hereof, it was, thence after, right lawful for any ecclesiastical person, not having the gift of chastity, most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of matrimony, according to the laws and word of God.

But, if the first injunctions, statutes, and decrees of the prince were, by many, but slenderly regarded, with much less good affection were these, especially the book of Common Prayer, by divers now received; yea, and that by some of them, who had always before, in outward show, willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth most plainly, amongst others, by Bonner the bishop of London; who, although, by his former letters and other mandates, he seemed hitherto to favour all the king's proceedings, yet did he, at that present, (notwithstanding both the first statute for the establishing of the communion and the abolishing of all privy

masses, and also this statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of Common Prayer,) still suffer sundry idolatrous private masses of peculiar names, as the Apostles' Mass, the Lady's Mass, and such-like, to be daily solemnly sung within certain peculiar chapels of the cathedral church of Paul's, cloaking them with the names of the Apostles' Communion, and our Lady's Communion; not once finding any fault therewith, until such time as the lords of the council, having intelligence thereof, were fain, by their letters, to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then, being therewith somewhat pricked forwards, (perhaps by fear,) he was content to direct his letters unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as the tenor of the council's said letters, therewithal sent unto them, did import; both which letters I have, for the more credit, here following inserted.

A letter directed from the King's council to Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, for abrogating of private masses; especially the Apostles' Mass, within the church of St. Paul, used under the name of the Apostles' Communion.

"After hearty commendations; having very credible notice that within that your cathedral church there be as yet the Apostles' Mass, and our Lady's Mass, and other masses of such peculiar names, under the defence and nomination of our Lady's Communion, and the Apostles' Communion, used in private chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel: contrary unto the king's Majesty's proceedings, the same being, for the misuse, displeasing to God; for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood: we, for the augmentation of God's honour and glory, and the consonance of his Majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that, from henceforth, no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used; but that the holy blessed communion, according to the act of parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same; and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire, for their necessary business, to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be executed in the chancel, at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautel or digression from the common order. And

herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

"From Richmond, the 24th of June, anno 1549.

"Your loving friends,

Edward Somerset, R. Rich, Chancellor,
William Saint John, Francis Shrewsbury,
Edmund Montague, William Cecil."

A letter of Edmund Bonner to the dean and chapter of Paul's, sent with the order in council.

"To my right worshipful friends, and most loving good brethren, master dean of Paul's, with all the canons, residentiaries, prebendaries, sub-deans, and ministers of the same, and every of them, with speed:

"Right worshipful, with most hearty commendations. So it is, this Wednesday, the 26th of June, going to dinner, I received letters from the king's council by a pursuivant, and the same I do send now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruse them well, and proceed accordingly; praying you, in case all be not present, yet those that be now resident, and supplying the places, may, in their absence, call the company together of the church, and make declaration hereof unto them. Thus committing you to God, right well to fare.

"Written with speed this 26th of June, at one of the clock.

"Your loving brother,
EDMUND LONDON."

What zealous care was in this young king, and in the lord protector his uncle, concerning reformation of Christ's church, and sincere religion, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations, as well to the bishops, as to the justices of the realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council; as the lingering slackness, and drawing back, on the other side, of divers of the said justices and lawyers, but especially of bishops, and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the book of the Common Prayer was, long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very irreverently used, throughout many places of the realm. Which, when the king, by complaint of divers, perfectly understood, being not a little aggrieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willing consent of the parliament, and his Grace's own zealous de-

sire, to take so small effect among his subjects, he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole council, again to write unto all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should, thenceforth, have a more special regard to the due execution of the premises, as also that all others, within their several precincts and jurisdictions, should, by their good instructions and willing example, be the more often and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same: as further appeareth by the contents of this letter here ensuing.

Another letter, directed by the king and his council to Bonner, bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting-out of the Service-Book within his diocese.

“Right reverend father in God! right trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well: and whereas, after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well learned men in the Holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments, hath been, and is, most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but also, by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realm, in their synods and convocations provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand, by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much travailed for, and also sincerely set forth, (as is aforesaid,) remaineth, in many places of this our realm, either not known at all, or not used; or at least, if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort, that the people, in many places, either have heard nothing, or, if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to have due respect to this and such-like matters; so, considering that, by these and such-like occa-

sions, our loving subjects remain yet still in their blindness and superstitious errors, and, in some places, in an irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembering withal, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we acknowledge ourselves to have all that we have; we could not but, by advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your diocese, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straitly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the restoration of these things, so as the curates may do their duties more often, and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned, by the good advices and examples of yourself, your chancellor, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein showing yourself diligent, and giving good example in your own person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service: and, on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commandment notwithstanding) have oftsoons complaint, and find the like faults in your diocese, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that ensueth thereof, unto you; and, consequently, be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And, therefore, we do oftsoons charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure.

“Given under our signet, at our manor of Richmond, the 23rd day of July, the third year of our reign, 1549.”

The bishop of London, amongst the rest of the bishops, receiving these letters, did (as always before) in outward show willingly accept the same; and, therefore, immediately with the said letters directed this his precept unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

“Edmund, by the grace of God, &c.: to my well-beloved brethren the dean and chapter of the cath-

dral church of St. Paul in London, and to the other ministers there, and every of them, do send greeting. And whereas it is so, that of late I have received the said sovereign lord the king's Majesty's letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and, according to my most bounden duty, am right well willing and desiring, that the said letters should be in all points duly executed and observed, according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: these therefore are to require, and also straitly to charge you, and every of you, on his Majesty's behalf, &c., that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars, and curates of your jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly: furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to make certificate herein to me, my chancellor, or others, my officers in this behalf, with such convenient celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such as, from henceforth, shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

"Given at my house at Fulham, the twentieth of July, A. D. 1549, and in the third year of our said sovereign lord the king's Majesty's reign."

Moreover, forasmuch as the king, at that instant, hearing the muttering of certain rebellion then stirring, (whereof more shall be said, the Lord willing, hereafter,) and also being credibly informed by divers, that, through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administering the sacraments, and careless contempt of Bonner, bishop of London, not only many of the people within the city of London, and other places of his diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the divine service then established and set forth by the authority of parliament, but also, that divers others, utterly despising the same, did, in secret places of his diocese, often frequent the popish mass, and other foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm, he thought it therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleness) to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the said bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet judgments, to deal with him for the same.

Whereupon, the eleventh day of August, A. D. 1549, they sent a messenger for him, and, upon his appearance, made first declaration of such informations and complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp admonitions

and reproofs for his evil demeanours in the premises, they delivered unto him from the king (for his better reformation and amendment) certain private injunctions, to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Paul's Cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing, (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour, so required,) they further delivered unto him, in writing, such articles to treat upon in his sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid.

All the aforesaid injunctions and articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth:

"Forasmuch as we are advertised that, amongst other disorders of our subjects at this present, there be divers of our city of London, and other places within your diocese, which, being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto Common Prayer, and to the Holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful, with heart and mind, to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that, through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For whereas heretofore, upon all principal feasts, and such as were called *majus duplex*, you yourself were wont to execute in person, now, since the time that we, by the advice of our whole parliament, have set a most godly and devout order in our Church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days; to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of others. And, forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers, as well in London, as in other places of your diocese, do frequent and haunt foreign rites and masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our realm, and contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his Majesty, after such rites and ceremonies as, in this realm, are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication are maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said city of London and other places of your diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you, being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority, and cure of a bishop doth appertain: we,

therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the lord protector, and the rest of our privy council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and estoons peremptorily, to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straitly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf; upon such pain as, by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal, we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us, for quality of the offence, reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these injunctions following:

"First, ye shall preach at Paul's Cross in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three weeks, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting, in your sermon, the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and ye shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at Paul's Cross, if sickness, or some other reasonable cause, do not let you.

"Secondly, You yourself, in person, shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this Church of England a principal feast, or *majus duplex*, and at all such times as the bishops of London, your predecessors, were wont to celebrate and sing high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in Paul's for the better example of all others; except sickness do let.

"Thirdly, Ye shall yourself, according to your duty and the office of a bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the common prayer and service in the church, or do not come unto God's board, and receive the communion at least once a year; or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other rite or service than is appointed by our book, either of matins, evensong, or mass, in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese; and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you, and punished according unto the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and strait punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your diocese, according to our said book, and none other.

"Fourthly, Ye shall, both by yourself and all your officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done (as appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the eccle-

siastical laws, and to the authority given you in that behalf.

"Fifthly, We have heard also complaints, that the church of Paul's and other churches of London, are of late more neglected, as well in reparación of the glass, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont; and that divers and many persons in the city, of malice deny the payment of their due tithe to their curates, whereby the curates are both injured, and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged, to do their duties: the which thing also, our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

"Sixthly, And forasmuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently, to the reformation of them, our pleasure is, that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the city, see, and principal place, of your diocese, and none other where, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us."

And thus, having brought Bishop Bonner home to his own house, there to leave him awhile, to take his ease in his own lodging till we return to him again, we will, in the mean time, make a little intercourse into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a prince, having no cause ministered thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable prince in his mercy given unto them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace: and where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well. Again, some be so crooked and so perversely given, that the more courteously they be treated, the worse they are; and when, by honest diligence, they list not to get their living, by public disturbance of commonwealths they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who, having so good and virtuous a king, that if they should have sought him, as Diogenes, they say, did seek for a man with a candle, a meeker and better sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but, contrary to all order, reason, nature, and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings, through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certain popish priests, who, grudging and disdaining against the injunctions and godly order of reformation set for-

ward by the king, and especially mourning to see their old popish Church of Rome to decay, ceased not, by all sinister and subtle means, first under God's name and the king's, and under colour of religion, to persuade the people; then, to gather sides, to assemble in companies, and to gather captains; and at last to burst out in rank rebellion.

Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they to mischief and madness, as well gentlemen as others. Of whom the chief gentlemen captains were, Humfrey Arundel, esquire, governor of the Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar. Of priests who were principal stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and afterwards executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bochim, John Tompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barrow, Richard Benet, besides a multitude of other popish priests, which to the same faction was adjoined. The number of the whole rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout traitors.

These, hearing first of the commotions which began about the same time in other parts to broil, as in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same quarrel. But afterwards, they, perceiving how the mischievous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracy did suddenly fail, either being prevented by time, or repressed by power; or that their cause, being but only about plucking down of enclosures, and enlarging of commons, was divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not join their aid together, then began they again to quail, and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they had gone so far that they thought there was no shrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the best furtherance of their desperate purposes.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own country most miserably, to invade the city of Exeter, and so, consequently, all other parts of the realm. But first, for Exeter, they gaped, the gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing saving only gunshot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from Exeter, they fell on spoiling and robbing, where or whatsoever they might catch. At length, laying their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be sent up. But herein such diversity of heads and wits was amongst them, that for every kind of brain there was one manner of article; so that there neither

appeared any consent in their diversity, nor yet any constancy in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable: others altogether unreasonable: some would have no justice: some would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, to ring in the bishop of Rome into England again, and to halloo home Cardinal Pole their countryman.

After much ado, and little to the purpose, at last a few sorry articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the king, with the names of certain set thereunto, the copy whereof here ensueth.

The articles of the commons of Devonshire and Cornwall, sent to the king.

"First, Forasmuch as man, except he be born of water and the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without his blessed sacrament of baptism, therefore we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the week-days, as on the holy-days.

"Item, We will have our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocess resort unto him.

"Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore, we will have mass celebrated, as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the priests; forasmuch as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it; with many other abused terms.

"Item, We will have in our churches reservation.

"Item, We will have holy bread and holy water, in remembrance of Christ's precious body and blood.

"Item, We will that our priests shall sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

"Item, Forasmuch as priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preaching of God's word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of

God, saying unto all honest priests, Be ye followers of me.

"Item, We will that the six articles which our sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth, set forth in his latter days, shall be used, and so taken as they were at that time.

"Item, We pray God save King Edward, for we love his, both body and goods."

A message or answer sent by the king's Majesty to certain of his people assembled in Devonshire.

"Although knowledge hath been given to us and our dearest uncle, Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and to the rest of our privy council, of divers assemblies made by you, which I thought of duty to be our loving subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than ever any loving and kind subjects have attempted against their natural and liege sovereign lord: yet we have thought it meet, at this very first time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our subjects; thinking that the devil hath not that power in you, to make you, of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly to become enemies to your own native country, or, of our subjects to make you traitors, or, under pretence to relieve yourselves, to destroy yourselves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of this your life. This we say: we trust that, although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obstinate: and though some amongst you (as ever there is some cockle amongst good corn) forget God, neglect their prince, esteem not the state of the realm, but, as careless desperate men, delight in sedition, tumult, and wars; yet, nevertheless, the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural prince, and will, by wisdom and counsel, be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty God's order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our subjects, by ignorance seduced, we speak, and be content to use our princely authority like a father to his children, for this time, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

"First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble yourselves against others our loving subjects, to array yourselves to the war: who amongst you all can answer for the same to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful subjects,

who, indeed, by their obedience, make our honour, estate, and degree?

"Ye use our name in your writings, and abuse the same against ourself. What injury herein do you us, to call those which love us to your evil purposes by the authority of our name! God hath made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation; but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to keep our realms from foreign princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus, good subjects! our name is written; thus it is honoured and obeyed; this majesty it hath by God's ordinance, not by man's. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough from a prince to all reasonable people, from a king to all kind-hearted and loving subjects, from a puissant king of England to every natural Englishman.

"Your pretences which you say move you to do this, and wherewith you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, be either all false, or so vain, that we doubt not but, after ye shall hereby understand the truth thereof, ye will all, with one voice, acknowledge yourselves ignorantly led, and by error seduced: and if there be any that will not, assure you the same be rank traitors, enemies of our crown, seditious people, heretics, papists, or such as care not for what cause they seek to provoke an insurrection, so they may do it; nor indeed can wax so rich with their own labours, and with peace, as they can do with spoils, with wars, with robberies, and such like; yea, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, with the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own households, wives, and children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasant persuasions to you, and, in the end, will cut your throats, for your own goods.

"You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessity chance, shall not be christened but upon the holy-days. How false this is, learn you of us: our book which we have set forth by the free consent of our whole parliament, in the English tongue, teacheth you the contrary, even in the first leaf, yea, the first side of the first leaf of that part which treateth of baptism. Good subjects! (for to others we speak not,) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false opinion into your ears, they mean not

the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it; if by our laws ye may not christen your children, upon necessity, every day or hour in the week, then might you be offended; but, seeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach to the contrary? What think you they mean in the rest, which move you to break your obedience against us your king and sovereign, upon these so false tales and persuasions in so evident a matter? Therefore you all which will acknowledge us your sovereign lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural king, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how subtly traitors and papists, with their falsehood, seek to achieve and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretly; every papist his popery, and nourish it inwardly; and, in the end, make you, our subjects, partakers of treason and popery, which, in the beginning, was pretended a commonwealth and holiness.

"And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, That the blessed sacrament of Christ's body should not differ from other common bread! If our laws, proclamations, and statutes be all to the contrary, why shall any private man persuade you against them? We do, ourself in our own heart, our council in all their profession, our laws and statutes in all purposes, our good subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that sacrament, and use the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we think no profit of other bread, but to maintain our bodies; but of this blessed bread we take the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you, good subjects! shall not we, being your prince, your lord, your king by God's appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil persons with open falsehood? Shall any seditious person persuade you, that the sacrament is despised, which is by our laws, by ourself, by our council, by all our good subjects, esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever traitors were believed, if ever papists poisoned good subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reverence of the sacrament, not the health of your souls that they shoot at, good subjects! It is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seek; how craftily, how piteously, how cunningly soever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your king; and in his place we rule in earth. If

we should be slow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is God's judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your Judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

"Likewise are ye evil informed in divers other articles, as for confirmation of your children, for the mass, for the manner of your service of matins and even-song. Whatsoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and consulted by many learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realm concluded: in nothing were so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

"As for the service in the English tongue, it hath manifest reasons for it. And yet, perchance, it seemeth to you a new service, and indeed is none other but the old. The selfsame words in English, which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can judge which list to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you, our subjects, should understand in English, being our natural country tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin; then, serving only for them which understood Latin, and now, for all you which be born English. How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other saith, and so consent with the speaker? If the service in the church was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English; for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge, that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion: an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moved you to mislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it.

"Wherefore, you our subjects! remember, we speak to you, being ordained your prince and king by Almighty God: if anywise we could advance God's honour more than we do, we would do it. And see that ye become subject to God's ordinances, obeying us your prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, dissimulation, and destruction of the realm.

"For the mass, we assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned clergy therein; and, to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holy fathers delivered it: indeed somewhat altered from that the popes of Rome, for their

lucre, brought it to. And although ye may hear the contrary of some popish evil men, yet our majesty, which, for our honour, may not be blemished or stained, assureth you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your head, to finish their own purposes.

"And so, likewise, judge you of confirmation of children; and let them answer you this one question: Think they, that a child christened is damned, because it dieth before bishoping? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learn that which they professed, in the lack thereof by baptism; taught in age, that which they received in infancy: and yet, no doubt but they be saved by baptism, not by confirmation; and made Christ's by christening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Wherefore, in the whole, mark, good subjects! how our doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless errors.

"To conclude; besides our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our book, either for baptism, sacrament, mass, confirmation, and service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the bishops of the realm devised; and, further, by God's word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea, how dare ye give ear without trembling, to any singular person to disallow a parliament, a subject to persuade against our majesty, a man of his singular arrogancy against the determination of the bishops and all the clergy, any invented argument against the word of God?

"But now you, our subjects! we resort to a greater matter of your blindness, of your unkindness and great unnaturalness; and such an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by persuasion of certain traitors amongst you, which we think few in number, but in their doings busy; we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and as we be ordained by God; that is, to redress your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcome our just anger; but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your own causes, being our christened subjects, we would ye were rather persuaded than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously persecuted.

"Ye require to have the statute of the six articles revived, and know ye what ye require? or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented; too bloody they were to be borne of our people, and yet at the first, indeed, made of some necessity. O subjects, how are ye trapped by subtle persons! We

of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now of ignorance, will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often; they were as a whetstone to our sword, and for your causes we left to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in blood!

"But, leaving this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the same hath been annulled by our parliament, with great rejoicing of our subjects, and is not now to be called by subjects in question. Dare then any of you, with the name of a subject, stand against an act of parliament, a law of the whole realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? Yea, what is your surety, if laws be not kept? Assure yourselves most surely, that we of no earthly thing under the heaven make such a reputation, as we do of this one thing: to have our law obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained: from the which we will never remove a hair's breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any subject; but therein will spend our own royal person, our crown, treasure, realm, and all our state; whereof we assure you of our high honour. For herein indeed resteth our honour, herein standeth our kingdom, herein do all kings acknowledge us a king. And shall any of you dare breathe or think against our honour, our kingdom, or crown?

"In the end of this your request (as we be given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this, we think, if ye knew what ye spake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever have given breath to such a thought. For what think you of our kingdom? Be we of less authority for our age? Be we not your king now, as we shall be? or shall ye be subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, that as a king, we have no difference of years or time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and, by his sufferance, shall have age. We are your rightful king, your liege lord, your king anointed, your king crowned, the sovereign king of England, not by our age, but by God's ordinance; not only when we shall be of twenty-one years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our crown, not by years, but by the blood and descent from our father King Henry the Eighth. You are our subjects, because we be your king; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a subject not to obey.

“If it be considered, they which move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our kingdom. But our good subjects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish, his honour; enlarge, not abate, his power; acknowledge, not defer, his kingdom to certain years. All is one, to speak against our crown, and to deny our kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto twenty-one years. Be we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein, then, be we of less majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our progenitors, kings of this realm, except your unkindness, your unnaturalness, will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved uncle, kept our state, maintained our realm, preserved our honour, defended our people from our enemies; we have hitherto been feared and dreaded of our enemies, yea, of princes, kings, and nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferior to any our progenitors, (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God,) and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our magistrates, due execution of our laws? By authority of our kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

“It hath been marvelled, that we, of so young years, have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanceth it that you, our subjects of that our country of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to slander this our realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to note our realm of the evil of rebellion? to make it a prey to our old enemies? to diminish our honour, which God hath given, our father left, our good uncle and council preserved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the sea, seeketh to invade us, to rise in this manner against our law? to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies? to begin to slay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies? to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland?

“Thus far, ye see, we have descended from our high majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a fatherly prince, who, of justice, might have sent you your destruction like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so, if ye provoke us further, we swear to you by the living God, by whom

we reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your lord and prince, your only king and master, we say to you, Repent yourselves, and take our mercy without delay; or else, we will forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our sharp sword against you, as against very infidels and Turks, and rather adventure our own royal person, state, and power, than the same shall not be executed.

“And, if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did arise, pretending some griefs, and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received most humbly their pardon, but feel also, by our order, to whom all public order only pertaineth, redress devised for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your duties to God, whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord; and of your duties towards us, whom ye shall answer by our order; and take our mercy whilst God so inclineth us; lest, when ye shall be constrained to ask, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and whereas ye shall now hear of mercy—mercy and life!—ye shall then hear of justice—justice and death!

“Given at Richmond, the 8th day of July, the third year of our reign.”

Besides the articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said rebels sent up also, not long after, a supplication to the king, whereunto answer again was made by the king's learned council, which here, to make short, leisure serveth not to rehearse.

Over and besides, to behold the malicious working of those popish priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the people's hearts, what bruits and rumours did they raise up against the king and his council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay, first for their sheep, then for their geese and pigs also, and other like things; and whatsoever they had in store, or should put in their mouths, they must fine, therefore to the king! of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this seemed matter fit for such priests, whereby to set the prince and his subjects together by the ears.

Against this seditious company of rebels, was appointed and sent by the king and his council, Sir John Russell, knight, lord privy seal, as lieutenant-general of the king's army, on whom chiefly depended the charge and achievement of that voyage in the west parts. To him also were adjoined, as in part

of ordinary council in those affairs under him, Sir William Herbert, Sir Johan Pawlet, Sir Hugh Pawlet, Sir Thomas Speck, with the Lord Gray, and others beside.

Thus the said lord privy seal, accompanied with the Lord Gray, advancing his power against the rebels, although in number of soldiers not equally furnished like to the others, yet, through the gracious assistance of the Lord's help, fighting in his cause, and giving the adventure against the enemy, about the latter end of July, A. D. 1549, gave them the repulse; who, notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, encountered the second time with the aforesaid lord privy seal, about the beginning of August following, by whom, through the Lord's mighty power, they, with their whole cause of false religion, were utterly vanquished and overthrown.

In the which victory a great work of God's mighty power undoubtedly did appear; for, although the number of the rebels did surmount, in great quantity, the power and strength of the lord privy seal, and their stomachs were so fiercely set upon all desperate adventures; and though the power of Sir William Herbert (being the same time at Bristol) was not yet presently come, which should have joined with the lord privy seal; yet, all this notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord so wrought on the king's behalf, more than any industry of man, (which in all respects in handling that matter was very raw, and far behind,) that the victory fell to the king's part, under the valiant guiding of the aforesaid lord privy seal; so that the popish rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of them also lost their lives, lying there slain miserably in the chase, to the compass of two miles' space. Where also were taken and apprehended the chieftains and ringleaders of that mischievous dance, whereof the principal were Humfrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar; Tempson and Barret, two priests; Henry Bray and Henry Lee, two mayors; with divers others more above specified; all which, accordingly, afterwards were executed.

These rebels, to make their part more sure by the help and presence of their consecrated god and maker, brought with them, into the battle, the pix under his canopy; and instead of an altar, where he was hanging before, set him now riding in a cart. Neither were there lacking masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy bread also, and holy water plenty, to defend them from devils, and all adversary power; which, in the end, neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies, but, eftsoons, both the con-

secrated god, and all the trumpery about him, were taken in the cart, and there lay all in the dust, leaving to them a notable lesson of bitter experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no such vain idols, but only in the true living God and immortal Maker, to be served according to his prescribed word; and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies.

The story whereof putteth me also in remembrance of another like popish field called Musselborough field, fought in Scotland the year before this, where the Scots likewise encamping themselves against the lord protector, and the king's power sent into Scotland, did, in semblable wise, bring with them to the battle the consecrated gods of their altars, with masses, crosses, banners, and all their popish stuff of idolatry; having great affiance, by virtue thereof, to have a great day against the English army, as indeed, in man's judgment, it might seem not unlike. For the number of the Scots' army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their pikes in the first front against our horsemen, (which gave the first onset,) that our men were fain to recule, not without the loss of divers gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty arm of the Lord so turned the victory, that the Scots, in the end, with all their masses, pikes, and idolatrous trinkets, were put to the worse: of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not passing a hundred Englishmen. The cause of this was the promise of the said Scots, made before to King Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish queen to King Edward, which promise the said Scots afterwards brake, and paid thereafter.

In the which victory this is also to be noted, that the same day and hour when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flight in Musselborough, as is credibly noted in records.

During this hurly-burly amongst the popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, the like commotion at the same time, by such like popish priests as Holmes and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of Oxford and Buckingham; but that was soon appeased by the Lord Gray, who, coming down that way into Devonshire, chased the rebels to their houses; of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

In Norfolk and parts thereabout, albeit the original of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude seemed no less bent upon mischief, to disturb public peace, which was also in the month of July, the year abovesaid. For repression of which rebellion, first was sent the lord marquiss of North-

ampton, with special instruction to avoid the fight; and so, by order, was appointed with a number of horse to keep the field and passages, whereby they, being stopped from victual, might the sooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon; who then, following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himself within the city of Norwich, which afterwards they were fain to abandon, the rebels pressing upon the city so on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless, in all that conflict there were but a hundred on both sides slain, and otherwise no great loss, but only the loss of the Lord Sheffield.

Then was sent down against them the earl of Warwick, with sufficient force and number of soldiers, besides the convoy of two thousand Almaines, by whom the rude and confused rabble were there overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, of four thousand at the least: and, in fine, both the Kets, chief stirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in chains.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uproars and insurrections above mentioned, about the latter end of the said month of July the same year, which was 1549, another like stir or commotion began at Seamer, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and continued in the East Riding of the same, and there ended. The principal doers and raisers up of this insurrection were one William Ombler of East Alerton, yeoman; and Thomas Dale, parish clerk of Seamer; with one Stevenson of Seamer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler. Which Stevenson was a mean or messenger between the said Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seven miles one from the other; who at last, by the travail of the said Stevenson and their own evil disposition, inclined to ungraciousness and mischief, knowing before one the other's mind by secret conference, were brought to talk together on St. James's day, A. D. 1549.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion, were these: First and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the king's most honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantastical prophecy, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecy should shortly come to pass, by hearing the rebellions of Norfolk, Devonshire, and other places. The tenor of which prophecy, and purpose together of the traitors, was, "That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed, and the

realm should be ruled by four governors, to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament; in a commotion to begin at the south and north seas of England," &c.: supposing that this their rebellion in the north, and the other of the Devonshire men in the west, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compass this their traitorous devilish device. And therefore, laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to join with them in that detestable purpose, and so set forward this device they framed, as to stir in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other; and, at the first rush, to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the king's proceedings, or which would resist them. But, first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the sea-coasts; and, having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poison; first, beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich men's goods, blowing into their heads that God's service was laid aside, and new inventions, neither good nor godly, put in place; and so, feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the church again their old ignorance and idolatry, they thought, by that means soonest, to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in serving the king in commission, and others as they could be caught; and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of service on the holy-days. And thus was the platform cast of their device, according as afterwards, by the confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

Thus they being together agreed, Ombler and Dale, and others by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parishes of Seamer and Wintringham, and in the towns about, that they were infected with the poison of this confederacy in such sort, that it was easy to understand whereunto they would incline, if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment thereof did shortly follow; for, although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracy, named Calvered, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the lord president and gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that

place where the rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at Seamer, by the sea-coast; and there, by night, rode to the beacon at Saxton, and set it on fire. And so, gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the towns near about, being in a stir, Omblor, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to Master White's house, to take him, who notwithstanding, being on horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, Dale, Omblor, and the rest of the rebels, took him, and Clopton his wife's brother, one Savage, a merchant of York, and one Bury, servant to Sir Walter Mildmay; which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their seditious prophecy in some part, and to give a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had carried them one mile from Seamer, towards the Wold; and there, after they had stripped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behind them in the plain field, for crows to feed on, until White's wife and Savage's wife, then at Seamer, caused them to be buried.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite what revel these rebels kept in their raging madness, who, ranging about the country from town to town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious band, taking those with force which were not willing to go, and leaving in no town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that, in short time, they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts; and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lord's goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

For, first, came the king's gracious and free pardon, discharging and pardoning them, and the rest of the rebels, of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his Majesty, before the twenty-first of August, A. D. 1549; which pardon, although Omblor contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, dissuading also the rest from the humble accepting the king's so loving and liberal pardon, yet, notwithstanding, with some it did good.

To make short, it was not long after this, but Omblor, as he was riding from town to town, twelve miles from Hunmanby, to charge all the constables and inhabitants where he came, in the king's name, to resort to Hunmanby, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wood the younger, James Aslabe, Ralph Twinge, and Thomas Constable, gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the city of York, to answer to his demerits. After whom, within short

time, Thomas Dale and Henry Barton, the first chieftains and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Peacock, Wetherel, and Edmund Buttry, busy stirrers in this sedition, as they travelled from place to place to draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly, executed at York the twenty-first of September, A. D. 1549.

To these pestiferous commotions, raised up against King Edward by his own subjects in this year aforesaid, within the realm, I might also adjoin the busy stirring and raging of the French king, against our young and innocent prince, without the realm: who, hearing of these tumults and violent insurrections of the king's subjects in divers and sundry quarters of the realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought, likewise, for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who, after he had by his ambassador made open breach with the king, immediately after the revocation of the said ambassador from hence, intending to annoy the king, and make his first invasion against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, thought to have surprised our ships and the said isles with a certain number of his ships and galleys; in the which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the king's ships and the island, that, by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the lord protector, the Frenchmen lost at least a thousand men. Their ships and galleys were so spoiled, that being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again.

Furthermore, out of France credible word was brought to the lord protector, (which yet in letters appeareth,) that into one town, in one vessel, were brought, at least, threescore gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the king, not to speak of the success in that journey. This was about the beginning of August, 1549. The like also might be noted of the losses of the said French king at Boulogne, the eighth day of August, the same year, as by the Lord Clinton's letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the French king was in these voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty arm of God mercifully fought for King Edward his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many quarters within this realm, and also without the realm, and all within the compass of one year; and yet the Lord above, fighting for his true servant, despatched them all, as in story here ye

have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with declaration of the acts and process entered against him in King Edward's time.

And thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King Edward by his unkind and unnatural subjects, and yet, notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the victory; now let us return again to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now, forasmuch as we have to enter into the story of the said Bonner, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter, with the circumstances and occasions thereof, from the first beginning of King Edward's time. Where is to be understood, that King Edward, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, the first day of September, for the order of his visitations, directed out certain commissioners, as Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John Godsalue, knights, John Godsalue and Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law, and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who, sitting in Paul's church upon their commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, Edmund, bishop of London, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the said cathedral church, after the sermon made, and the commission being read, ministered an oath unto the said bishop of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the king, according to the effect and form of the statute made in the thirty-first year of King Henry the Eighth; also, that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said church to be reformed.

Whereupon the said bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commission, only for this purpose and intent, (as he said,) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their commission: unto whom the commissioners, answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter. And so they called the other ministers of the said church before them, and ministered the like oath unto them, as they did to the bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then, certain

interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the public notary. Which done, after their oaths taken, the said commissioners delivered unto the bishop aforesaid, certain injunctions as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king; all which things the said bishop received, under the words of this protestation, as followeth:

"I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church."

And immediately he added, with an oath, that he never read the said homilies and injunctions. The which protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said Edmund Bonner bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly, the registrar aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said commissioners, delivering the injunctions and homilies to Master Bellassere, archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex; and enjoining them, in most effectual manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as well to the bishop, as to the archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, &c., did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

At the which hour and place assigned, the commissioners being set, and the canons and priests of the said church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation of life, first one John Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedral church, there and then openly confessed, that he, viciously and carnally, had often the company of a certain married man's wife, whose name he denied to declare: in the which crime divers other canons and priests of the aforesaid church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And then, after the commissioners aforesaid had delivered to Master Royston, prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and of the chapter of the said cathedral church of St. Paul, the king's injunctions, and the book of homilies, enjoining them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle reader, first how Bonner made his protestation after the receiving of the king's injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put

in public record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaſte life and converſation of theſe popiſh votaries and prieſts of Paul's. Now, what followed after this proteſtation of the biſhop made, remaineth further, in the ſequel of the ſtory, to be declared ; wherein, firſt thou ſhalt underſtand that the ſaid biſhop, ſhortly after his proteſtation, whether for fear, or for conſcience, repenting himſelf, went unto the king, where he ſubmitted himſelf, and recanting his former proteſtation, craved pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanour toward his Grace's commiſſioners, in the former viſitation : which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the king for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he ſhould be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the council's letter ſent to the commiſſioners may appear ; which, together with the form alſo of the biſhop's proteſtation and of his recantation, here under followeth.

“To our very loving friends, Sir Anthony Cook, knight, and the reſt of the commiſſioners for the viſitation at London, in haſte.

“After our hearty commendation : This ſhall be to ſignify unto you, that we have received your letters, and in the ſame enclosed the copy of the proteſtation made by the biſhop of London in the time of your viſitation at Paul's : your wiſe proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And becauſe the ſaid biſhop, who, being here before us, hath acknowledged his indiſcreet demeanour, did at that time, at Paul's, require the regiſtrar of your viſitation to make record and entry of his proteſtation, and now, upon better conſideration of his duty, maketh means to have the ſame revoked, as ſhall appear unto you by the true copy of his writings enclosed, the original whereof, remaining with us, he hath ſubſcribed ; we pray you to cauſe the regiſtrar to make entry of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his ſaid writing : further ſignifying unto you, that in reſpect of his offence, and the evil enſample that might thereupon enſue, we have thought meet to ſend him to the priſon of the Fleet, whither he hath been conveyed by Maſter Vice-chamberlain. And whereas ſundry things for the king's Maſteſty's ſervice do now occur here, which require the preſent attendance of you, Sir John Godſalve, as well for your office of the ſignet, as of the prothonotaryſhip, we pray you that, leaving the execution of the viſitation to the reſt of your colleagues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well.

“From Hampton Court, the 12th of September 1547.

“Your aſſured loving friends,
 Thomas Canterbury, William Paget,
 William Saint John, Anthony Brown,
 John Ruſſell, William Peter,
 Thomas Seymour, Anthony Dennie,
 Edward North.”

The form of Bonner's recantation.

“Whereas I, Edmund, biſhop of London, at ſuch time as I received the king's Maſteſty's injunctions and homilies of my moſt dread ſovereign lord, at the hands of his Highneſſe's viſitors, did unadviſedly make ſuch proteſtation as now, upon better conſideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might enſue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reaſonable, nor ſuch as might well ſtand with the duty of an humble ſubject : forasmuch as the ſame proteſtation, at my requeſt, was then, by the regiſtrar of that viſitation, enacted and put in record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordſhips, that I do now, upon better conſideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my ſaid proteſtation ; but alſo moſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that this my revocation of the ſame may be likewise put in the ſame records, for a perpetual memory of the truth ; moſt humbly beſeeching your good Lordſhips, both to take order that it may take effect, and alſo that my former and unadviſed doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's Maſteſty.

“EDMUND LONDON.”

The regiſters of theſe affairs of Bonner's remain in the hands of Peter Lilly, then being regiſtrar to the aforeſaid commiſſioners.

Thus far thou haſt heard, loving reader, firſt the popiſh proteſtation of Bonner ; then how he, calling himſelf home again, ſolemnly recanted the ſame, requiring further the ſaid his revocation to be committed to public record, for a perpetual remembrance. Alſo, how he, upon his humble ſubmiſſion, received his pardon of the king, and yet, for example' ſake, was commanded to the Fleet ; where he nevertheless did not long continue, but, according to the effect of the king's pardon before granted, was reſtored both to houſe and living again ; which was in the firſt year of the king, A. D. 1547.

After this ye have heard alſo, in the ſtory above, in the ſecond year, and a great part of the third year of the king, how he demeaned himſelf, although not moſt forward in advancing the king's proceedings, yet in ſuch ſort, as no great advantage by any law could be taken againſt him, both in ſwearing

have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted.

Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with declaration of the acts and process entered against him in King Edward's time.

And thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against King Edward by his unkind and unnatural subjects, and yet, notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the victory; now let us return again to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now, forasmuch as we have to enter into the story of the said Bonner, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter, with the circumstances and occasions thereof, from the first beginning of King Edward's time. Where is to be understood, that King Edward, in the first year of his reign, A. D. 1547, the first day of September, for the order of his visitations, directed out certain commissioners, as Sir Anthony Cook, and Sir John Godsalue, knights, John Godsalue and Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law, and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who, sitting in Paul's church upon their commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, Edmund, bishop of London, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the said cathedral church, after the sermon made, and the commission being read, ministered an oath unto the said bishop of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the king, according to the effect and form of the statute made in the thirty-first year of King Henry the Eighth; also, that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said church to be reformed.

Whereupon the said bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commission, only for this purpose and intent, (as he said,) that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their commission: unto whom the commissioners, answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter. And so they called the other ministers of the said church before them, and ministered the like oath unto them, as they did to the bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then, certain

interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the public notary. Which done, after their oaths taken, the said commissioners delivered unto the bishop aforesaid, certain injunctions, as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king; all which things the said bishop received, under the words of this protestation, as followeth:

"I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church."

And immediately he added, with an oath, that he never read the said homilies and injunctions. The which protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said Edmund Bonner bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly, the registrar aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said commissioners, delivering the injunctions and homilies to Master Bellassere, archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex; and enjoining them, in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as well to the bishop, as to the archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, &c., did so continue the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon.

At the which hour and place assigned, the commissioners being set, and the canons and priests of the said church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation of life, first one John Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedral church, there and then openly confessed, that he, viciously and carnally, had often the company of a certain married man's wife, whose name he denied to declare: in the which crime divers other canons and priests of the aforesaid church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And then, after the commissioners aforesaid had delivered to Master Royston, prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and of the chapter of the said cathedral church of St. Paul, the king's injunctions, and the book of homilies, enjoining them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle reader, first how Bonner made his protestation after the receiving of the king's injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put

in public record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these popish votaries and priests of Paul's. Now, what followed after this protestation of the bishop made, remaineth further, in the sequel of the story, to be declared ; wherein, first thou shalt understand that the said bishop, shortly after his protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the king, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanour toward his Grace's commissioners, in the former visitation : which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the king for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the council's letter sent to the commissioners may appear ; which, together with the form also of the bishop's protestation and of his recantation, here under followeth.

"To our very loving friends, Sir Anthony Cook, knight, and the rest of the commissioners for the visitation at London, in haste.

"After our hearty commendation : This shall be to signify unto you, that we have received your letters, and in the same enclosed the copy of the protestation made by the bishop of London in the time of your visitation at Paul's : your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said bishop, who, being here before us, hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time, at Paul's, require the registrar of your visitation to make record and entry of his protestation, and now, upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true copy of his writings enclosed, the original whereof, remaining with us, he hath subscribed ; we pray you to cause the registrar to make entry of this his revocation, according to the tenor of this his said writing : further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil ensample that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whither he hath been conveyed by Master Vice-chamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the king's Majesty's service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you, Sir John Godsalue, as well for your office of the signet, as of the prothonotaryship, we pray you that, leaving the execution of the visitation to the rest of your colleagues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well.

"From Hampton Court, the 12th of September 1547.

"Your assured loving friends,
 Thomas Canterbury, William Paget,
 William Saint John, Anthony Brown,
 John Russell, William Peter,
 Thomas Seymour, Anthony Dennie,
 Edward North."

The form of Bonner's recantation.

"Whereas I, Edmund, bishop of London, at such time as I received the king's Majesty's injunctions and homilies of my most dread sovereign lord, at the hands of his Highness's visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject : forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then, by the registrar of that visitation, enacted and put in record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your Lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation ; but also most humbly beseech your Lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same records, for a perpetual memory of the truth ; most humbly beseeching your good Lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's Majesty.

"EDMUND LONDON."

The registers of these affairs of Bonner's remain in the hands of Peter Lilly, then being registrar to the aforesaid commissioners.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving reader, first the popish protestation of Bonner ; then how he, calling himself home again, solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to public record, for a perpetual remembrance. Also, how he, upon his humble submission, received his pardon of the king, and yet, for example's sake, was commanded to the Fleet ; where he nevertheless did not long continue, but, according to the effect of the king's pardon before granted, was restored both to house and living again ; which was in the first year of the king, A. D. 1547.

After this ye have heard also, in the story above, in the second year, and a great part of the third year of the king, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the king's proceedings, yet in such sort, as no great advantage by any law could be taken against him, both in swearing

his obedience to the king, and so receiving his injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of religion then; and, furthermore, in directing out his letters, according to the archbishop of Canterbury's precepts, to Cloney his sumner, to the bishop of Westminster, and to other bishops, for abolishing of images, for abrogation of the mass, for Bibles to be set up, and for ministering in both kinds, with such other like matters of reformation; till at length he, hearing of the death of the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the king's subjects in sundry tumults against the king, began somewhat, as he durst, to draw back and slack his pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his diocese, and in London, the people not only were negligent in resorting to Divine service, but also did frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, and other orders than in this realm were appointed; and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he, being suspected and complained of, and convented before the king's council, (as ye heard before,) after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private injunctions to him enjoined.

"1. That he should personally preach within three weeks after at Paul's Cross.

"2. That according as his predecessors were wont to celebrate mass, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the communion.

"3. That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressors as absented themselves from the order of service, and ministration of the Lord's board, appointed then in churches by the king's ordinance.

"4. That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of adulterers and fornicators.

"5. That he, in the mean while, should be resident within his own house during the time while he should make his sermon at Paul's above mentioned, which was A. D. 1549."

In the which sermon certain special points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should treat; which here in order follow, and are these:

Special points and articles to be treated of by Bonner, bishop of London, in his sermon.

"1. That all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the ordinances of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their king

and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the commonwealth, not only do deserve therefore death as traitors and rebels, but do accumulate themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell with Lucifer, the father and author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion, what pretences soever they have, and what masses or holy water soever they pretend, or go about to make among themselves; as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram for rebellion against Moses, were swallowed down alive into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

"2. Likewise, in the order of the church, as the extern rites and ceremonies of Divine service, inasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love towards our neighbours, and obedience to his word and to his ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our service: and this is that sacrifice which Christ requireth, and these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The extern rites and ceremonies be but exercises of our religion, and appointable by superior powers; in choosing whereof we must obey the magistrates; which things also we do see ever have been and shall be (as the time and place is) diverse and yet all hath pleased God so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man shall use the old rites, and thereby disobey the superior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made naught by his disobedience: so that which else (so long as the law did so stand) might be good, by pride and disobedience now is made naught: as Saul's sacrifice, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and Aaron's two children were. But whoso joineth to devotion obedience, he winneth the garland. For else it is a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*: a will, desire, zeal, and devotion, but not after wisdom; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings; and, therefore, he that taketh the communion, or saith or heareth the service appointed by the king's Majesty, must bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

"3. Further, ye shall, for example, on Sunday come seventh night, after the aforesaid date, celebrate the communion at Paul's church.

"4. Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, that our authority of royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age,

han is or was that of any our predecessors, though he same were much older, as may appear by example of Josias, and other young kings, in Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age."

The delivery of these injunctions and articles unto the bishop, (with the time of his appointed preaching,) was soon after known abroad among the citizens, and other the commons within the city of London, so that every man expected the time thereof, wishing to hear the same; which time being once come, the bishop, according to the tenor of the injunctions, publicly preached at the Cross of Paul's the first day of September. Howbeit, as hypocrisy never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that, at one time or other, God, in his most righteous judgment, maketh it open unto the world; so, at this present, was that long, coloured, perverse obstinacy, and the infestered hatred of this double-faced dissembler against the king's godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanour in this his sermon. For, whereas he was commanded to treat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his articles, he yet, both besides the council's commandment, and to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament, ministered in the holy communion then set forth by the authority of the king's Majesty, (according to the true sense of the Holy Scripture,) did spend most part of his sermon about the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and also, contrary thereunto, did not only slenderly touch the rest of his articles, but, of a rebellious and wilful carelessness, did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the king's Highness during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the traitorous opinion of the popish robels) was, by special commandment, chiefly appointed him to treat upon.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing, as it greatly offended most of the king's faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the minds, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly preacher Master John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and lastly, a most constant martyr for the gospel of Christ, and also of Master Hugh Latimer, bachelor of divinity: and therefore

they, well weighing the foulness of the fact, and their bounden allegiances unto their prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the king's Highness, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the said bishop, in form following:

"In most humble wise show unto your Majesty Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, that whereas of late, as we be certainly informed from your Majesty, by the hand of the right high and noble Prince Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of your royal person, and protector of all your Highness's realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of your privy council, there were certain injunctions given to the bishop of London that now is, with articles to be insinuated and preached unto your subjects at a certain day limited, the which injunctions and articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better instruction of your Highness's people to obedience, and hatred of rebellion and mutiny, wherewith of late this your Majesty's realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your Highness's person, and the state of the whole realm; and, therefore, a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your Majesty, and unto Almighty God; and especially to acknowledge your Majesty in these years and age to be a perfect high and sovereign lord and king, and supreme head, whose laws, proclamations, and commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any prince's subjects are bound to obey the laws, proclamations, and commandments of their natural and sovereign lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as, we trust, she shall, nor so many years, which we wish to be so many as any prince ever had, the which years do not make you king or prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful succession whatsoever it be, so that we all must as well acknowledge your Majesty to be our king and prince, at these years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your laws and statutes no less to be feared and obeyed, than if your Highness were fifty or a hundred years old (the which thing not only is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your Highness's laws, nor acknowledge the statutes made by your Majesty to be available, till you come to the age of twenty years): and this not only being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said Majesty, amongst other injunctions and articles given in writing to the said Edmund Bonner, to be preached in his last sermon, as by the same injunctions may appear, of the which the true copy we have, when need is, to be showed: yet all this notwithstanding,

the said Bonner, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said rebels, or contemning your Highness's commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the said article, which we most and chiefly expected and looked for, but also, in all the rest of his sermon, did not so fully and apertly declare the said injunctions and articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, entreating of others far distant and diverse from the articles upon the which he was commanded to entreat, and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension; willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore, not moved of any malice, grudge, envy, or evil will to the person of the bishop, but constrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your Highness, and of our duty and allegiance to your Majesty, whose honour and safety, with tranquillity, quietness, and good governance of this your realm, we do most desire, and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do declare the same to your Highness, to the intent that your Majesty, by the advice aforesaid, may, if it please your Highness, at this our humble denunciation, call the said bishop to answer to the premises, the which we are ready to avow and prove; and then your Highness may take further order herein, as to your princely wisdom shall seem most convenient, whose long life and most prosperous government God Almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives."

The king's Majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this bishop, in not accomplishing his Highness's commandment given him by injunction, thought it most necessary, with all convenient speed, (for the avoiding of further inconveniences,) to look more severely unto the due punishment of such dangerous, rebellious obstinacy; and, therefore, by the advice of the lord protector, and the rest of his honourable council, immediately he directed forth his commission under his broad seal unto the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and councillors, appointing and authorizing all them, or certain of them, by virtue of the same, to call before them, as well the bishop of London, as also the aforesaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premises, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily *et de plano*, according to law and justice,

either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation (if the quality of the offence so required): or otherwise, to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of that cause, might to their wisdoms seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenor of the commission here ensuing.

"Edward the Sixth, &c. To the most reverend father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, the right reverend father in God, Nicholas bishop of Rochester, our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, Sir William Peter and Sir Thomas Smith, knights, our two principal secretaries, and William May, doctor of the law civil, and dean of Paul's, greeting: It is come to our knowledge, that where we, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, did give to the right reverend father in God Edmund, bishop of London, upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certain injunctions to be followed, done, and executed; and, in a sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and observing, did exhibit the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said uncle, in the fulfilling of our council: all this notwithstanding, the said bishop hath, in contempt of us, (as it may appear,) overslipped and not observed certain of the said things so by us enjoined, and others so perversely and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole realm, be converted, by the wilful negligence or perversity of him, to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudge amongst our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we, tendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let past unpunished and unreformed, and therefore, by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you five, four, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisdoms, dexterities, and circumspections, we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said bishop; and, with due examinations and process, according to the law and justice, to hear the said matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition soever they shall be, that shall be objected against the said bishop, summarily, *et de plano* or otherwise, as to

your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authority to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said bishop, if the offence shall so appear to merit, or to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of the cause shall be requisite and appertain: any law, statute, or act to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents.

“Witness ourself at Westminster, the eighth of September, in the third year of our reign.
[A. D. 1549.]

The commission, being sealed with the king's broad seal, was by his Highness's council forthwith delivered at the court unto Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together present; who, upon the receipt thereof, determined, by virtue of the same, to sit at the archbishop's house at Lambeth, the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present month of September, and therefore appointed the bishop of London to be summoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the commissioners to be of, I thought it not unmeet first, before I enter into the process, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

At his first entry into the place within the archbishop's house at Lambeth, where the archbishop and others of the commissioners sat, he passed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head, (making as though he saw them not,) until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the commissioners: whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the archbishop on this wise: “What, my Lord! are you here? by my troth I saw you not.” “No,” said the archbishop, “you would not see.” “Well,” quoth he, “you sent for me: have you any thing to say to me?” “Yea,” said the commissioners, “we have here authority from the king's Highness to call you to an account for your sermon you made lately at Paul's Cross, for that you did not there publish to the people the article which you were commanded then to preach upon.” At which words the bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in religion, (as afterwards in the sequel of this process it more plainly appeareth,) began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the archbishop, “In good

faith, my Lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is.” “What is it?” said the archbishop. “The blessed mass,” quoth he: “you have written very well of the sacrament; I marvel you do no more honour it.” The archbishop of Canterbury, therewith perceiving his subtlety, and seeing his gross blindness, to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: “If you think it well, it is because you understand it not.” The other then, adding unto his former gross ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, “I think I understand it better than you that wrote it.” Unto which words the archbishop replied, “Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?”

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the judicial prosecuting of their commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he, hearing them speak, fell to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a goose; and to the other, that he spake like a woodcock; utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not believe them, whether he would credit the people there present? and therewithal (because many of them were also at the bishop's sermon at Paul's) he stood up and read the article of the king's authority during his young age; saying unto them, “How say you, my Masters! did my Lord of London preach this article?” whereunto they answered, “No, no.” At which words the bishop turning himself about, deriding said, “Will you believe this fond people?”

Besides this, at all his appearances he used many irreverent, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the commissioners and others, (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretended commissioners, pretended witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretended proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like,) which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appear in the sequel of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such stoutness of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might have perchance seemed, in some men's judgment, to be somewhat sufferable, yet, to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appear, it beseeemed no wise man, and therefore much less one of his calling. For, if his cause had been good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true canon law of the gospel doth teach him? If it were

(as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto served so bold sturdy stoutness, but to show the impudency of the person, and to make the case worse, which was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the law, in shifting off the matter by subtle dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and railing upon the denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the king's commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his crafty cautions and tergiversations alleged out of the law, yet neither his cause could be so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also, in the end, most lawfully deprived; as by the sequel of this process may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

The first action or session against Bonner, before the king's commissioners.

Upon Wednesday, the tenth day of September, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, associated with Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of Rochester, Sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's two principal secretaries, and Master William May, doctor of the civil law, and dean of Paul's, by virtue of the king's commission, sat judicially upon the examination of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, within the archbishop's chamber of presence, at his house in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said bishop. At which time the commissioners, first showing forth their commission, requested Sir William Peter, that he would openly publish and read the same. That done, the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared unto the bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the king's Majesty and his most honourable council, and that therefore his Highness, with their advice, had committed the examination thereof unto him, and other his colleagues there present; as also, unto Sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of his Majesty's two principal secretaries, though then absent: and therewithal showed also forth a bill of complaint, exhibited unto the king by Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, ministers; which they likewise requested Sir William Peter to read.

These things ended, the bishop, like a subtle lawyer, having most like some secret intelligence

before of these matters, (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary,) pulled out of his bosom a solemn protestation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the commissioners, requesting that the same might be there openly read.

This protestation being read, he requested the commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered him; which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the king's commandment, given unto him by his council, in that he, in his late sermon made at Paul's Cross, did not set forth unto the people the king's Highness's royal power in his minority, according to the tenor of the article delivered unto him by them for that purpose; and for proof thereof called forth Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, preachers, who before that time had put up the bill of complaint unto the king against him.

Upon whom when the bishop had earnestly looked, and well beheld them, he said, "As for this merchant Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant Hooper, I have not seen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching." And then, turning himself again unto the archbishop, (of purpose, most like, to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion,) said unto him, "Ah, my lord! now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set forth in my late sermon the true presence of the most blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. For as for these my accusers, as they be evil, infamed, notorious, and criminous persons, so are they manifest and notable heretics and seducers of the people, especially touching the sacrament of the altar; and most of all this Hooper. For whereas, in my late sermon at Paul's Cross, I preached, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, the same day at afternoon, having a great rabblement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit, within my diocese, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and maliciously inveighing against my sermon, denied the verity and presence of Christ's true body

and blood to be in the same sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said sacrament, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, like an ass, (as he is an ass indeed,) falsely changed and turned the word 'that' into 'as,' like an ass, saying, that I had said *as* it hanged, *as* it was shed upon the cross."

The archbishop hereupon, perceiving the bishop's drift, and hearing him talk so much of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, said unto him, "My Lord of London! ye speak much of a presence in the sacrament; what presence is there, and of what presence do you mean?" Wherewith the bishop, being somewhat stirred and moved in his mind, (as appeared by his cholerick countenance,) spake again to the archbishop very earnestly, and said, "What presence, my Lord? I say and believe that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What believe *you*, and how do *you* believe, my Lord?" Upon which words the archbishop, because he saw his answer dark and subtle, and minding somewhat to nip the gross absurdities of the papists, asked him further, whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the bishop shaking his head, said, "Oh! I am right sorry to hear your Grace speak these words;" and therewith boldly urged the archbishop to show his mind therein; who wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying, that their being there at that time was, not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission committed to them by their prince; and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him.

Whereupon, under his protestation, he required to have a copy both of the commission, and also of the denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto; which the commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight o'clock before noon; and then to answer the tenor of the denunciation. And so, for that day, (he complaining somewhat of the shortness of his time to answer,) they all together departed.

The second appearance of Bonner in the chapel of Lambeth, before the archbishop and other four commissioners, the bishop of Rochester, secretary Peter, secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's.

Upon Friday, the thirteenth of September aforementioned, four commissioners, associated then also with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of the king's two principal secretaries, and joint commissioner with them, sat judicially in the archbishop's chapel, within his house at Lambeth; before whom (according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the bishop of London. To whom the archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said, "My Lord of London! the last time you were before us, we laid certain articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the king's Majesty, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto: wherefore now show us what you have to say for your defence."

Whereto the bishop, first asking the archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying "Yea," made this answer: "My Lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sat in the king's Majesty's commission, your Grace, you my Lord of Rochester, you Master Secretary Peter, and you Master Dean of Paul's; but now, I perceive, there sitteth also Master Secretary Smith, who, because he sat not at the beginning, nor took there the commission upon him, ought not so to do: for by the law, they that begin, must continue the commission." Whereupon the archbishop first answered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not certainly show what the law willeth in that case; "But," saith he, "if the law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable law."

"Well," said the bishop, "there be here that know the law, and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or stick much in this point with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine answer ready."

Then said Master Secretary Peter to the bishop, "My Lord! in good sooth I must say unto you, that although I have professed the law, yet, by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from study of the law, I have perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point. But, admit the law were so as you say, yet yourself know, my Lord, that this is our certain rule in law, *quod consuetudo est juris interpret optimus*; and I am sure you will not, and cannot deny, but that the custom is commonly in this realm in all judgments and commissions used to the contrary; and, in very deed,

we all together at the court, having the commission presented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore, for you to stick in such trifling matters, you shall rather in my judgment hurt yourself and your matter, than otherwise."

"Truly, Master Secretary!" said the bishop, "I have also of long while been disused in the study of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter, to turn my books, I find the law to be as I say; and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof but by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point."

At which words, Master Secretary Smith said also unto the bishop, "Well, my Lord of London! as cunning as you make yourself in the law, there be here that know the law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the law too, and I promise you these be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our commission is to proceed summarily, and straitforwardly, and to cut off such frivolous allegations."

"Well," said the bishop again, "look well on your commission, and you shall find therein these words, 'To proceed according to the law and justice;' and I ask both law and justice at your hands."

Then Master Secretary Peter willed him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his answer: whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it unto the archbishop, said, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and coarsely, that it could scarcely be read by any other, and therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it again, read it openly, the copy whereof here followeth:

"I Edmund, bishop of London, concerning Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, the pretended denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable, pretended denunciation of them, lately indeed, contrary to justice and good reason, exhibited here and read before you, under protestation heretofore made by me, and read unto you, remaining in the acts of this court, unto which I refer me, and have the same here again for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the law, do, for my necessary defence and help, allege and say as followeth:

"I. First, I do allege and say, that the said Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, or either of them, were not, nor now are, to be admitted in any wise, by virtue of this or any other commission, as denunciators against me their bishop; especially, for that they and either of them have, as well before the time of their pretended denunciation, and also then and since, been and be, vile and infamed, notorious,

criminous persons, and also open and manifest notable heretics, especially concerning the sacrament of the catholic church, and namely concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar; by reason of which their heresies, they were and be, by the order of the said catholic church, here in this realm of England, justly and duly excommunicated and accursed, and have divided themselves thereby from the unity and integrity of Christ's catholic church; and for such persons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously, and commonly, amongst the catholic people of this realm of England, and especially of this city of London; familiarly haunting and conversant with sacramentaries, and openly known condemned heretics, and favourers and abettors of the same, and their detestable and pestilent doctrine and heresy.

"II. Item, That the said John Hooper, amongst other his poisoned and venomous doctrine, and amongst other his erroneous, detestable, and abominable errors and heresies taught and spread abroad here within this realm, infecting and poisoning the king's subjects therewith, hath, before the time of the said pretended denunciation, damnably and detestably made divers erroneous and heretical books, especially one, entitled, A Declaration of Christ, and of his Office, printed (as he falsely surmiseth) in Zurich, by Augustine Friars, wherein he, in many places, heretically and damnably denieth the true presence of Christ's body in the blessed sacrament of the altar, and also, in effect, denieth the verity of Christ's blessed body upon the cross, calling it 'mathematical,' and excluding thereby the true and very substance thereof.

"III. Item, The said John Hooper doth persevere, and continueth still, in his said poisoned and wicked venomous doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the same, and every part thereof, all the ways he can, especially against the presence of Christ's blessed body in the sacrament of the altar; and his said books, especially the said Declaration of Christ and of his Office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and catholic, whereas indeed it is heretical, wicked, and damnable: the contents of which doctrine and book so entitled, the said Latimer, especially touching the heresy against the verity of Christ's body, and his true presence in the sacrament of the altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained, and kept; and so, at this present, doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep; contrary to the faith of Christ's catholic church, and the unity of the same observed amongst all true Christian people; incurring thereby heresy, excommunication, and schism, to the loss both of their souls, and of their believers'.

“ IV. Item, That the said Latimer and Hooper, and either of them, being of these vile and detestable qualities, and consequently, by the ordinance of the catholic church of Christ, as well of this realm, as also throughout all Christendom, being so excommunicated and cast out thereby from the said church, are not to this pretended denunciation against me their bishop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, nor yet to be accompanied withal, or answered unto; but are, by Scripture, and the order of Christ's catholic church here in this realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, detested, eschewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wise, of all faithful and true Christian people, fearing God, and desiring the advancement of the truth.

“ V. Item, That whereas the said Latimer and Hooper, in their said pretended denunciation, amongst other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their said pretended denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, which, as they pretend in their gay and glorious proem, they would seem to have a great care and solicitude of, whereas in very deed they, and such as they are, by sundry ways, and especially by their corrupt doctrine, and heretical, naughty preaching, and infecting of the king's Majesty's people, have disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, as evidently and notoriously it is well known; the truth is, that this their saying is evidently and plainly false; for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be proved, that the said Hooper, conspiring with the said Latimer, and other heretics of their factious sect and damnable opinion, did, the first day of September last past, after that I, the said bishop of London, had made the sermon at Paul's Cross, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himself is, within my diocese and jurisdiction, and, under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly rail and inveigh against me the said bishop, for my said sermon; not for such matter, pretence, or cause, as is falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I, the said bishop, as became a Christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occasion of the communion not frequented nor revered, but neglected and contemned, confess and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, ministered in the same communion, affirming, as the catholic church affirmeth and teacheth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that hanged upon the cross,

and the very true blood of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that was shed upon the cross. Against which affirmation and assertion, being catholic and true, the said John Hooper (albeit now colourably, and falsely, and foolishly, he pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgment in sundry places of the city and suburbs of London) hath since that time maliciously inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, condemn, and despise the said blessed sacrament of the altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the catholic church hath ever had, the said William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing others to do the same; not making any such pretence at all (as they, in their said pretended denunciation, do falsely surmise and deduce); but only and chiefly offended for my said assertion, and affirmation of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

“ Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, in their said pretended denunciation, do further deduce, and falsely surmise, that I, the said bishop of London, had delivered to me from the king's Majesty, by the hands of the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the king's Majesty's council, certain injunctions with articles to be insinuated and preached to the king's Majesty's subjects, at a certain day limited, and after such sort, form, and manner, as is in the said pretended denunciation surmised untruly and deduced: it is notorious and evident, as well by the tenor and continue of that writing which was to me, the said bishop of London, delivered by the hands of Sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's Majesty, as otherwise, that the said surmise, in such sort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalf, referring me to the tenor of the said writing, which neither was signed with the king's Majesty's hand, nor sealed with any his Majesty's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of the said council, or delivered after such sort as is alleged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter shall appear, and sufficiently be proved, for my lawful necessary defence in this behalf.

“ VI. Item, That in case any such injunctions, with articles after such form and fashion, had been so delivered unto me as is surmised and pretended, yet false and untrue it is that I, the said bishop, either left out, or refused to declare the same for any such cause or causes falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretended denunciation, or else so

perversely and negligently did, as likewise in the said pretended denunciation is deduced; which thing may well appear in the discourse of my said sermon, where, in substance and effect, I declared faithfully and truly these points specially following; that is to wit, that all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that refuse the higher power resist the ordinance of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, is by the word of God utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul, alleging for this purpose the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, and it at large declaring unto the audience. Furthermore, speaking of the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere within this realm; standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselves and despised all others, or in the place of both, doing as they did; forgetting God, not duly considering the king's Majesty, their supreme head next and immediately under God; forgetting their wives, their children, their kinsfolk, their alliance, acquaintance, and friends, yea, themselves, and their native country, and most unnaturally rebelling against their sovereign lord and king, whom, by God's law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did, to the best of my power, dissuade rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded: And all rebellion being, in like manner, forbidden, under pain of eternal damnation, all these rebels in Cornwall, Devonshire, Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power or force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and went about to subvert the order of the commonwealth, did not only deserve therefore death, as rebels and traitors, but also did accumulate unto themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion.

"And here I did ask, who had induced the said rebels thus to do? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced Eve to take the apple and break her obedience against God's commandment? who moved also and induced Cain to kill his brother Abel? yea, who moved Judas the apostle to betray his Master, Christ? Was it not the devil? Yes truly, and he it is (said I) that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these rebels to do this unnatural rebellion against their prince and sovereign lord. Whereupon I asked, what pretences they had, and, answering thereto, said, that amongst others they had masses and holy water; upon which I, exclaiming against them, said, Good Lord! is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate,

colour, excuse, and maintain rebellion and inobedience, to pretend mass or holy water? as who saith that these things had been instituted and ordained to defend, maintain, and excuse rebellion, treason, and inobedience; which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I said, alleging Numbers xvi.; 1 Kings xx.; Leviticus x., and the fourth, that myself added also, St. Luke xiii., setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretences these rebels had of masses, holy water, or such other, it could not in any wise excuse or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring myself herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience.

"And here, pulling out a writing, sent from the king's Majesty's privy council unto me, touching the victory against the said rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not serve to declare without book, I did rehearse it in writing word by word; in doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said rebels, or maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than sacrifice; and that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisee and the humble Publican ascending into the temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the success thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his ministers, and to the superior powers, we must bring all these things to all our prayers, to all our service; and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God: further saying, that the extern rites are but exercises of religion, and appointed by superior powers, and that in the choosing thereof we must obey the magistrates, and that we also do see that those things ever have been, and shall be, diverse, as the time and place is; and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love to our neighbour, with obedience to God's word, God's ministers, and the superior powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

"VII. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites, and disobey thereby the superior powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his disobedience; insomuch that that which

(standing the law) might be good, was, by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable; putting example in the fact of Saul, reserving the fat sheep for sacrifice; and in Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and also in Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two children, and in the Galileans, whose blood Pilate did mix with their sacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: the first, they must join to and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they shall win the garland, and otherwise have a zeal, *sed non secundum scientiam*, deserving no thank or praise of God; and also they must, with and to their obedience, join devotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the communion, or to hear or say the service, appointed by the king's Majesty, they must bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And herein, because I marvelled that the communion was no more frequented now-a-days, and lamenting the irreverent coming to it and using of it; fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the sacrament of the altar, ministered and distributed at the same communion; and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they seemed to have, I did faithfully, truly, and plainly declare my belief of the said sacrament, wherewith the said Latimer and Hooper, with their complices, were so much offended and aggrieved.

"VIII. Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do further, in the said pretended denunciation, untruly and uncharitably deduce and allege, that I, in my said sermon, did treat of such things as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension, it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the said pretended denunciators do take and esteem a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of subjects to the king's Majesty, the supreme and sovereign lord, and the great peril and danger of rebellion committed by subjects against their king and prince and sovereign lord, to be a moving, provoking, and stirring-up of people to discord and dissension: or else that the affirmation and assertion catholic of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the blessed sacrament of the altar, set forth by me as afore, doth effect and work such disorder and dissension. For evident it is to all those which indifferently heard my said sermon, that I (grounding myself upon Scripture, and taking occasion of the Sunday then

occurrent) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slander them thereby; and I did both set forth the obedience and duty of all subjects generally to their king, and specially, of subjects of this realm to the king's Majesty that now is, whose minority to all people of this realm is more than manifest, and is also apparent or evidently known to all the whole world beside. And also, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger and great peril of rebellion in subjects against the high powers and authority, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere, against the king's Majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed that all the king's subjects without exception were bound to obey the king's Majesty, even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord long preserve to all our comforts and wealth! and also that the rebellion of late so committed against his Majesty was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by God's law: and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my sermon, wishing that this Latimer and Hooper, with all the rest of these new preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently, and catholically, as I always have done, towards the king's Majesty, his honour, authority, royal power, and surety of his person and realm; and did not more move, encourage, and stir the king's Majesty's subjects to sedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time encourage, move, or stir any of them in any wise, or give occasion to any of the same.

"IX. Item, Whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do falsely surmise in their pretended denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I, the said bishop of London, should more apertly have declared the injunctions and articles aforesaid, and that it did so appear unto their judgments; I do say, that their judgments are corrupted and only set to slander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well assured and so credibly informed, that all the worshipful and honest catholic persons of my said audience were fully satisfied, both as touching obedience to the king's Majesty in his tender age and minority, and also touching the penalty and great peril of punishments of the rebellion so lately committed against the said Majesty by the aforesaid rebels. And, moreover, I do say, that before my lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the king's Majesty's most honourable council then present, I made my excuse, and alleged many impediments for my not preaching at

Cross; and did not further promise but to do the best I could, which of my fidelity and conscience I did; not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people, both good and bad, in every condition and point; specially, in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent study, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same."

Thus have you Bonner's answer to the denunciation aforesaid: wherein first he alleged, or rather shamelessly and slanderously cavilled:

"That those his denouncers were vile, infamed, and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest heretics, as well against the rest of the sacraments of the church, as chiefly against the sacrament of the altar; and were for the same, by the orders of the church, excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the catholics of this realm, and especially by Hooper; who, besides other his poisoned doctrine and heresy amongst the people, had also, before the time of the denunciation, made divers erroneous and heretical books against the true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaining it as good and catholic: which books and doctrine (chiefly against the sacrament of the altar) Hugh Latimer had, and then likewise did allow, believe, and teach, to the loss of both their own souls, and also of their believers'; and therefore were not now, nor ought at any time, to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend, in their denunciation, that they made not the same of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this realm, yet was it notoriously known, that as well the same day at afternoon in which he the said bishop preached at the Cross of Paul's, as also at sundry other times, they two, conspiring with others of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his diocess assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there, under the colour of reading, did openly rail and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his sermon declared, (as the catholic church taught,) that in the sacrament of the altar there was the very true body and blood of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross."

Then, after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith:

"That where they, in the same, do falsely sur-

mise, that there were delivered unto him from the king's Majesty, by the hands of the lord protector and the rest of his Highness's council, certain injunctions and articles to be published and declared unto the people at a day limited in the same, their information, in such sort as it was deduced, was most false and untrue, for that the articles delivered unto him by Sir Thomas Smith, one of the king's secretaries, were neither signed with the king's own hand, nor sealed with his Highness's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of his council," &c.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtlety of a disloyal papist, who, because the articles were not sealed by the king and his council, would make them therefore not to be of any such force as that the breach thereof should cause him to incur the danger of contemptuous disobedience. But admit they were not signed nor sealed, (of which thing, by the way, in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay,) yet it is manifest by the second bill of articles ministered unto him by the commissioners, in the fourth act of his process, that, at such time as he was before the council, those articles were, by the commandment of the lord protector, openly there read unto him by one of the secretaries, and, after addition of the article concerning the king's lawful power and authority during his young years, were also delivered unto him by the hands of the lord protector, in the presence of the rest of the council; who, thus receiving them, promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto secretary Smith, to amend such things therein as the lord protector and the rest of the council had there appointed: which being accordingly done, (as the bishop himself at the last receipt thereof confessed,) they were finally delivered unto him by the secretary; and therefore was this but a poor shift. Now after this, he maketh a supposition:

"That in case it were true, that the injunctions were delivered him according to their information, yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alleged against him; and that did well appear in the discourse of his sermon, which tended principally (as he said) to the disallowing and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Norfolk, Suffolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, or elsewhere within this realm of England, who, forgetting their allegiance and duty unto their prince, assigned to them by God's word as their supreme head, their natural love and care for their country, wives, children, and kinsfolk, did both deserve death bodily as traitors, and also accumulate unto themselves damnation of body and soul eternally, with Satan the father and

first mover of all rebellion and disobedience. And herewithal further exclaiming against the pretences of those rebels, who, amongst other things, pretended the mass and holy water, with such like, which were never ordained for the purpose, to colour and maintain rebellion, (as, he said, he then proved out of Numbers xvi., 1 Kings xx., Leviticus x., Luke xiii., and Acts vi., in the best manner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrained therefrom,) but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our neighbours, with obedience to God's word, ministers, and superior powers concurrent with them, they, being external rites and ceremonies of the church, were exercises of religion, and appointable by superior powers; and yet that which (standing the law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made evil and unprofitable."

And here he further said :

"Because he saw the people slack in coming to the communion and divine service, set forth by the king's Majesty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion of the sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced, in their pretended denunciation, that in his sermon he did treat of such things as most should stir up unto dissension and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his denouncers either took his catholic assertion of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, or else his faithful declaration made of the obedience of subjects unto the king's Majesty their supreme and sovereign lord, with the peril and danger of rebellion committed against him, to be the cause of disorder and dissension; for that (saith he) of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the king, whose minority was more than manifestly known, as well amongst the people of this realm, as elsewhere, throughout the world besides: which he would not have done except he had believed that both all his subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and should be during his life; and also that the rebellion of late committed against him was detestable, and condemned by God's word: and therefore he wished that his two denouncers, with all the rest of the new preachers, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and catholicly, towards the king's honour, royal power, and surety of person, as he did; and had not more moved the people to tumults and disobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occasion thereunto."

Then finally he concluded and said thus :

"That where his denouncers surmise, that it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgments, that he should more apertly have declared the contents of the injunctions and articles than he did, that their judgments were in that behalf corrupted, and set to slander and picking of quarrels; for he was well assured, and credibly informed, that all his honest and catholic audience were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the king's Majesty in his tender age, and also concerning the great penalty and peril that the late rebels incurred by their disobedience. And besides that, when he was before the lord protector and the rest of the council, after he had made his excuse, and alleged many impediments for his not preaching at the Cross, he did not then further promise but to do the best he could; which he hath of his fidelity and conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might satisfy the people in any point concerning the premises."

Whilst he was thus reading these answers, objecting against his denouncers such causes and quarrels as he before alleged, for which he would have earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury replied, that if there were any such law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the bishop of Rome. "For," said he, "if my matter and cause be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea, although he were the devil of hell?"

"No, sir," said the bishop of London, "it is the king's law used in the realm?"

"Well, my Lord," said the archbishop, "ye be too full of your law: I would wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's law, and of your duty."

"Well," answered the bishop again, "seeing your Grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person."

Then spake secretary Peter to the bishop, as touching these denouncers: "We are not so straitened in this matter, but that we may proceed against you, either at their promotion or without them, at our pleasure."

"A God's name, then," said Bonner, "put them by, and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I ask but right."

"Nay," said secretary Smith, "you ask you wot not what: you would have us follow your mind in these quiddities and quirks; and all is nothing else but to delay justice. And you do herein as thieves, murderers, and traitors, not to have the truth known."

"Say you so to me," quoth the bishop? "I thank you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it pass. As

for my matter, I fear it not, it is not so evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my discharge, which when I shall see time, I shall shew forth."

"My hand," quoth the secretary. "Let me see it, and let it be read openly." "So it shall," said the bishop, "when I shall see time."

Then said Master Smith, "You do use us thus, to be seen a cunning lawyer."

"Indeed," quoth the bishop, "I knew the law, ere you could read it."

With that, secretary Peter willed the bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered up a writing in paper unto the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners; who then said unto the bishop of London, "Here be certain articles which we intend to minister unto you."

The bishop therewith said, "Do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men, (pointing to Latimer and Hooper,) for I perceive they gave them unto you?"

"Nay," said secretary Peter, "we will minister them unto you, officially only."

The copy of which articles here followeth.

Articles ministered to Bonner, bishop of London, the first time, for him jointly and severally to answer unto.

"I. It is reported that you have received from the king's Majesty, by the hands of my lord protector's Grace, sitting in the council chamber at council with the rest of the lords of the council, the eleventh of August, certain injunctions to be done and followed by you, and articles to be preached there by you; that you did there and then accept the said injunctions, and promise to observe and follow the same.

"II. Item, That you have not truly, sincerely, and wholly, declared all the articles enjoined to you, in your last sermon, as they were put unto you.

"III. Item, Whether ye have written your sermon or no? and if ye have written it, whether of your own counsel only, or by whose help; and who hath seen the same written before and since ye did preach it?

"IV. Item, That ye have not declared in your sermon, that the old rite of prayers, as matins and mass, said after that sort in this realm, by reason of disobedience is naught, although a man have devotion unto it; according as it is in your articles.

"V. Item, That you have not, in your sermon, declared the articles of the king's Majesty's power in his minority, as it was commanded you, to the refutation of the evil opinion and error of the rebels;

and, if you have declared it, how and after what sort ye have declared it?

"VI. Item, Whether ye will take upon you to defend the said rebels' opinion or no?

"VII. Item, That ye know, or have heard say, that certain persons within your diocese, since the time that the said injunctions were given unto you, have heard, been at, or celebrated, mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the king's Majesty's book.

"VIII. Item, That ye have not convented them before you, nor inflicted punishment unto them.

"IX. Item, That ye know or have heard say, that there be notable adulterers, fornicators, or incestuous parsons in your diocese; and you cited none of them, or have seen them punished.

"X. Item, That ye were at Master Dr. Cox's, the king's almoner's sermon at Paul's Cross, about Midsummer was twelve months, wherein he declared the great contempt of the bishop of Winchester in not observing the injunction given unto him. And, especially, in that he did not treat as he ought to have done, and was commanded, of the king's Majesty's authority in his minority, additionally.

"XI. Item, That the rites of the common service of the church, now set forth, be, in some parts of your diocese, diversely used; and you, knowing or hearing of the same, have not called any ministers of the service before you for a redress of such diversity, nor corrected the misusers thereof."

Hereupon, after an oath given unto the bishop *de fideliter respondendo*, he desired a copy of the articles, requiring also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

To whom secretary Peter replied, saying, "My Lord, here be certain of the articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your sermon or not before you preached it."

Whereunto the bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

"Then whose counsel," said he, "and advice, used you in making your sermon?"

To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own counsel and books; "and yet my chaplains," quoth he, "be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why."

These words ended, the commissioners assigned him Monday, the sixteenth of September then next, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the articles ministered unto him by them this day; the contents whereof are as followeth.

The form and tenor of the articles ministered unto the bishop of London, by the king's commissioners.

Monday, the sixteenth of September, the archbishop, associated with the bishop of Rochester, secretary Smith, and Dr. May, dean of Paul's, sat judicially within his chapel at Lambeth; before whom there and then appeared the bishop of London, according as he was assigned in the last session; at which time he exhibited unto the commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former articles. But before the same were there read, the archbishop said unto him, that his late answer, made the thirteenth of September, unto the denunciation, was very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth; and therefore they desired there to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, first obtaining leave to speak, said:

"That the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many feigned and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never be able to prove. For where in his said answer he alleged, that Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretics conspiring against him, did the first day of September, after the bishop's sermon, assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or spake with Hooper. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the bishop, he said, he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and true catholic faith of Christ's church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the king's Majesty, or the said commissioners, to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge."

Then Master Hooper, upon like licence obtained, said to this effect:

"This ungodly man," pointing to the bishop, "hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your Grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge, that I am a heretic: whereas, I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And where he saith, I frequent the company of heretics, I do much marvel of his so

saying; for it hath pleased my lord protector's Grace, my singular good lord and master, and my Lady's Grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worshipful persons; and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it mathematical, I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word 'mathematical' there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my book, which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word; and by the same his holy word and Scriptures, I am always (and shall be) ready to submit myself to your Grace's judgment, and the superior powers, to be tried:" with many such more words of like importance.

Which ended, the archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing they now denied it; and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

The bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to law: and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, "I have this varlet's books which he made against the blessed sacrament, which you shall hear." Then, as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak; but the bishop turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, "Put up your pipes; you have spoken for your part; I will meddle no more with you:" and therewith read a certain sentence upon the book. This done, he said, "Lo! here you may see his opinion, and what it is." At which words the people standing behind, and seeing his irreverent and unseemly demeanour and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing; whereat the bishop being moved, and not perceiving the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, "Ah woodcocks! woodcocks!"

Then said one of the commissioners, "Why say you so, my Lord?" "Marry," quoth he, "I may well call them woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat; nor yet heard what I said or read."

"Well, my Lord of London," said the archbishop, "then I perceive you would persuade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the sacrament of the altar, and therefore you lay to these men's charge, [meaning Hooper and Latimer,] that they have accused you of that: howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your

charge; and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein." And therewithal he said unto the people, "My Lord of London would make you believe that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar: but, to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you:" and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto Sir John Mason, knight, who there read it openly. Which done, the archbishop said again unto the audience, "Lo! here you hear how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would persuade you."

With this the bishop, being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, "Well now hear what the bishop of London saith for his part." But the commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, denied him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very disobediently; with more like words of reproach.

Notwithstanding he, still persisting in his irreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another book, and then said unto the archbishop, "My Lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament, and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvellous matter."

To this the archbishop answered, that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books, howbeit he thought the bishop understood them not: "For I promise you," quoth he, "I will find a boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my Lord of London be."

Thus, after much multiplying of like words, the commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more waste time with him, willed him to show forth his answers unto the articles objected the last day against him: whereupon he, having them ready, did read the same openly to them; wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be used after such strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare his obedience unto the king's Majesty for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebels, and also for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the sacrament of the

altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complices had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the articles, and saith, that to the first, second, and fourth, he hath already, in his former answers to the denunciation, sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by law to answer any further. As to the third and fifth, he said,

"That he began to write his sermon, but being soon weary, did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he showed them to his chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the king's Majesty's power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of histories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young kings, who, notwithstanding their minority, were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful kings: as Henry the Third, being but nine years old; Edward the Third, being but thirteen years; Richard the Second, being but eleven years; Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year; Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years; Henry the Eighth, being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, Osias and Achaz, who were but sixteen years old; Solomon and Manasseh, being but twelve years; Josias, Joachim, and Joash, being but eight years of age when they entered their reigns. All which notes, with many others, he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memory, as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a bill that was delivered to him from the king's council, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, which being of some good length, confounded his memory; and partly also for that his book in his sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: so that he could not remember what he would, but yet, in generality, he persuaded the people to obedience to the king's Majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all others.

"Then, as to the sixth, (he said,) he knew not the rebels' opinion, and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh articles, which touched his pastoral office, he said that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his family's sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his officers straitly to look unto such matters; and such as he hath

known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the laws." All which answers, with others written with his own hand, hereunder follow.

The answers of Bonner unto the articles objected to him by the king's commissioners the first time.

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited, and repeated before you, which, in all my sayings and doings, I intend to have repeated and rehearsed again, to all lawful effects and purposes, for my honest and necessary defence; with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf; and likewise of the generality, uncertainty, obscurity, contrariety, repugnancy, variety, insufficiency, and invalidity of the things alleged and deduced before you against me, as well in the commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the articles and interrogatories so ministered unto me: lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile, heretical, and detestable persons, should be used after this strange sort; having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the king's most excellent Majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the most blessed sacrament of the altar: for which only the malicious denunciators with their complices have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquillity of this realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same; corrupting and infecting with their poisoned and false doctrine, and teaching the king's subjects in this realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways: do answer unto certain pretended articles and interrogatories ministered by you indeed unto me the said bishop, the thirteenth day of September, 1549, as followeth:

"To the first article objected against me, beginning thus, 'First it is reported,' &c., and ending thus, 'to observe and follow the same,' I do say, and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit, the thirteenth of September, made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretended denunciation, touching this matter: alleging withal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily infer, things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

"To the second, beginning thus, 'Item, whether

that you,' &c., and ending thus, 'as they were put unto you,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the first article next before, which, after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied; and I therefore now am not bounden by the law eftsoons to make other answer thereunto.

"To the third, being an interrogatory, and beginning thus, 'Item, whether,' &c., and ending, 'thus ye did preach,' I do answer and say, that I began to write a piece of my sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine own hand, without help or counsel of any other; and the same notes did show unto my chaplains, Master Gilbert Bourn and Master John Harpsfield, both before and also since my said sermon, only desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes and process to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such kings as were in their minority when they began to reign.

"To the fourth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have not declared,' &c., and ending thus, 'as it is in your article,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend upon the first and second articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form as is expressed in the same; and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretended denunciation.

"To the fifth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have not,' &c., and ending thus, 'declared it,' I do answer and say, that this article also doth depend upon the first and second articles; and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretended denunciation. And moreover I do say, that for the better advancement and setting forth of the king's Majesty's royal power and authority, even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his Majesty's subjects unto his Highness, even during the said minority, I had collected together, as well out of histories as also out of the scripture of the Old Testament, the names of divers kings being in minority, who, notwithstanding their said minority, were faithfully, duly, and reverently obeyed, honoured, served, taken, and reputed, for very true and lawful kings: as Henry the Third, being but nine years old when he entered to reign and govern as king; Edward the Third, being but thirteen years of age; Richard the Second, being but eleven years old; Henry the Sixth, being not fully one year of age; Edward the Fifth, being but eleven years old; Henry the Eighth, being about eighteen years old; and so all these kings, being in their minority as the king's Majesty that now is,

and yet having authority and power regal, as appertaineth : and in the Old Testament, Osias and Achaz were very true kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age ; Solomon and Manasses, being but twelve years of age ; Josias and Joachim, being but eight years of age ; and Joash, being but eight years old : all which things, I say, I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two chaplains ; and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbering of them, or in setting forth in my other notes, at the time of my sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said sermon, if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the king's Majesty's privy council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the rebels, especially in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order ; and partly also for the falling away of my book in the time of my said sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the king's Majesty's minority, as is aforesaid : having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generality and speciality, persuaded the people to obedience unto the king's said Majesty, whose minority to them and all others is notoriously and manifestly known ; and his Majesty, saving of these late rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his subjects.

To the sixth, which beginneth, 'Whether ye will,' &c., and ending thus, 'the opinion or no,' I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which rebels the article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein, though I would.

"To the seventh article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's Majesty's book,' I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, been in manner continually in business and trouble, as well in providing for my said sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my family, much vexed with sickness, to my great disquietness and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and encumbered by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my archdeacons and other my officers, to inquire

and search diligently in this behalf, and to certify me accordingly ; and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated masses or evensongs in the Latin tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady Mary's Grace, or in the houses of the ambassadors, nor yet there, nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report ; and without knowing the names and persons that so have heard, been at, or celebrate the same : and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed, and after what sort, I do refer me unto the statute late made in that behalf.

"To the eighth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye have,' &c., and ending thus, 'punishment unto them,' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the next article going before ; and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

"To the ninth article, beginning thus, 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'nor see them punished,' I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable persons to me or my officers, there hath been process already made before my said officers, as it appeareth in my register, and the acts of my court ; and moreover, I have given express commandment to my said officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

"To the tenth article, beginning thus, 'Item, ye were,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's Majesty's authority in his minority,' I do answer and say, that as touching the time mentioned in the article, and the declaration to be made by Dr. Cox, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the special points and substance, of the said Dr. Cox's declaration. Truth it is, I was at a sermon made at Paul's Cross by the said Dr. Cox, wherein he inveighed against my Lord of Winchester ; and, as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience wherewith my Lord of Winchester by the said Dr. Cox seemed to be charged ; and for a sermon also that my Lord of Winchester was seeming to have made before the king's Majesty in the court of Westminster.

"To the eleventh article, being by itself delivered unto me the fourteenth of this present September, 1549, in the night, at my house of London, beginning thus, 'Item, that the rites,' &c., and ending thus, 'the misuses thereof,' I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and do certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth ; and would before this time myself have also inquired and proceeded, had I not so been of all sides oppressed and pester-

ed with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great disquietness and trouble."

When he had ended the reading of these answers, the commissioners said unto him, that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth article, ministered the thirteenth of September; wherefore they willed him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had, according to the injunctions delivered unto him, declared the article beginning thus, "You shall also set forth in your sermon that our authority," &c.: whereunto he again answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

The judges then replied, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and insufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same injunction or not; and therefore they eftsoons willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the bishop still answering as before.

The judges again demanded of him whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, No, unless the law should compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, No; adding further, that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The commissioners then, seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would, according to law, take him *pro confesso*, and, *ex abundanti*, receive witness against him; and therewithal did recite again to him six of the first and principal articles, demanding his final answer thereunto: who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but whereas they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth article, he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the judges declared unto him that their opinion was, "that the king's Majesty, before his Grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further years; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age." Whereunto the bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as did well appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth article objected against him.

Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witness, upon the

articles objected against him, Master John Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom also they operated with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, truly to answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop, who, under his former protestation, like a wily lawyer, protested of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesses in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister interrogatories against them, with a copy of all the acts to that day: wherewith the delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to minister his interrogatories against Master Cheek on that present day, and against the rest, on the next day before noon.

After this the judge's delegate assigned the bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the clock before noon, in the hall of the archbishop's manor of Lambeth, there to show the cause why he should not be declared as having confessed, upon all the articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter.

And so Bonner, still protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings, they did, for that present, depart.

In this mean while the commissioners certified the king's Majesty and his council, of the bishop's demeanour towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether, by the tenor of his Majesty's commission, the commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their mere office; and also whether they might as well determine as hear the cause. Whereupon his Majesty, by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did, the seventeenth of September, send unto the commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his will and pleasure in the aforesaid commission, giving them hereby full authority to proceed at their own discretions.

The fourth session against Bonner, bishop of London, before the king's commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth, the eighteenth of September.

After this declaration being sent down and received from the king, the bishop of London (according to the commissioners' assignment the Monday before) appeared again before them upon Wednesday the eighteenth of September, in the great hall at Lambeth; where, under his wonted protestation,

first he declared, that although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet, further to satisfy the term assigned unto him, to show cause why he ought not to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the articles theretofore ministered against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly; the copy and words whereof be as follow.

Matter exhibited up to the commissioners by Bonner, why he ought not to be declared for cast and convicted.

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made before you, which I have heretofore repeated; and, especially, under protestation of the nullity and invalidity, injustice and iniquity, of your pretended and unlawful process made by you against me; and especially, against your pretended assignation made by you the last session unto me appearing in your pretended acts: do say, that your said assignation is unavailable, nothing worth in law, unlawful, unjust, and unreasonable; and I, therefore, not bound by the law to obey unto it, for just and reasonable causes hereafter following. First, it is true, notorious, and manifest, that the said pretended assignation, in words and pronounciation, was made by you, Sir Thomas Smith, one of the pretended commissioners in this matter, without express consent given unto you by your pretended colleagues in the commission; or, at least, he, as a commissioner, did proceed herein with the rest of the said colleagues, and did induce the acts, prescribing to the actuary or scribe, what he therein should write.

"Item, It is likewise notorious and manifest, that the said colleagues did, in your absence, begin to sit as commissioners and judges, by virtue of the said commission pretended to be sent unto you, and began to make process against me, as appeareth in the acts of the first session in this matter; by reason whereof ye ought not by the law to have intermeddled therein otherwise than the law doth suffer you to do; which ye have done indeed naughtily and unlawfully, contrary to justice and good reason, and are unmeet to be commissioner against me in this behalf.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that the answers being already given by me fully, lawfully, and sufficiently, so far as the law bindeth me, as well to the pretended denunciation in that matter, as also to all and singular articles, that in any wise against me have been objected in this behalf; and nothing in the least wise sufficient

and good in law to be alleged, declared, specified, or apparent to the contrary in any specialty or particularity; by reason whereof I ought not further, without special allegation, declaration, specification, and appearance, to make other or more special answer therein, no cause in law sufficient and reasonable compelling and enforcing me thereunto. I am not by law bound to do further than I have done, referring me as well to my answers given to the said pretended denunciation and articles, as, also, unto the king's ecclesiastical laws, used and observed here commonly within this realm.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that in all proceedings hitherto, ye have proceeded so extraordinarily and unduly in this matter, that ye have confounded all kind of lawful process; sometimes proceeding to denounce; sometimes officially; sometimes otherwise; contrary to the king's ecclesiastical laws, and contrary also to the commission directed in this behalf; referring me to all the same. And it may be said herein, that hitherto ye have proceeded against me summarily, against the true sense of the word, and proceeded also *cum strepitu*, but *sine figura judicii*.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that divers of the articles pretended are superfluous and impertinent, not relevant, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsity; some also be obscure, general, and uncertain, nor can have certain answers made unto them. And also others be depending of articles being denied, or at the least way qualified; some also captious and deceitful, to bring the answer into a snare; some also containing matter of divers sorts, part whereof is not true, but false; and some also being articles of the law, and such sort that, by the king's ecclesiastical laws, a subject of this realm is not bound to make answer unto them, but lawfully may refuse and deny to do it, by reason of the said just and reasonable causes being in this behalf.

"Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that you, Sir Thomas Smith, when I, Edmund, bishop of London, was last with the council in the council-chamber, at Whitehall: ye, the said Sir Thomas, after the departure of the lord protector from the said council, and after the departure of the rest of the lords from the said council, did write yourself certain articles and injunctions, amongst which was that of the king's Majesty's minority and his authority in the same, which articles or injunctions ye writ yourself; and afterwards, also, ye copied them upon an altar or table within the said council-chamber; and you yourself, and none other, did then write the same, and deliver it to me. By reason whereof it cannot be, nor is, true, that which

in the commission, denunciation, articles, and other things is deduced and objected against me in this behalf; referring me as well to the tenor of the said commission, denunciation, injunctions, and articles, as also unto my allegations and answers herein made unto the same, remaining in the acts of this cause and matter."

When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the archbishop, seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying thus :

"My Lord of London, if I had sitten here only as archbishop of Canterbury, it had been your part to have used yourself more lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you have; but, seeing that I, with my colleagues, sit here now as delegates from the king's Majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved yourself too, too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the servants and chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them fools and daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you, my Lord, there is you, and one other bishop whom I could name, that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm."

At which words the gross bishop (a beast, a man might justly term him) said scornfully to the archbishop, "You show yourself to be a meet judge."

The archbishop, then proceeding, laid to his charge, how indiscreetly, the last day in the chapel, he had called all the people woodcocks.

Whereunto he answered, that the last session Hugh Latimer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as, at one time, upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, "Nay, nay;" and at another time, "Yea, yea," and laughed they could not tell whereat; with such-like fashions.

Unto which words Latimer, seeing his vain suspicion, replied, saying, that he lifted not up his hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

Then secretary Smith said to the bishop, that in all his writings and answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the king's commissioners, but used always protestations,

with divers ink-horn and naughty terms, calling them pretended commissioners, pretended delegates, pretended commission, pretended articles, pretended proceedings; so that all things were pretended with him.

"Indeed," said secretary Smith, "such terms the proctors of churches use, to delay matters for their clients, when they will not have the truth known. But you, my Lord, to use us, the king's Majesty's commissioners, with such terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels? For when letters or pardons were brought them from the king and his council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the king's or his council's, but gentlemen's doings, and made under a bush; with such-like terms. But now, my Lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your sermon that you preached, ye omitted the article touching the king's Majesty's authority in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwise answer than ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered, (with many such delays,) so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did, yea or nay; therefore, I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other articles whereunto you shall be sworn; and then, I trust, you will dally with us no more as you have done: for, although ye make your answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us, and make your answers by mouth to the same articles; or else you shall do worse. Indeed I do not, as I said, discommend your protestations and terms of law, if it were in a young proctor that would help his client's cause: but in you, it may not be suffered so to use the king's commissioners."

Then did the delegates minister unto him certain new articles and injunctions, and did there oenerate him with a corporal oath in form of law, to make a full and true answer thereunto. The bishop, notwithstanding, still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation, protested of the nullity and invalidity of these articles, injunctions, and process, desiring also a copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. To whom the judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination to the archbishop the next day at eight of the clock before noon.

Then the commissioners did receive for witness upon these new articles now ministered unto the bishop, Sir John Mason, knight, Sir Thomas Chalenor, knight, Master William Cecil, Armigel Wade, and William Hunnings, clerks to the king's Majesty's council, whom they oenerated with a corporal oath in the presence of the bishop, who, still protest-

ing of the nullity of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his interrogatories already ministered, said, he had more to minister by to-morrow at eight of the clock.

The same day and time likewise the bishop exhibited unto the commissioners an information, or rather cavillation, against Hugh Latimer, which also I thought to impart unto the reader.

The information given against Hugh Latimer, priest, of St. Laurence Poultney, by Edmund, bishop of London, the eighteenth day of September, A. D. 1549.

"In the said act and session, Edmund, bishop of London, giveth information and saith: that that said Hugh Latimer, priest—pretending the good and tranquillity of this realm of England, as he saith, and that the same is very greatly and manifestly hindered and impeached, when any of the king's Majesty's people and subjects do believe or say, that the king's Majesty, our sovereign lord, in his minority, hath not full power and authority royal, as fully and justly as when his Majesty doth come to full and perfect age: and, likewise, that it is also hindered and impeached, when any of the king's Majesty's said people and subjects do declare or say, that the king's said people and subjects are not bound to obey the king's Majesty in his said minority—hath, of late, in open audience reported and said, that the said Hugh Latimer hath, with his ears, heard divers persons of this realm, at sundry and divers times, unreverently, unobediently, and not faithfully, speak of the king's Majesty—that now is, words in effect and substance as followeth: 'Tush! the king,' meaning the king of England that now is, 'is but a babe or child: what laws can he make? or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a toast and butter, or bread and milk; and that is more meet for him, than to make laws or statutes to bind us to obey them. We are not bound to obey, till he be past his minority, and come to his full and perfect age.'

"And those words were spoken before you, my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Master Thomas Smith, and Master William May, by the mouth of the said Hugh Latimer at your last session; and the said Hugh Latimer was neither controlled by any of you for these words nor any of them, nor yet commanded to bring in such persons as had uttered and spoken the said words, but passed in silence: saving that I, the said Edmund, did speak against the said Hugh Latimer in this behalf, telling them that I would detect and denounce hereof. By all which it appeareth that the said Hugh

Latimer hath long concealed, and not opened the words aforesaid, in such places, and to such persons, as of bounden duty he ought and should; but kept the persons and sayings secret, either not taking this matter of such importance as he pretended, either else unfaithfully and untruly behaving himself towards the king's Majesty and his council; worthy, therefore, to be convented and punished, with his aiders and abettors, favourers and councillors."

These vain cavillations ended, the commissioners for that day finished their session, assigning the bishop to appear in that same place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of six and nine, in the forenoon, then and there to show a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*. And so delivering him a copy of the articles, they departed; the contents whereof ensue:

"I. That ye were sent for to the lord protector's Grace, and the rest of the council, and came thither into the court at Westminster the tenth of August, or some other day of the same month.

"II. Item, That at the same time the lord protector and divers other of the king's Majesty's privy council sitting in council, ye were called in; and there the said lord protector did, on the king's Majesty's behalf, declare unto you divers faults and abuses which were found in you, and gave you strait charge to amend them; adding threatening, that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

"III. Item, That the said lord protector's Grace did declare unto you, for better admonition and amendment of you, that you should have, from the king's Majesty, by his advice and the rest of the privy council, certain articles and injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

"IV. Item, That there and then the said lord protector commanded Sir Thomas Smith, knight, secretary to the king's Majesty, to read a certain proper book of injunctions and articles unto you, the said secretary standing at the council-table's end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

"V. Item, That the said lord protector there and then willed certain things in the said book of injunctions to be reformed, as whereas ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the date of the said writing.

"VI. Item, That in the said articles the lord protector's Grace found fault, because an article or commandment unto you set forth and declared of the king's Majesty's authority now in his young age and of his laws and statutes in the same time, was omitted; and therefore, either immediately before

you came into the council chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said secretary Smith to put it in writing, and annex it to the rest of the articles.

"VII. Item, That the said secretary Smith, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the said book or paper, wherein the rest of the articles were written, the said article, namely, You shall also set forth in your sermon, that the authority of our royal power is (as truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than was that of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of Josias and other young kings in the Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

"VIII. Item, That the lord protector did so deliver you the book or paper, willing, first, the said secretary Smith to amend all things as he had appointed.

"IX. Item, That ye then and there did promise to the lord protector's Grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said injunctions and articles contained.

"X. Item, That all things in the said book, put in and mentioned by the said secretary Smith, and the same so read to you by him, and you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was by the lord protector's appointment, the said book was so delivered unto you then and there, by the said secretary Smith in the council chamber.

"XI. Item, That you have the said book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to these articles.

"XII. Item, That ye were commanded in the same injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at Paul's, and there to treat upon certain articles, as is specified in the said book of injunctions, and especially the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth,' and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

"XIII. Item, That for the accomplishment of part of the said injunctions and commandment, you did preach the first day of September last past at Paul's Cross.

"XIV. Item, That at the said sermon, contrary to your injunctions, ye omitted and left out the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth in your sermon,' &c., and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

"XV. Ye shall also answer whether ye think and believe that the king's Majesty's subjects be bound to obey as well the laws, statutes, proclamations, and other ordinances made now in this young

age of the king's Majesty, as the laws, statutes, proclamations, and ordinances made by his Highness's progenitors."

These articles being thus ministered to the said bishop of London, the next day being Thursday and the nineteenth of September, the forenamed commissioners sat in the archbishop's chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the bishop of London; before whom there appeared Robert Johnson, the bishop's registrar, and there did declare unto the commissioners, that the bishop his master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himself the last night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same day at afternoon. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Yet, said Master Secretary Smith, if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed; "but," quoth he, "I promise you my Lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: howbeit, upon your faithful declaration, we are content to tarry until one of the clock at afternoon." And so they did, willing Master Johnson to signify then unto them, whether the bishop could appear or not.

At which hour Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers, gentlemen of the bishop's chamber, appeared again before the commissioners, declaring that (for the causes afore alleged) their master could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon Master Secretary Smith said unto them,

"My Lord of London your master hath used us very homely, and sought delays hitherto; and now, perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the quick, and therefore loath to come to his answer, he feigneth himself sick. But, because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the knight marshal unto him, willing him, if he be sick indeed, to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but, if he be not sick, then to bring him forthwith to us: for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done; we will not take it at his hands. And, therefore, Master Johnson, (said he,) you do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you; but it is also your part to show my Lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What! thinketh he to stand with a king in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween we shall have a new Thomas a Becket. Let him take heed; for if he play these

parts, he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whether? To the bishop of Rome? So he may help himself forwards, I say, he cannot appeal but to the same king, who hath made us his judges, and to the bench of his council; and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make men believe, that he were called before us for preaching his opinion of the sacrament, wherein I assure you he did both falsely and naughtily; yea, and lewdly; and more than became him; and more than he had in commandment to do; for he was not willed to speak of that matter, and per-

haps he may hear more of that hereafter: but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth."

Which ended, the delegates notwithstanding decreed to tarry again for him until two of the clock at afternoon the next day, being Friday, and the 20th of September.

The fifth action or process, the twentieth of September, against Bonner, bishop of London, before the king's commissioners.

At which day and time the bishop appeared himself personally before them in the same chamber



of presence; where first he did exhibit his answers unto the last articles ministered unto him the eighteenth of September; the contents whereof hereunder follow:

"The answers of me, Edmund, bishop of London, under mine accustomed protestation given unto the articles of late ministered and exhibited against me here in this court; with special protestation also, that I do not intend in any wise to make answer to any of the said articles otherwise than the law of this realm doth bind me to do, nor to speak

or say contrary to any thing that in my former answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to do, it is not, nor shall it be, with my good will or full consent; and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawful purposes.

"To the first article I do answer and say, that there was a messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to Fulham, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof; and he said that my lord protector's Grace required me to come by and by to speak with him. And thereupon, having made the said messenger to break his fast, I repaired to the court at Westminster; but

not upon the tenth day of August, but some other day of the said month.

"To the second article I do say, that it is obscure, uncertain, and over general, especially in those words 'at the same time,' which may be referred to the tenth of August, and then answer already is made thereunto; and it may be referred to some other day of the said month of August, either before the tenth of August, or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said article, to wit, 'then, and there,' for they, without declaration, are uncertain, obscure, and general; and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, especially having already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the commission, as I do take it, and according unto the law; which also willeth, that if a certain answer be looked for, the position and article must before be certain.

"To the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, he answereth all after one manner and sort, as thus: That it doth depend on the articles, to which for causes aforesaid, he saith, he is not bound in law to make answer, especially having already made. Saving that in the sixth he addeth thereunto, that he at no time heard the lord protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the said article, so far as he doth find. Also saving the seventh article, where he addeth, 'Nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the king's Majesty's authority and regal power and minority, as well and full as in his majority.'

"Also saving the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles, where he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true; as appeareth in conferring one with another.'

"To the twelfth and fourteenth articles, he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true;' confessing, nevertheless, the king's Majesty's authority and power regal, as before is expressed.

"To the fifteenth article he answereth and saith, that it is a position in law, and that yet both now and heretofore he hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall do always according to the law and his bounden duty, acknowledging, as he hath already done, the king's Majesty's regal power in his minority to be no less than in his majority; and the subjects bound to obey unto his Grace, his laws, statutes, and ordinances, and his said authority, as well in his minority as in his majority; not allow-

ing, but expressly condemning, the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary."

After this, perceiving that Master Secretary Smith was somewhat more quick with him than others of the commissioners, and that he would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtleties in law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal sometimes sharply rebuking him for his evil and stubborn behaviour towards them; Bonner, to deface his authority, (as he thought,) did also then exhibit in writing a recusation of the secretary's judgment against him; the form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the judges, I thought here also to exhibit unto the reader as hereunder followeth:

"In the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equity, natural reason, and all good laws, do require that judges shall be of that integrity, wisdom, circumspection, learning, and indifference, that, exercising the office and room of a judge, they may and shall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them; uprightly, sincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed: and forasmuch also as all judgments and process ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspicion or corruption in any wise: and finally, forasmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent judge, who commonly and accustomedly, of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred, and envy borne against the other side, rather serveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than by any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: I therefore, Edmund, bishop of London, having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings, and doings of you Sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's Majesty, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have been, and yet continually are, a notorious and manifest enemy of me the said Edmund, and much offended that I should in any wise allege and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the law giveth me licence and liberty to do; yea, hearing most favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both ears in any thing that they shall allege, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, nor yet their sayings true; and not hearing me so much as with one ear in my lawful sayings and doings in this behalf; but, contrariwise, opening your mouth at large, ye

have sundry times, against good wisdom and reason, outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, saying, among other words, 'that I did as thieves, murderers, and traitors are wont to do, being myself, (as ye untruly did say,) inwardly indeed culpable; and yet outwardly otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my judges and commissioners; and that I have been and am as sturdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your judgment and opinion, maintaining and upholding the rebels and their opinions; and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse; or else ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be joined with Ket and Humphrey Arundel the rebels:' over and besides divers other threatnings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you, that are in such room and place as ye be in.

"And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will, and grudge borne against me, ye have, amongst other things, untruly surmised, written, alleged, and said, that a certain book of articles and injunctions by the lord's protector's Grace in the full council, after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the denunciation, commission, and articles which, were actually induced, brought in, and objected against me, was delivered unto me: and, moreover, of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done; and yet ye are not ashamed to allege, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other, whereas indeed it is not so. And yet have further, against the law, and against the commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alleged and referred unto yourself also unlawfully and unjustly, *de facto*, with your colleagues; the which, without you had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alleged, appearing in the acts of this court: I do, upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the king's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said Sir Thomas Smith, as an incompetent, unmeet, and suspect judge, against me in this behalf; and decline your

pretended jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but justice, and offering myself prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the king's Majesty's ecclesiastical laws of this realm, in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require."

This recusation ended, the secretary told him plain, that, notwithstanding, he would proceed in his commission, and would be still his judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, "My Lord! whereas you say in your recusation, that I said that you did like thieves, murderers, and traitors; indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings."

Whereupon the bishop in a great and stout rage replied, saying, "Well, sir! because you sit here by virtue of the king's commission, and for that ye be secretary to his Majesty, and also one of his Highness's council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but Sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, that I do like thieves, murderers, and traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defy you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, what you do, do quickly."

Whereat the archbishop with the other commissioners said unto him, that for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy imprisonment.

Then the bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, "A God's name ye may do *de facto*: send me whither you will, and I must obey you; and so will, except ye send me to the devil; for thither I will not go for you. Three things I have; to wit, a small portion of goods, a poor carcass, and mine own soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my soul, ye get not."

"Well," said the secretary, "then ye shall know that there is a king."

"Yea, sir," saith the bishop, "but that is not you; neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you."

"No, sir," said again the secretary, "but we will make you know who it is." And with that the commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber, until they called for him again.

Now, in the mean while that the commissioners were in consultation, the bishop, with Gilbert Bourn his chaplain, Robert Warrington his commissary, and Robert Johnson his registrar, were tarrying in a void quadrant-place before the door of the same chamber; where the bishop, leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth:

"Sirs, what mean you? Why show you yourselves to be so sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth

to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you, to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his breast); for, afore God, I am not sad or heavy, but merry and of good comfort; and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for God's cause; and it grieveth me nothing at all. But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this Hooper and such other vile heretics and beasts, be suffered and licensed to preach at Paul's Cross, and in other places within my diocese and cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed sacrament of the altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there: and so infect and betray my flock. But, I say, it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore ye, being Christian men, I do require you, and also charge and command you, in the name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the mayor of London, and to his brethren the aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly, in God's name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable preachers, and especially those who hold opinion against the blessed sacrament of the altar, do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them; lest that they, tarrying with such preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, who thereby might take an occasion to think and believe, that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoons I require and command you to do."

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the archbishop's gentlemen, who in the same place kept the chamber-door where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said:

"And, sirs, ye be my Lord of Canterbury's gentlemen; I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you, in God's behalf, and in his name, that ye do the like, for your parts, in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous preachers; and also advertise my Lord your master of the same, and of these my sayings, that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are Christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary."

With this the commissioners called for the bishop again, who did read unto them an instrument, con-

taining a provocation to the king, which he made in manner and form here following:

"In the name of God, Amen. It shall appear to all men by this public instrument that A. D. 1549, the twentieth day of September, the third year of the reign of our most high and renowned Prince Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the palace of the said bishop, situated in London, and in the presence of me the public notary, and of the witnesses hereafter named, the aforesaid bishop did personally appear, and there did show forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof ensueth:

"In the name of God, Amen. I, Edmund, bishop of London, say, allege, and propound, before you being a public notary, and these credible witnesses here present, that although I, the aforesaid Edmund, have attained the bishopric aforesaid by the benevolence of the prince of famous memory King Henry the Eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, and have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as bishop and lawful possessor of the said bishopric, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publicly; and, moreover, do keep residence and hospitality in the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit; and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral office, as the laws do require, as hereafter I trust by God's grace to do and observe; a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicated, nor interdicted, neither convicted of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the church, and other my superiors in all lawful causes; nevertheless, fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatenings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great damage may come to me hereafter about the premises or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoiling, vexing, and perturbing by any manner of means; do appeal unto the most high and mighty prince our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, &c., and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal Majesty. I do also require

the apostles, so much as in this case they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my aforesaid most dread sovereign lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premises, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised by the counsel of learned men, or as the case shall require; and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the law, and still shall require.

"Upon all the which premises the aforesaid Edmund, bishop of London, did require the public notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

"These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn, bachelor of divinity, John Harpsfield and Robert Colen, masters of arts, John Wakeling and Richard Rogers, learned men; being of the diocese of Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, and Gloucester, and especially requested to be witnesses of the same. And I, France Harward, of the diocese of Worcester, and public notary by the king's regal authority, forasmuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premises were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the reign of the king, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forasmuch as I did enact the same, therefore to this present public instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same."

Which thing after he had read, he did, under his protestation, first intimate unto the archbishop, the bishop of Rochester, and Dr. May, and then, protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary Smith, requiring the registrar to make an instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with witness to testify the same.

Then the delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him, (according to the first article,) what special day of August he was sent for by the lord protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their articles more certain: neither would

he otherwise answer as long as Master Secretary Smith was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation.

The secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, "My Lord! come off, and make a full and perfect answer unto these articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain."

"In faith, sir," then said the bishop again, "I have thought ye had been learned; but now, before God, I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so often showed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled, (you showing nothing to the contrary, but sensuality and will,) that I must needs judge that you are ignorant herein."

"Well," said Master Secretary, "ye will not then otherwise answer?"

"No," said the bishop, "except the law compel me."

Then said the secretary, "Call for the knight-marshal, that he may be had to ward."

With that all the rest of the commissioners charged the bishop, that he had at that time sundry ways very outrageously and irreverently behaved himself towards them sitting on the king's Majesty's commission, and especially towards Sir Thomas Smith, his Grace's secretary; and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsea.

By this time the marshal's deputy came before them, whom Master Secretary commanded to take the bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him, that no man might come unto him; for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the secretary had ended his talk, the bishop said unto him, "Well, sir, it might have become you right well, that my Lord's Grace here present, being first in commission, and your better, should have done it."

Then the commissioners, assigning him to be brought before them on Monday next before noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the hall of that place, there to make full answer to these last articles, or else to show cause why he should not be declared as having confessed, did, for that present, break up that session.

Now as the bishop was departing with the under-marshal, he in a great fury turned himself again toward the commissioners, and said to Sir Thomas Smith, "Sir, whereas ye have committed me to

ison, ye shall understand that I will require no vour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, iron about my middle, or where ye ill."

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and foaming out his poison, said unto the archbishop; "Well, my Lord! I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your Grace's hand; but more sorry that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people. And therefore I do require you, as you will answer to God and the king, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do: for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the king's Majesty; answer to it as well as ye can." And so he departed, using many reproachful words against sundry of the common people, who stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

The sixth action or process, upon Monday the twenty-third of September, had against Bonner, bishop of London, before the commissioners, in the great hall at Lambeth.

It was assigned, as ye have heard, in the fourth act, prosecuted the eighteenth day of September, that upon Monday then next following, being the twenty-third of the same month, the bishop should again appear before the commissioners within the great hall at Lambeth, then to show a final cause why he should not be declared *pro confesso*, upon all the articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same twenty-third day of September, the bishop was brought before them by the under-marshal, (to whom for his disobedient and obstinate behaviour he was before that time committed,) and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coerced; for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsea; and therewithal also, under his former protestation, recusation, and appeal, did then again intimate a general recusation of all the commissioners, alleging in the same, that because the archbishop, with all his colleagues, had neither observed the order of their commission, nor yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgment, but, contrariwise, had sundry times, as well in his absence as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity, and state, especially in committing him to strait prison, and yet commanding him to make answer: and further, because that he, with the rest, had proceeded in commission with Sir Thomas Smith,

knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings, (notwithstanding that he the said bishop had before justly recused and declined from him,) he, therefore, did also there refuse and decline from the judgment of the said archbishop and his colleagues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they, thereby, unmeet persons to proceed against him. Therefore, according to his former appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the king's Majesty; for whose honour and reverence' sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recusations, provocations, and other lawful remedies before alleged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen, as followeth.

The second recusation made by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London.

"In the name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of laws, especially of this realm of England, do admit and suffer him that is convented before an incompetent and suspect judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, inasmuch as the law and reason on the one side will process to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice earnestly labour to the contrary, and need therefore to be bridled; and because you, my Lord of Canterbury, with your colleagues in this behalf, (deputed, as ye say, commissioners against me,) neither have observed your said commission, neither yet proceed hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgment; but, contrariwise, contrary to your commission, and against the law, good reason, and order, have, at sundry times and in sundry acts, attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by others, not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in divers and sundry things remaining in your acts:

"And moreover, because you, my said Lord, with your said colleagues, have, (both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which, according to the laws of this realm, I have fully alleged, and very sufficiently and justly proved, according to the order of the king's ecclesiastical laws,) injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and also otherwise, especially in my presence; against all laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground, attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment; sending me to strait ward, and yet commanding me

to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawful acts :

"I, for these causes, and also for that ye my said Lord and your said colleagues, proceeding with Sir Thomas Smith, knight, (whom upon just and lawful causes I have refused, recused, and declined,) have favoured, yea maintained, supported, and borne him in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, with the rest of your said colleagues agreeing and joining with you; and do except against your proceedings, doings, and jurisdiction, as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

"And further, I do allege, that having been provoked to the king's most excellent Majesty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation remaining in your acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting myself unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said Majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his Grace's royal power, as ye ought to do) to proceed herein against me; especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his Majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that not considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said acts; and also do, by these presents, refuse, recuse, and decline you my said Lord, and your said colleagues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering myself prompt and ready to prove all the same, before an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said sovereign Lord, and his laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, nor yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice; but suffer me to use and enjoy the benefit of my said former, and this, recusation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said acts. And in case ye do in fact, where ye ought not by right, attempt, or suffer any thing to be attempted or done against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf; and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do."

Notwithstanding these recusations, and former

appellations, the archbishop with the rest told him plain, that they would be still his judges, and proceed against him according to the king's commission, until they did receive a supersedeas, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

Then the bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the king's Majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alleged in the two former recusations and appeals; saving that he requireth that letters dismissory or appellatory might be given him according to the law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the king.

The commissioners for all this stuck still unto their commission, and would not in any case defer; but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his articles than he had done.

To whom the bishop said, that he would stand unto his recusations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer.

Then the delegates demanded of him what cause he had to allege, why he ought not to be declared as having confessed, upon the articles whereunto he had not fully answered; the bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recusation.

Whereupon the archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacy, pronounced him contumacious, and in pain thereof declared him as having confessed, upon the articles whereunto he had not answered.

This done, Master Secretary Smith showed forth a letter which the bishop of London had before that time sent unto the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city of London, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

"To the right honourable and my very good Lord, the lord mayor of London, with all his worshipful brethren; my very dear and worshipful friends; with speed.

"Right honourable! with my very humble recommendations:—Whereas I have perceived of late, and heard with mine ears, what vile beasts and heretics have preached unto you, or rather, like themselves, prated and railed against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list; teaching you detestably, that faith in this behalf must not be coerced, but that every man may believe as he will! by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might unto some have been seen to have allowed their heretical doctrine, and given

credit unto them, betraying my flock of the catholic port, ye know I departed yesterday from the heretic orator's uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you, and all other that be catholic, should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For your tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt yourselves in receiving his poisoned doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their doctrine is tolerable, by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good, for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again, in God's behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not yourselves to be abused with such naughty preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all, with this noble city, in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the sixteenth of September, 1549.

"Your faithful beadsman and poor bishop,
EDMUND BONNER."

This letter being read, the secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not; to whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recusations and appeals; which the commissioners seeing, determined to continue this case in state as it was until Friday then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before noon, assigning the bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a final decree of this matter, he still protesting as before.

The seventh session or appearance of Bonner, on Tuesday the first of October, before the king's commissioners at Lambeth.

Upon Friday the commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in commission according to their appointment, but deferred it until Tuesday the first of October then next following. Upon which day the bishop appearing before them, the archbishop made this declaration unto him:

That although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final decree and sentence in this matter, yet forasmuch as they thought that that sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have been very sore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but, minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to use more easy and gentle reformation to-

wards him, had also made such suit and means for him, that although he had grievously offended the king's Majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet, if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour; so the sentence should not have been so sore and extreme against him as it was like now to be; for which they were very sorry; especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

The bishop, nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacy, drew forth a paper, whereon he read these words following:

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, out of the Marshalsea, here before you my Lord of Canterbury and your pretended colleagues, do, under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your act, declare that this my presence here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and consent, but utterly coerced and against my will; and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you than I am, (that is, as a prisoner,) I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented himself from you, as lawfully and well I might have done; standing to, using, and enjoying all and singular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised, and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interponed and made unto the king's most excellent Majesty, to whom eftsoons, sufficiently, I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the actuary of this cause; requiring him to make an instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to bear record in that behalf; especially to the intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the king's Majesty's authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his Majesty as my most gracious sovereign and supreme head, with submission to his Highness (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, than some other, (I do mean you, my Lord of Canterbury, and your said pretended colleagues,) who, by law and good reason, ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed and made

had under him, he cannot show me one that hath used such defence as you here have done."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if my keeper were learned in the laws, I could show him my mind therein."

"Well," said the archbishop, "I have read over all the laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did; and yet I can find no such privilege in this matter."

Then Master Secretary Smith did very sore burden and charge him, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always behaved himself towards the king's Majesty and his authority. Whereupon the bishop, under his protestation, answered again, that he was the king's Majesty's lawful and true subject, and did acknowledge his Highness to be his gracious sovereign lord, or else he would not have appealed unto him as he had; yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his neck also under his Grace's feet; and therefore he desired that his Highness's laws and justice might be ministered unto him.

"Yea," quoth Master Secretary, "you say well, my Lord: but I pray you what other have all these rebels both in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said thus? We be the king's true subjects; we acknowledge him for our king, and we will obey his laws, with such like: and yet, when either commandment, letter, or pardon, was brought unto them from his Majesty, they believed it not, but said it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings; so that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing."

"Ah, sir," said the bishop, "I perceive your meaning; as who should say that the bishop of London is a rebel like them." "Yea, by my troth," quoth the secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Then the dean of Paul's said unto him, that he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the judges to speak. To whom the bishop disdainfully answered, "Well, Master dean! you must say somewhat." And likewise at another time as the dean was speaking, he interrupted and said, "You may speak when your turn cometh."

Then said the Secretary Smith, "I would you knew your duty." "I would," quoth he again, "you knew it as well as I:" with an infinite deal more of other such stubborn and contemptuous talk and behaviour towards them; which the commissioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reason in him, they determined that the archbishop, with their whole consent, should at that present there openly read and publish their

final decree or sentence definitive against him; which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the bishopric of London; which ended, the bishop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alleging that the same sentence there given against him, was no law; the tenor of whose words I thought here to express, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth:

"I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do, under my former protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appear that I have not, being so here in this place, consented or agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, allege and say that this sentence given here against me, is *lex nulla*; and so far forth as it shall appear to be *aliqua*; I do say it is *iniqua et injusta*, and that therefore I do from it, as *iniqua et injusta*, appeal to the most excellent and noble King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England and also Ireland (next and immediately under God here on earth) supreme head, and unto his court of chancery or parliament, as the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm will suffer and bear in this behalf; desiring instantly, first, second, and third, according to the laws, letters reverential, or dimissories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise."

And thereupon also the said bishop required the public notary or actuary, William Say, to make an instrument, and the witness aforesaid and others present to record the same: to whom so appealing, and requiring as before, the said judge's delegate said, that they would declare and signify to the king's Majesty what was done in this matter; and thereupon would defer or not defer to his said appellation, according as his Grace's pleasure and commandment should be given to them in that behalf.

And after all this, the said bishop of London said to them, "You have now discharged your office. What will your Grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? will ye keep me still in prison? shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute mine appeal?" To whom the archbishop answering, said, that they perceived now more in that matter than they did at first, and that this matter was greater rebellion than he was aware of; and therefore they said that as yet they would not discharge him. And thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in prison.

This talk finished, the archbishop, considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the sentence, being read

in the Latin tongue, said to them, "Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latin tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I shall therefore show you the effect thereof:" and therewith he did declare in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding thereunto these words :

"Because my Lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here, by our sentence, deprived him of our bishopric of London; and this we show unto you, to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteem him any more as bishop of London."

Then Bonner desired the archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, You may do it yourself. Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, you have now done your duty. What will your Grace do with me touching my imprisonment? will you keep me still in prison?"

To whom the commissioners answered, that they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater rebellion than he was aware of. And therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his keeper to be kept in prison; where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly prince King Edward the Sixth; after which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole reign of Queen Mary. From the executing of the which like tyranny, the Lord of his great mercy keep all other such. Amen!

Now, immediately after his deprivation he writeth out of the Marshalsea other letters supplicatory unto the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity which the duke of Somerset and Sir Thomas Smith bare unto him, his often and earnest suits unto the king and his council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their Lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them; and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their Honours, as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following.

Thus after the commissioners had finished with Bonner, he, being now prisoner in the Marshalsea, leaving no shift of the law unsought how to work for himself as well as he might, drew out a certain supplication, conceived and directed to the king's Majesty, out of the said prison of the Marshalsea.

"To the right honourable, my lord chancellor of England, with all the rest of the most honourable privy council :

"Please it your most honourable good Lordships, with my most humble commendations, to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such suit, and to such persons, as I cannot devise to make more, or to more higher; this is to wit, to the king's most excellent Majesty, and his most gracious person in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good Lordships being of his privy council, for redress of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have been, contrary to all law, honesty, and good reason, inflicted upon me by my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of Rochester, Dr. Smith, and Dr. May: yet, because the said Dr. Smith, being a minister to the duke of Somerset, and they both my deadly enemies, hath sundry ways studied and laboured my ruin and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawful remedies and suits, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present (having for a time forborne to trouble, for good respects, your most honourable good Lordships with any my suits, and especially for your other manifold great affairs in the king's Majesty's business, myself yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, nor yet just cause, being where I am, to make such suit) renew my suit, and most humbly beseech your most honourable good Lordships to give me leave to make most humble supplication again to your said Lordships, for honest and lawful liberty to prosecute my appellation and supplication heretofore made to the king's most excellent Majesty; and, according to the law, to make my suit for redress of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs, done against me by the said persons. And your said Lordships, over and besides the furtherance of justice many ways herein to me and others, and the collection of the king's Majesty's subsidy now to be levied of the clergy in my diocese, which hitherto hath been and is stayed by reason of the premises, shall also bind me most greatly and entirely to pray daily for the good preservation of your said most honourable good Lordships; in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and endure unto God's pleasure.

"Written in the Marshalsea, the 26th of October, 1549.

"Your Lordships' most faithful
and assured beadsman,

EDMUND LONDON."

A supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London, to the king's Majesty, out of the prison of the Marshalsea.

In the which supplication, first, after the used form of style, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the king long to reign. Then he showed that his faithful heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his Grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his royal power in his minority; whereas indeed, he saith, his Grace should find him always, during life, both in heart, word, and deed, to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to show, &c., and to do all other things for his Grace, as willingly as any other subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who, he thought, were not sent of his Grace, but pretended commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain commissioners, (who said they were sent by his Grace,) alleging the same not to be lawful; and of his long and sharp imprisonment; and that the commissioners observed neither law nor reasonable order, but extremity. And whereas he had made appeal to his Grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have law to prosecute and sue his appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meanest subjects have.

Then he desired his Grace's letters of superseas against the commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the council; and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, that this, (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his Grace's feet,) was the only thing which he humbly desired, &c.

This done, and the supplication perused, the king estoons giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of honour and worship, and persons skilful in the law, as to the Lord Rich, high chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord marquis Dorset, the bishop of Ely, Lord Wentworth, Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir William Herbert, knights, Dr. Richard Wootton, Edward Montague, lord chief justice, Sir John Baker, knight, with Judge Hales, John Gosnold, Dr. Oliver, and also Dr. Leyson, that they, scanning and perusing all such acts, matters, and muniments of the said Bonner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alleged, with all and singular his protestations, recusations, and appellations,

should, upon mature consideration thereof, give their direct answer upon the same, whether the appellation of the said Bonner were to be deferred unto; whether the sentence defined against him stood by the law sufficient and effectual, or not: who, estoons, after diligent discussion, and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premises, gave their resolute answer, that the pretended appellation of Edmund Bonner aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto; and that the sentence by the commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced. And this was the conclusion of Bonner's whole matter and deprivation for that time.

Thus then, leaving Dr. Bonner awhile in the Marshalsea with his keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course of our story, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the lord protector falleth here jointly with the deprivation of Dr. Bonner, yet, because he was shortly again delivered out of the same through the Lord's mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two years after; and so, in the mean time returning again into our discourse, intend, by the Lord's leave, to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the king's godly proceedings for reformation of religion in the aforesaid year of our Lord concurring—the year 1549.

And here first a note would be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned travails and disputation in the university of Oxford the said present year with Dr. Chedsey and others, about the matter of the sacrament; which was, that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ were not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally.

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the ecclesiastical laws, for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty-two persons were assigned by act of parliament the said present year, 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, than historical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further consideration thereof unto the end of the history of this king's days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the mean while.

Books in the Latin service abolished.

T followeth now in the story, that certain of the vulgar multitude hearing of the apprehension of the lord protector, and supposing the alteration of the public service into English, and administration of the sacrament and

other rites lately appointed in the church, had been the act, chiefly or only, of the said lord protector, began upon the same to noise and bruit abroad, that they should now have their old Latin service, with holy bread and holy water, and their other like superstitious ceremonies again: whereupon the king, with the body and state of the privy council then being, directed out his letters of request and strait commandment to the bishops, in their dioceses, touching the same, in form and manner as followeth.

A certain precept or decree of King Edward, directed to the bishops in their dioceses, for the abolishing of books of the Latin service, and of certain other ceremonies.

“Right reverend father in God, right truly and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas the book, entitled The Book of Common Prayers and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England, was agreed upon and set forth by act of parliament, and by the same act commanded to be used of all persons within this our realm, yet, nevertheless, we are informed that divers unquiet and evil-disposed persons, since the apprehension of the duke of Somerset, have noised and bruited abroad, that they should have again their old Latin service, their conjured bread and water, with such-like vain and superstitious ceremonies, as though the setting-forth of the said book had been the only act of the aforementioned duke: We, therefore, by the advice of the body and state of our privy council, not only considering the said book to be our own act, and the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in the parliament, but also the same to be grounded upon Holy Scripture, agreeable to the order of the primitive church, and much to the edifying of our subjects,—to put away all such vain expectation of having the public service, the administration of the sacraments and other rites and ceremonies, again in the Latin tongue (which were but a preferring

of ignorance to knowledge, and darkness to light, and a preparation to bring in papistry and superstition again)—have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to require and nevertheless straitly command and charge you, that ye, immediately upon the receipt hereof, do command the dean and prebendaries of your cathedral church, the parson, vicar, or curate, and churchwardens of every parish within your diocese, to bring and deliver to you, or your deputy, every of them, for their church and parish, at such convenient place as ye shall appoint, all antiphoners, missals, grailes, processionala, manuals, legends, pies, portuesies, journals, and ordinala, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, Bangor, Hereford, or any other private use; and all other books of service, the keeping whereof should be let to the using of the said Book of Common Prayers; and that ye take the same books into your hands, or into the hands of your deputy, and them so deface and abolish, that they never after may serve, either to any such use as they were first provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and uniform order, which, by a consent, is now set forth. And if ye shall find any person stubborn or disobedient in not bringing in the said books, according to the tenor of these our letters, that then you commit the same person to ward, to such time as ye have certified us of his misbehaviour: and we will and command you, that ye also search, or cause such search to be made, from time to time, whether any books be withdrawn or hid, contrary to the tenor of these our letters; and the same books to receive into your hands, and to use, as in these our letters we have appointed.

“And furthermore, whereas it is come to our knowledge, that divers froward and obstinate persons do refuse to pay toward the finding of bread and wine for the holy communion, according to order prescribed in the said book, by reason whereof the holy communion is many times omitted upon the Sunday: these are to will and command you, to convent such obstinate persons before you, and them to admonish and command to keep the order prescribed in the same book. And if any shall refuse so to do, punish them by suspension, excommunication, or other censures of the church. Fail ye not thus to do, as ye will avoid our displeasure.

“Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 25th of December, the third year of our reign.

Thomas Cranmer,	J. Russell,
R. Rich, Cancel.	H. Dorset,
W. Saint John,	W. North.”

Whereby it may appear to us now, that no

wafer-cakes, but common bread, was then, by the king's appointment, ordinarily received and used in churches. This was about the latter end of December, A. D. 1549.

Taking down of altars, and setting up the table instead thereof.

Furthermore, in the year next following, (1550,) other letters, likewise, were sent for the taking down of altars in churches, and setting up the table instead of the same, unto Nicholas Ridley, who, being bishop of Rochester before, was then made bishop of London, in Bonner's place. The copy and contents of the king's letters are these, as follow.

The king's letter to Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, &c.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where it is come to our knowledge, that the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there do yet remain altars standing in divers other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that, minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such-like diversities, and considering that amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless especially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that, with all diligence, all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and instead thereof, a table be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And, to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and collected, that make for the purpose; the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in

such places as you shall think meet, before the taking-down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise, by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns, and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

Edward Somerset,	John Bedford,
Thomas Cranmer,	William North,
William Wiltshire,	Edward Clinton,
John Warwick,	H. Wentworth,
	Thomas Ely."

Reasons why the Lord's board should rather be after the form of a table, than of an altar.

"I am not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth, Rom. i. 16.

"Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars, as then, did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. And that herein he did not only not any thing contrary unto the Book of Common Prayer, or to the king's Majesty's proceedings, but that he was induced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, wherewith he is charged in the same book, and partly, for the advancement and sincere setting-forward of God's holy word, and the king's Majesty's most godly proceedings.

"*First Reason.*—The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him, that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually drink his blood, (which is the true use of the Lord's supper,) then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board, than the form of an altar.

“Second Reason.—Whereas it is said, ‘The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an altar; wherefore, it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth:’ to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord’s supper is ministered, indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord’s board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that whether the Lord’s board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For, as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord’s supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord’s board, so it calleth the table, where the holy communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing neither said nor meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

“Third Reason.—The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord’s board after the form of a table, than of an altar.

“Fourth Reason.—The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and therefore the altar in Greek is called *θυσιαστήριον*. But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease withal.

“Fifth Reason.—Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper, at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three evangelists. And St. Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion, the coming unto the Lord’s supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion.

“Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ’s institution, and with the usage of the apostles, and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the holy communion.

“Sixth and last Reason.—It is said in the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same

book, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the bishop of the diocese, who, by his discretion, shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that book.”

After these letters and reasons received, the fore-named Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the same did hold his visitation, wherein, amongst other his injunctions, the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof there arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord’s board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese unto that which he thought did best agree with Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer, (as is before proved,) but also might highly further the king’s most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use, taught by Holy Scripture, of the Lord’s supper. And so appointed he the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and, in the church of Paul, brake down the wall standing then by the high altar’s side.

Here followeth the history of the doings and attempts of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, with the process of his articles and examinations upon the same.

Now that we have discoursed the process, doings, and examinations of Edmund Bonner, followeth next in order the story of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in process not much unlike to the other; in stoutness alike arrogant and glorious; in craft and subtlety going before him, although the order and time of his examinations came behind him.

This Gardiner, having precept and commandment given unto him by the king to preach upon certain points which they had him in suspicion for, in much like sort as Bonner did before, showed himself, in performing the same, both stubborn and wilful, as was declared of the other before. Where-

upon the next day after his sermon ensuing, being arrested by Sir Anthony Wingfield and Sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, he was committed to the Tower; from whence, at length, he was brought to Lambeth, to his examinations, whereof more shall be said hereafter (Christ permitting) at large. In the mean time to comprehend and collect all things in order, first, we will begin with the beginning of his deserved trouble: how he was committed to keep his house, and afterwards had to the Fleet; and what letters he wrote, as well to others as especially to the lord protector; whose answers again to the said bishop, as many as came to our hands, we have thereto annexed, by the example and copy of which his letters, here being expressed for thee, gentle reader, to peruse, thou mayest easily perceive and understand the proud and glorious spirit of that man, his stubborn contumacy against the king, and malicious rebellion against God and true religion, with sleight and craft enough to defend his peevish purposes.

The examples and copies of certain letters written by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, containing divers matters not unworthy to be known for this present history.

Winchester to the lord protector, in consequence of a sermon of the bishop of St. David's.

"May it please your Grace to understand, that I have noted some points in my Lord of St. David's sermon, which I send unto you herewith, whereby to declare unto you some part what I think, for the whole I cannot express. Somewhat I shall encumber you with my babbling, but he hath encumbered some friends more with his tattling. And alas, my Lord! this is a piteous case, that having so much business as ye have, these inward disorders should be added unto them, to the courage of such as would this realm any ways evil. For this is the thing they would desire, with hope thereby to disorder this realm, being now a time rather to repair that which needeth reparation, than to make any new buildings which they pretend. Quiet, tranquillity, unity, and concord shall maintain estimation: the contrary may animate the enemy to attempt that which was never thought on, which God forbid.

"There was never attempt of alteration made in England, but upon comfort of discord at home; and woe be to them that mindeth it! If my Lord of St. David's, or such others, have their head cumbered with any new platform, I would wish they were commanded, between this and the king's Ma-

jesty's full age, to draw the plat, diligently to hew the stones, dig the sand, and chop the chalk, in the unseasonable time of building; and, when the king's Majesty cometh to full age, to present their labours to him; and, in the mean time, not to disturb the state of the realm, whereof your Grace is protector; but that you may, in every part of religion, laws, lands, and decrees, (which four contain the state,) deliver the same unto our sovereign lord, according unto the trust you be put in; which shall be much to your honour, and as all honest men wish and desire: to which desired effect there can be nothing so noisome and contrarious as trouble and disquiet. Wherein your Grace shall be specially troubled, as on whose shoulders all the weight lieth; and whatsoever shall happen amiss by the faults of others, shall be imputed to your Grace, as doer thereof, or wanting foresight in time to withstand the same. And albeit that your mind be not faulty in either, yet, if the effect be not to the realm as it were to be wished, the prince, though he were of age, should be excused, and the governors bear the blame. And this is the infelicity of pre-eminence and authority, and specially in this realm, as stories make mention, which should not discourage you, for you need fear nothing without, if quiet be reserved at home; and at home, if the beginning be resisted, the intended folly may easily be interrupted. But if my brother of St. David's may, like a champion with his sword in his hand, make entry for the rest, the door of licence opened, there shall more by folly thrust in with him than your Grace would wish.

"Thus, as I think, I write homely to your Grace, because you were content I should write, wherein I consider only to have all things well. And because your Grace is the protector and the chief director of the realm, to present unto your wisdom what my folly is, I have been oftentimes blamed for fearing over-much, and yet I have had an inkling that they that so blamed me, feared even as much as I. Being in the state that you be in, it shall be ever commendable to foresee the worst. In quiet ye be strong, in trouble ye be greatly weak, and bring yourself in danger of one part, when parties be, therewith one to scourge the other: whereas, in concord, they be both yours, in an honest, reverent, lowly fear to do their duty; which, I doubt not, your wisdom can consider, and consider also how noisome any other outward encumber might be, in the time of the minority of our sovereign lord. I told the emperor's council, that our late sovereign lord did much for the emperor, to enter war with him, and to put his realm in his old days in the adventure of fortune, whether he should enjoy it or no; for that is the nature of war. And sometimes

the contemned and abject have had the upper hand. And when ye administer the realm for another, it were a marvellous question of him that shall enjoy the realm to say, What meant you, in the time of administration to adventure my realm? Why took ye not rather, for the time of my minority, any peace, whatsoever it were? which is better than the best war, as some men have written.

"I know you have authority sufficient, and wisdom plenty, and yet, being entered to write, I forget for the time what ye be, and commune with you as I were talking at Brussels with you, devising of the world at large. And if I were sworn to say what I think of the state of the world, I would, for a time, let Scots be Scots, with despair to have them, unless it were by conquest, which shall be a goodly enterprise for our young master, when he cometh to age. And, in the mean time, prepare him money for it, and set the realm in an order which it hath need of. And for a stay, if the emperor would offer the daughter of the king of Romans, as he did, do with him in our master's minority, as he did with us in his, whereby all this hath chanced unto him. And by this alliance your estimation shall increase, and our sovereign lord's surety not a little increase and be augmented. For of France it must be taken for a rule, 'They be so wanton, they cannot do well longer than they see how they may be scourged if they do not.' Here is all the wit that I have, which I offer unto you upon this occasion of writing, and shall pray God to put into your mind that which shall be for the best, as I trust he will; and, in the mean time, to extinguish this barbarous contention at home, which can serve only to do hurt, and no good. I had fashioned a letter to Master Ridley, which I send unto your Grace, and encumber you with these melancholy writings, engendered of this fondness, which be not worth the reading. And so it may like you to use them, for having heard that which ye have said unto me, and otherwise heard and seen what you do, I shall go occupy my wit in other matters; and now such as have found enterprises shall see, that I letted not their follies (which they called God's word): but for his time the king our sovereign lord that dead is; and after his time you have done much to your honour and reputation; howsoever any shall be here not contented; which miscontentation hath been so fond in some, as they have burst out and wished, that they might, without breach of his laws, kill me; which is to me a token of a marvellous fury, which hath been cause why I am glad both to depart hence, and to depart the sooner, and pray to God to order all things for the best, with preservation of our sovereign lord, and increase of your Grace's honour.

"At my house in Southwark, the last of February
 "Your Grace's humble bead-man,
 S. W."

A letter of Winchester to Captain Vaughan dated the third of May, 1547.

"Master Vaughan, after my right hearty commendations: In my last letters to my lord protector, signifying, according to the general commandment by letters given to all justices of peace, the state of this shire, I declared (as I supposed true) the state to be in good order, quiet, and conformity; for I had not then heard of any alteration in this shire, which the said letters of commandment did forbid. Now of late, within these two days, I have heard of a great and detestable (if it be true that is told me) innovation in the town of Portsmouth, where the images of Christ and his saints have been most contemptuously pulled down, and spitefully handled. Herein I thought good both to write to you and the mayor, the king's Majesty's chief ministers, as well to know the truth, as to consult with you for the reformation of it, to the intent I may be seen to discharge my duty, and discharging it indeed both to God and to the king's Majesty, under whom I am here appointed to have cure and care to relieve such as be by any ways fallen, and preserve the rest that stand, from like danger.

"Ye are a gentleman with whom I have had acquaintance, and whom I know to be wise, and esteem to have more knowledge, wisdom, and discretion than to allow any such enormities; and therefore I do the more willingly consult with you herein, with request friendly to know of you the very truth in the matter: who be the doers, and the circumstances of it, and whether ye think the matter so far gone with the multitude, and whether the reproof and disproving of the deed, might, without a further danger, be enterprised in the pulpit or not; minding, if it may so be, to send one thither for that purpose upon Sunday next coming. I would use preaching as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun; and to a multitude, persuaded in that opinion of destruction of images, I would never preach: for, as Scripture willeth us, we should cast no precious stones before hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be hogs, and worse than hogs, (if there be any grosser beasts than hogs be,) and have been ever so taken; and in England they are called Lollards, who, denying images, thought therewithal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally superfluous and naught, and against God's laws.

"In Germany such as maintained that opinion of destroying of images, were accounted the dregs

cast out by Luther after he had tunned all his brewings in Christ's religion, and so taken as hog's neat; for the reproof of whom Luther wrote a book specially: and I have with mine eyes seen the images standing in all churches where Luther was had in estimation. For the destruction of images containeth an enterprise to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it, and especially the nobility, who, by images, set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage and parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts; and the poursuivant carrieth not on his breast the king's name, written with such letters as a few can spell, but such as all can read be they never so rude, being great known letters in images of three lions, and three fleurs-de-lis, and other beasts holding those arms. And he that cannot read the scripture written about the king's great seal, yet he can read St. George on horseback on the one side, and the king sitting in his majesty on the other side; and readeth so much written in those images, as, if he be an honest man, he will put off his cap. And although, if the seal were broken by chance, he would and might make a candle of it, yet he would not be noted to have broken the seal for that purpose, or to call it a piece of wax only, whilst it continueth whole. And if by reviling of stocks and stones, in which matter images be graven, the setting of the truth (to be read of all men) shall be contemned; how shall such writing continue in honour as is comprised in clouts and pitch, whereof and whereupon our books be made, such as few can skill of, and not the hundredth part of the realm? And if we, (a few that can read,) because we can read, in one sort, of letters so privileged as they have many reliefs, shall pull away the books of the rest, and would have our letters only in estimation, and blind all them, shall not they have just cause to mistrust what is meant? And if the cross be a truth, and if it be true that Christ suffered, why may we not have a writing thereof such as all can read, that is to say, an image? If this opinion should proceed, when the king's Majesty hereafter should show his person, his lively image, the honour due by God's law among such might continue; but as for the king's standards, his banners, his arms, they should hardly continue in their due reverence for fear of Lollards' idolatry, which they gather upon Scripture beastly—not only untruly. The Scripture reproveth false images made of stocks and stones, and so it doth false men made of flesh and bones.

"When the emperor's money was showed to Christ, wherein was the image of the emperor, Christ contemned not that image, calling it an idol,

nor noted that money to be against God's law because it had an image in it, as though it were against the precept of God, Thou shalt have no graven image; but taught them good civility, in calling it the emperor's image, and bade them use the money as it was ordered to be used, in its right use.

"There is no Scripture that reproveth truth, and all Scripture reproveth falsehood. False writings, false books, false images, and false men, all be naught; to be contemned and despised. As for paper, ink, parchment, stones, wood, bones, &c. of the chancery hand, and A. B. of the secretary hand, a letter of German fashion, or of any other form, they be all of one estimation, and may be of man, inclining to the devil, used for falsehood, or, applying to God's gracious calling, used to set forth truth. It is a terrible matter to think that this false opinion conceived against images should trouble any man's head; and such as I have known vexed with that devil, (as I have known some,) be nevertheless wondrously obstinate in it; and if they can find one that can spell Latin to help forth their madness, they be more obdurate than ever were the Jews, and slander whatsoever is said to them for their relief. Of this sort I know them to be; and, therefore, if I wist there were many of that sort with you, I would not irritate them by preaching without fruit, but labour for reformation to my lord protector. But if you thought there might be other ways used first to a good effect, I would follow your advice, and proceed with you and the mayor, with both your helps to do that may lie in me to the redress of the matter, which I take to be such an enterprise against Christ's religion, as there cannot be a greater by man excogitated with the devil's instigation, and this time much hurtful to the common estate, as ye can of your wisdom consider; whom I heartily desire and pray to send me answer, by this bearer, to these my letters, to the intent I may use myself in sending of a preacher thither, or writing to my lord protector, as the case shall require accordingly. And thus fare you heartily well.

"From my house at Wolvesey, the 3rd of May, 1547.

STEPH. WINCHESTER."

A letter of the lord protector, answering to the letter above.

"After hearty commendations: receiving of late two letters from your Lordship, the one enclosed in a letter of Master Vaughan's to us, and directed to him, the other directed strait unto us; very wittily and learnedly written, whereby we do perceive how earnest you are, that no innovations should be had.

The which mind of yours, as we do highly esteem and allow, proceeding from one that would quietness, so we would likewise wish, that you should take good heed that too much fear of innovation or disturbance do not cause both to be. Many times in a host, he that crieth, 'Enemies! enemies!' when there be none, causeth not only disturbance, but sometimes a mutiny or rebellion to be made; and he that for fear of a sickness to come, taketh unadvisedly a purgation, sometimes maketh himself sick indeed. We perceive by the said your letters, that heinous facts and words have been brought to your ears, than there was cause why; and those facts which were punishable, be already by him redressed.

"For the matter of images, an order was taken in the late king of famous memory our sovereign lord's days. When the abused images (yet lurking in some places, by negligence of them who should ere this time have looked unto the same) be now abolished, let not that be made a matter of the abolishing of all images. Though felons and adulterers be punished, all men be not slain. Though the images which did adulterate God's glory be taken away, we may not think by and by all manner of images to be destroyed. Yet, after our advice, better it were for a time to abolish them all, than for that the dead images, the king's loving subjects, being faithful and true to the king's Majesty, should be put to variance and disturbance. With quietness the magistrates and rulers shall keep them well in order, whom contentious preachers might irritate and provoke to disorder and strife. So it must be provided that the king's Majesty's images, arms, and ensigns, should be honoured and worshipped after the decent order and invention of human laws and ceremonies; and, nevertheless, that other images, contrary to God's ordinances and laws, should not be made partakers of that reverence, adoration, and invocation, which (forbidden by God) should derogate his honour, and be occasion to accumulate God's wrath upon us. Where they be taken for a remembrance, it maketh no great matter though they stand still in the church or market-stand, following the late king of famous memory's counsel and order; yet more gentleness was showed to those books of images, than to the true and unfeigned books of God's word, both being abused, the one with idolatry, the other with contention. The Scripture was removed for a time from certain persons, and almost from all. The images were left still to them who most did abuse them, the thing being yet closed from them which should teach the use. Wherefore it may appear unto us meet, more diligent heed to be taken, that the abused before be not abused again, the ad-

vantage of some priests, simplicity of laymen, and great inclination of man's nature to idolatry, giving cause thereto.

"They that contemn images, because the matter that they are made of is but vile, as stocks and stones, may likewise despise printing in paper, because the ink hath pitch in it, and the paper is made of old rags. And if they be both alike, it might be reasoned why a man should be more aggrieved, that an image of wood, though it were of St. Anne, or St. Margaret, should be burned, than he will that the Bible, wherein the undoubted word of God is comprised, should be torn in pieces, burned, or made paste of. Nor do we now speak of false Bibles, nor false gospels, but of the very true gospel, either in Latin, Greek, or English, which we see every day done, and sometimes commanded, because the translator displeaseth us; and yet herein no man exclaimeth of a terrible and detestable fact done. But let one image, either for age, and because it is worm-eaten, or because it hath been foolishly abused, be burnt or abolished, by and by some men are in exceeding rage, as though not a stock or a stone, but a true saint of flesh and bone, should be cast into the fire, which were a detestable and a terrible sight. We cannot but see that images may be counted marvellous books, to whom we have kneeled, whom we have kissed, upon whom we have rubbed our beads and handkerchiefs, unto whom we have lighted candles, of whom we have asked pardon and help: which thing hath seldom been seen done to the gospel of God, or the very true Bible. For who kisseth that, but the priest at the mass, at a painted picture, or in such a ceremony? or who kneeleth unto it, or setteth a candle before it? and yet it seeth or heareth, as well as the images or pictures either of St. John, or our Lady, or Christ.

"Indeed images be great letters; yet as big as they be, we have seen many which have read them amiss. And belike they be so likely to be read amiss, that God himself, fearing the Jews to become evil readers of them, generally did forbid them. Nor is it any great marvel though in reading of them the lay-people are many times deceived, when your Lordship (as appeareth) hath not truly read a most true and a most common image. Your Lordship hath found out, in the king's Highness's great seal, St. George on horseback, which the graver never made in it, nor the sealer ever sealed with it; and this inscription is not very little, and if it were, it could not escape your Lordship's eyes. As the inscription testifieth, the king's image is on both the sides; on the one side, as in war, the chief captain; on the other side, as in peace, the liege sovereign

in harness, with his sword drawn, to defend his subjects; in his robes, in the seat of justice, with his sceptre rightfully to rule and govern them; as he whom both in peace and war we acknowledge our most natural and chiefest head, ruler, and governor. If it were St. George, my Lord, where is his spear and dragon? And why should the inscription round about tell an untruth, and not agree to the image? Yet it is called sometimes so of the rude and ignorant people; but not, by and by, that what is commonly called so, is always truest. And some have thought that by like deceiving, as your Lordship herein appeareth to have been deceived, the image of Bellerophon or Perseus was turned first and appointed to be St. George, and of Polyphemus, of Hercules, or of some other Colossus, to be St. Christopher, because authentical histories have not fully proved their two lives. But those be indifferent to be true or not true, either thus invented upon some device, or rising of a true fact or history; and whether it were true or not, it maketh no great matter.

"It were hardly done indeed, my Lord, if that you, and a few which can read, should take away from the unlearned multitude their books of their images; but it were more hardly done, if that you, or a few which can read in one or two languages (as Greek and Latin) the word of God, and have had thereby many reliefs and privileges, should pull away the English books from the rest which only understand English; and would have only your letters of Greek and Latin in estimation, and blind all them which understand not these languages, from the knowledge of God's word. And indeed, my Lord, by your saying they have just occasion to suspect what is meant.

"What you mean by true images and false images, it is not so easy to perceive. If they be only false images, which have nothing that they represent, as St. Paul writeth, An idol is nothing, (because there is no such god,) and therefore the cross can be no false image, because it is true that Christ suffered upon it; then the images of the sun and the moon were no idols, for such things there be as the sun and the moon, and they were in the image then so represented, as painting and carving doth represent them. And the image of Ninus, and Cæsar, and (as some write) the images of all the twelve chosen gods, (as they called them,) were the images of once living men. And it might be said, that the image of God the Father hath no such eyes, nose, lips, and a long grey beard, with a furred robe, nor ever had, as they carve and paint him to have. But, if that be a false image and an idol which is otherwise worshipped and accepted than it ought to be, as the brazen serpent, being a true image and re-

presentation of Christ, by abuse was made an idol; it may be thought in times past, and, peradventure, now at this time, in some places, the images not only of St. John, or St. Anne, but of our Lady and Christ, be false images and idols, representing to foolish, blind, and ignorant men's hearts and thoughts, that which was not in them, and they ought not to be made for. The which were by you, my Lord, to have been removed sooner, and before that the captain there should have need to have done it. But if your Lordship be slack in such matters, he that removeth false images and idols abused, doth not a thing worthy of blame.

"Christ called not the money, having Cæsar's image in it, an idol, when it was used to lawful uses, and to pay the due tribute withal. But, when a man doth not use those images graven in money to do his neighbour good, and the commonwealth service, St. Paul, Christ's disciple, called that covetousness, and the serving and bondage to idols. So that even in money may be idolatry, if we make too much of those images which Christ here doth not reprehend. There be some so ticklish, and so fearful one way, and so tender stomached, that they can abide no old abuses to be reformed, but think every reformation to be a capital enterprise against all religion and good order; as there be on the contrary side some too rash, who, having no consideration what is to be done, headlong will set upon every thing. The magistrate's duty is betwixt these, so in a mean to see and provide, that old dotting should not take further or deeper rust in the commonwealth, neither ancient error overcome the seen and tried truth, nor long abuse, for the age and space of time only, still be suffered; and yet all these with quietness and gentleness, and without all contention, if it were possible, to be reformed. To the which your Lordship, as a man to whom God hath given great qualities of wit, learning, and persuasion, could bring great help and furtherance, if it were your pleasure, with great thanks of men and reward of God. The which thing is our full desire and purpose, and our hearty and daily prayer to God, that in the king's Majesty's time (whose Majesty's reign God preserve!) all abuses with wisdom reformed, Christ's religion, with good and politic order of the commonwealth, without any contention and strife among the king's subjects, might flourish and daily increase. And this to your Lordship's letter sent to Master Vaughan of Portsmouth."

Another letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my humble commendations to your Grace, it may like the same to understand, I have seen of

late two books set forth in English by Bale, very pernicious, seditious, and slanderous. And albeit that your Grace needeth not mine advertisement in that matter, yet I am so bold to trouble your Grace with my letters for mine own commodity, wherewith to satisfy mine own conscience, to write and say as becometh me in such matters, which I desire your Grace to take in good part. For it grieveth me not a little to see, so soon after my late sovereign lord and master's death, a book spread abroad more to his dishonour (if a prince's honour may be by vile inferior subjects impeached) than professed enemies have imagined, to note a woman to have suffered under him as a martyr; and the woman therewith to be, by Bale's own elucidation, (as he calleth it,) so set forth and painted as she appeareth to be, and is boasted to be a Sacramentary, and by the laws worthy (as she suffered) the pains of death; such like things have, by stealth, in our late sovereign lord's days, gone abroad as they do now. And as I am wont in such cases to speak, I keep my wont to write to your Grace now, in whose hands I know the state of the realm to be for the time in government, and to whom, for respects of old acquaintance, I wish all felicity. In these matters of religion I have been long exercised, and have (thanks be to God) lived so long as I have seen them thoroughly tried; and, besides that I have learned in written books of authority, I have perceived by books written without authority, as by Master Bale, Joy, and others, and especially as Bale useth now, that Scripture doth, by abuse, service to the right hand and the left at once, insomuch as at one time Bale praiseth Luther, and setteth his death forth in English, with commendation as of a saint; which Luther (whatsoever he was otherwise) stoutly affirmed the presence really of Christ's natural body in the sacrament of the altar. And yet Bale, the noble clerk, would have Anne Askew, blasphemously denying the presence of Christ's natural body, to be taken for a saint also. So as Bale's saints may vary in heaven, if they chance not by the way; which might suffice to disprove the man's credit, if thwarting talk were more desired of many, than the truth indeed; which truth was supposed to have been, both in writing and exercise, well established long before our late lord's death; and Bale and his adherents in their madness plainly reprov'd and condemned.

"I cannot forget your Grace told me you would suffer no innovation; and indeed if you deliver this realm to the king at eighteen years of age, as the king his father, whose soul God assoil, left it, as I trust you shall, the act is so honourable and good, as it were pity to trouble it with any inno-

vation, which were a charge to your Grace more than needed, being already burdened heavily. And albeit in the commonwealth every man hath his part, yet as God hath placed you, the matter is (under the king's Majesty) chiefly yours, and as it were yours alone. Every man hath his eye directed unto you, both here and abroad; you shall shadow men's doings, if they be done, which is one incommodity of high rule. And, for my part, besides my duty to the king's Majesty and the realm, I would that your Grace (in whom since your government I have found much gentleness and humanity) had as much honour with good success as ever any had, and pray to God that men would let your Grace alone, and suffer the realm in the time of your government in quiet among ourselves, whereby we may be the more able to resist foreign trouble, which your Grace doth prudently foresee.

"Certain printers, players, and preachers, make a wonderment, as though we knew not yet how to be justified, nor what sacraments we should have. And if the agreement in religion made in the time of our late sovereign lord be of no force in their judgment, what establishment could any new agreement have? and every uncertainty is noisome to any realm. And where every man will be master, there must needs be uncertainty. And one thing is marvellous, that at the same time it is taught that all men be liars, at the selfsame time almost every man would be believed; and amongst them Bale, when his untruth appeareth evidently in setting forth the examination of Anne Askew, which is utterly misreported.

"I beseech your Grace to pardon my babbling with you; but I see my late sovereign lord and master slandered by such simple persons, religion assaulted, the realm troubled, and peaceable men disquieted, with occasion given to enemies to point and say, that after Wickliff's strange teaching in the sacraments of Christ's church hath vexed others, it is finally turned unto us to molest and scourge us, for other fruit cannot Bale's teaching have, nor the teaching of such others as go about to trouble the agreement established here. In which matter I dare not desire your Grace specially to look earnestly unto it, lest I should seem to note in you that becometh me not. And I know that your Grace being otherwise occupied, these things may creep in, as it hath been heretofore. Sometimes it may be hard for your Grace to find out or pull out the root of this naughtiness: but yet I am so bold to write of these, of mine own stomach, who have ever used, for discharge of myself, to say and write in time and place as I thought might do good for relief of the matter, remitting the rest to the dis-

position of God, who hath wrought wonders in these matters, since they were first moved, and given me such knowledge and experience in them, as I ought to take them (as they be) for corruption and untruth; I mean knowledge and experience of them that be chief stirrers, to infect with untruth, as they cannot speak or report truly in common matters.—The pretence is of the spirit, and all is for the flesh, women, and meat, with liberty of hand and tongue, a dissolution and dissipation of all estates, clean contrarious to the place God hath called your Grace unto. For it tendeth all to confusion and disorder, which is the effect of untruth.

“Bale hath set forth a prayer for the Duke John of Saxony, wherein the duke remitteth to God’s judgment, to be showed here in this world, the justness of his cause concerning religion; and desireth God, if his cause be not good, to order him to be taken, and to be spoiled of his honour and possessions, with many such gay words whereby to tempt God; since which prayer the duke is indeed taken, as all the world saith; and, at the time of his taking, as the account is made, such strangeness in the sun, as ye saw it here, as hath not been seen. They happened both together, this we know, and be both marvellous; but, whether the one were a token ordered to concur with the other, God knoweth, and man cannot define. Many commonwealths have continued without the bishop of Rome’s jurisdiction; but without true religion, and with such opinions as Germany maintained, no estate hath continued in the circuit of the world to us known since Christ came. For the Turks and Tartars’ government is, as it were, a continual war, and they uphold their rule with subduing of nobility by fire and sword. Germany with their new religion could never have stood, though the emperor had let them alone: for if it be persuaded the understanding of God’s law to be at large in women and children, whereby they may have the rule of that, and then God’s law must be the rule of all, is not hereby the rule of all brought into their hands? These of some will be called witty reasons, but they be indeed truth’s children; and so is all the eloquence, which some (to dispraise me) say I have, whatsoever they say of me. For truth is of itself, in a right meaning, man’s mouth; more eloquent than forged matters can with study bring forth.

“What rhymes be set forth to deprave the Lent, and how fond (saving your Grace’s honour) and foolish! and yet the people pay money for them, and they can serve for nothing, but to learn the people to rail, and to cause such as used to make provision for fish against Lent, fearing now in Lent to be so sick as the rhyme purporteth, and like to

die indeed, to forbear to make their accustomed provision for the next year. And thereto shall it come, if the common diet be not certain: for the fishmonger will never hope to have good sale, when the butcher may with flesh outface him. And fish is the great treasure of this realm, and food inestimable. And these good words I give, although I love it not myself: for such as love not fish should nevertheless commend it to others, to the intent the flesh by them forborne, might be, to such as love it, only the more plenty.

“The public defamation and trifling with Lent is a marvellous matter to them that would say evil of this realm; for there is nothing more commended unto us Christian men in both the churches of the Greeks and Latins, than Lent is, if all men be not liars. In the king our late sovereign lord’s days this matter was not thus spoken of. And I think our enemies would wish we had no Lent. Every country hath its peculiar inclination to naughtiness: England and Germany unto the belly, the one in liquor, the other in meat; France a little beneath the belly; Italy to vanities and pleasures devised; and let an English belly have a further advancement, and nothing can stay it. When I was purveyor for the seas, what an exclamation was there (as your Grace showed me) of the bishops’ fasting-day, as they called Wednesday, and ‘Winchester, Winchester, grand mercy for your wine; I beshrew your heart for your water!’ Was not that song, although it was in sport, a signification how loth men be to have their licence restrained, or their accustomed fare abated? unless it were in extreme necessity.

“I hear say that the Lent is thus spoken of by Joseph and Tonge, with other new, (whom I know not,) as being one of Christ’s miracles, which God ordained not man to imitate and follow; at which teaching all the world will laugh. For Christian men have Christ for an example in all things, both to use the world as he did, only for necessity, and to condemn the world as he did; and in case to refuse it, and choose the vile death, as he did the death of the cross, which things he did like a master most perfect, for he was very God; and we must endeavour ourselves, in the use of his gifts, to follow that he did—not to fast forty days without meat as Christ did, for we be but prentices, and carry about a ruinous carcass, that must have some daily reparation with food—but yet was there never any that said, how therefore we should do nothing, because we cannot do all, and take Christ’s fast for a miracle only. And yet all that follow Christ truly, they work daily miracles, in subduing and conforming, by God’s grace, their sensual appetites, and humbly obeying to the will of God; which no man

can of himself do. And Christ promised that his true servants should work the works that he did, and greater works also. Wherefore it is a slender matter to say, Lent was one of Christ's miracles, for so it was, to love his enemies, and specially those that scourged and bobbed him; which may not be (if that a legation hath place) taught Christian men to follow, because it was a miracle, as they might say. It were more tolerable to forget Lent, as Poggius telleth of a priest in the mountains, that knew not how the year went about; and when the weather opened, and he went abroad, and perceived his neighbours were towards Palm Sunday, he devised an excuse to his parish, and bade them prepare there-for, for indeed the year had somewhat elipped him, but he would fashion the matter so as they should be as soon at Easter as the rest; and thus did he pass over Lent with much less slander, than to teach it for a doctrine, that Lent was one of Christ's miracles, and therefore not to be imitated of us. For although it was indeed a great miracle, (as all Christ's doings were,) yet was it not a greater miracle, nor more against man's nature, than to love them that laboured and were busy to take away the natural life of his manhood. For as the nature of man desireth relief, so doth it abhor destruction or hurt. In will and desire men follow Christ in all things; in execution they cannot; for we have brittle vessels, and God giveth his gifts to men, as he seeth expedient for his church; so as men cannot heal the lame when they will, as Christ did when he would, but as God shall think profitable for the edification of the flock assembled.

"Gregory Nazianzen speaketh of some that enterprised to imitate Christ's fast above their power, whose immoderate zeal he doth not disallow, not requiring of all men so to do, for that is an extremity, nor yet assailing the matter, as our new schoolmen do, that Christian men should let Christ's fast alone as a miracle; which manner of solution I heard a good fellow make, when it was told him he might not revenge himself, and when he was stricken on the one ear, he should put forth the other. 'I am,' quoth he, 'a man; I am not God. If Christ being God did so, he might,' quoth he, 'if it had pleased him, have done otherwise.' And so when it hath been alleged that Christ fasted forty days, 'He might,' quoth he, 'have eaten if he had list.' These triflings in sport might be drawn to grave speech, if Christian men shall refuse to follow Christ in miracles. For all his life was miracles, and his love that is our badge, most miraculous of all, to die for his enemies. I beseech your Grace to pardon me, for I am like one of the Commons' house, that, when I am in my tale, think I should have liberty to make

an end; and specially writing to your Grace, with whom I account I may be bold, assuring you it proceedeth of a zeal towards you to whom I wish well, whose intent although it be such as it ought to be, and as it pleased you to show me it was, yet are such things spread abroad whereof the evil willers of the realm will take courage, and make account (although it be wrong) that all goeth on wheels.

"If any man had either fondly or indiscreetly spoken of Lent to engrieve it to be an importable burden, I would wish his reformation; for I have not learned that all men are bound to keep the Lent in the form received. But this I reckon, that no Christian man may condemn the form received, being such a devout and profitable imitation of Christ to celebrate his fast; and in that time such as have been in the rest of the year worldly, to prepare themselves to come, as they should come, to the feast of Easter, whereof St. Chrysostom speaketh expressly. And for avoiding contempt, a licence truly obtained of the superior serveth. And so I heard the king's Majesty, our sovereign lord, declare, when your Grace was present: and therefore he himself was very scrupulous in granting of licences. And to declare that himself condemned not the fast, he was at charge to have (as your Grace knoweth) the Lent diet daily prepared, as if it had been for himself; and the like hereof I hear say your Grace hath ordered for the king's Majesty that now is; which agreeth not with certain preaching in this matter, nor the rhymes set abroad. Lent is, among Christian men, a godly fast to exercise men to forbear, and in England both godly and politic, such as without confusion we cannot forbear, as the experience shall show, if it be ever attempted; which God forbid. And yet Lent is buried in rhyme, and Stephen Stockfish bequeathed not to me, though my name be noted; wherewith for mine own part I cannot be angry, for that is mitigated by their fondness. But I would desire of God to have the strength of this realm increased with report of concord, which doth quench many vain devices and imaginations. And if all men be liars, as it is now to my understanding strangely published, methinketh Bale and such new men, as be new liars, should be most abhorred and detested, and so much the more dangerous as they be new. That which in Italy and France is a matter of combat, is now found to be improprie to all men. God grant the truth to be desired of all men truly! But, as one asked, when he saw an old philosopher dispute with another, what they talked on; and it was answered how the old man was discussing what was virtue; it was replied, 'If the old man yet dispute of virtue, when will he use it?' so it

may be said in our religion, 'If we be yet searching for it, when shall we begin to put it in execution?'

"I would make an end of my letters, and cannot; wherein I account myself faulty. And though I may err, as every man may, yet I lie not, for I say as I think; forasmuch as I have said, and further think, your Grace hath no trouble troublesome, but this matter of religion unseasonably brought in to the defamation of our late sovereign lord's acts, doings, and laws. I beseech your Grace take my meaning and words in good part, and pardon my boldness, which groweth of the familiarity I have heretofore had with your Grace, which I cannot forget. And thus enforcing myself to an end, I shall pray to Almighty God to preserve your Grace in much felicity, with increase of honour and achieving of your heart's desire.

"At Winchester the 21st of May.

"Your Grace's humble bead-man,
S. W."

The letter of the lord protector, answering to Winchester.

"Your letters dated the twenty-first day of May, as concerning two books new set forth by one Bale, and certain sermons preached here, were with convenient speed delivered unto us. And like as in your letters to Edward Vaughan of Portsmouth, so in those to us, we perceive that you have a vigilant and diligent eye, and very fearful of innovation: which as it cannot be blamed, proceeding of one which is desirous of quiet, good order, and continuance of the godly state of this realm; so we do marvel that so soon, so far off, and so plainly, you can hear tell and say of so many things done here, which indeed we, being here, and attendant upon the same, cannot yet be advertised of. The world never was so quiet or so united, but that privily or openly those three which you write of, printers, players, and preachers, would set forth somewhat of their own heads, which the magistrates were unawares of. And they which already be banished and have forsaken the realm, as suffering the last punishment, be boldest to set forth their mind; and dare use their extreme licence or liberty of speaking, as out of the hands or rule of correction, either because they be gone, or because they be hid.

"There have foolish and naughty rhymes and books been made and set forth, of the which, as it appeareth, you have seen more than we; and yet, to our knowledge, too many be bought: but yet, after our mind, it is too sore and too cruelly done, to lay all those to our charge, and to ask as it were

account of us of them all. In the most exact cruelty and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, yet Pasquill (as we hear say) writeth his mind, and many times against the bishop's tyranny, and sometimes toucheth other great princes; which thing, for the most part, he doth safely: not that the bishop alloweth Pasquill's rhymes and verses—especially against himself; but because he cannot punish the author, whom either he knoweth not, or hath not. In the late king's days of famous memory, who was both a learned, wise, and politic prince, and a diligent executer of his laws—and when your Lordship was most diligent in the same—yet, as your Lordship yourself writeth, and it is too manifest to be unknown, there were that wrote such lewd rhymes and plays as you speak of, and some against the king's proceedings, who were yet unpunished, because they were unknown or ungotten. And when we do weigh the matter, we do very much marvel, why that about Jack of Lent's lewd ballad, and certain, as it was reported unto us, godly sermons, (which be evil in your letters joined together,) you be so earnest, when against Dr. Smith's book, being a man learned in the doctors and Scripture, which made so plain against the king's Highness's authority, and for the furtherance of the bishop of Rome's usurped power, your Lordship neither wrote nor said any thing. And, as it appeared, you be so angry with his retraction, (which frankly without fear, dread, compulsion, or imprisonment, only with learning and truth overcome, he came unto,) that you cannot abide his beginning, although having the very words of Scripture: except, peradventure, you think that the saying of David, *Omnis homo mendax*, cannot be interpreted, Every man is a liar; which, howsoever your Lordship taketh it at pleasure, it appeareth unto us then of him, taken but godly, to declare the infirmity of man, and the truth of God and his word. And we are not able to reason so clerkly with you, and yet we have heard of the subtle difference of lying, and telling of a lie, or, as it is Latin called, *mentiri* and *mendacium dicere*. But if your Lordship be loth to be counted *mendax*, (which belike Dr. Smith hath interpreted a liar, or a lying man, and you think it a matter of combat, or that he was deceived in the interpretation, and it is a matter for clerks to dispute of,) we would have wished your Lordship to have written against his book before, or now with it, if you think that to be defended which the author himself refuseth to aver. Your Lordship writeth earnestly for Lent, which we go not about to put away; no more than, when Dr. Smith wrote so earnestly that every man should be obedient to the bishops, the magistrates by and by

went not about to bring kings and princes, and others, under their subjection.

"Writers write their fantasy, my Lord, and preachers preach what either liketh them, or what God putteth in their heads. It is not by and by done, that is spoken. The people buy those foolish ballads of Jack-a-Lent. So bought they in times past pardons, and carols, and Robin Hood's tales. All be not wise men, and the foolisher a thing is, to some (although not to the more part) it is the more pleasant and meet. And peradventure of the sermons there is (and indeed there is, if it be true that we have heard) otherwise spoken and reported to you, than it was of the preachers there and then spoken or meant. Lent remaineth still, my Lord, and shall, God willing, till the king's Highness, with our advice and the residue of his Grace's council, take another order, although some light and lewd men do bury it in writing; even as the king's Majesty remaineth head of the church, although through sinister ways, and by subtle means, some traitors have gone about, and daily do, to abuse the king's Majesty's supremacy, and bring in the bishop of Rome's tyranny, with other superstition and idolatry.

"On both sides great heed is to be taken, and as your Lordship writeth, we are set in a painful room, to reform all lightness and lewdness, to the which we do endeavour ourself to the best of our power, although not so cruelly and fiercely as some peradventure would wish, yet not so loosely that there needeth such exclamations or great fear to be. We do study to do all things attemperately, and with quiet and good order; and we would wish nothing more than your Lordship to be as ready to the reformation of the one as of the other, that neither superstition, idolatry, or papacy, should be brought in, nor lightness, nor contempt of good order to be maintained. They both take beginning at small things, and increase by little and little at unawares. And quiet may as well be broken with jealousy as negligence, with too much fear or too much patience: no ways worse, than when one is over light-eared the one way, and deaf on the other side. Rumours by space and times increase naturally; and by that time they come at you, as it appeareth, they be doubled and trebled. We do perceive your diligent eye towards us, and we will wish (and trust you have) your heart faithful to us. Our most hearty desire and continual prayer to God is, to leave this realm to the king's Highness, at his Grace's age, by you written, rather more flourishing in men, possessions, wealth, learning, wisdom, and God's religion and doctrine, if it were possible, and God's will, than we found it. And that is our

whole intent and esperance, to the which we refuse no man's help, as knoweth God; in whom we bid you heartily farewell."

A letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon the return of my servant Mase with your Grace's letters, answering to such letters wherein I signified the robbing of my secretary, I read the same gladly, as by the contents of the matter I had cause so to do; which was such comfortative, as I digested easily the rest of the great packet, having been accustomed therunto in the king my late sovereign lord's days; which fashion of writing, his Highness (God pardon his soul!) called 'whetting:' which was not all the most pleasant unto me at all times; yet when I was in my doings was no hurt, and sometimes by the occasion thereof the matter amended, I was not so coy as always to reverse my argument; nor, that his affairs went well, did I ever trouble myself, whether he made me a wanton or not. And when such as were privy to his letters directed unto me, were afraid I had been in high displeasure, (for the terms of the letters sounded so,) yet I myself feared it nothing at all. I esteemed him, as he was, a wise prince; and whatsoever he wrote or said for the present, he would after consider the matter as wisely as any man, and neither hurt nor inwardly disavow him that had been bold with him; whereof I serve for a proof, for no man could do me hurt during his life. And when he gave me the bishopric of Winchester, he said, he had often squared with me, but he loved me never the worse; and for a token thereof gave me the bishopric. And once, when he had been vehement with me in the presence of the earl of Wiltshire, and saw me dismayed with it, he took me apart into his bed-chamber, and comforted me, and said, that his displeasure was not so much to me as I did take it; but he misliked the matter, and he durst more boldly direct his speech to me, than to the earl of Wiltshire. And from that day forward he could not put me out of courage, but if any displeasing words passed from him, as they did sometimes, I folded them up in the matter; which hindered me a little. For I was reported unto him that I stooped not, and was stubborn; and he had commended unto me certain men's gentle nature, (as he called it,) that wept at every of his words: and methought that my nature was as gentle as theirs, for I was sorry when he was moved. But else I know when the displeasure was not justly grounded in me, I had no cause to take thought, nor was I at any time in all my life discontent or

grudging at any thing done by him, I thank God for it.

“And therefore, being thus brought up, and having first read your Grace's most gentle letters, signifying the device of a proclamation to stay these rumours, and reading the same proclamation, which my servant brought with him, I read with the more quiet your Grace's great letters; and would have laid them up without further answer, were it not that, percase, my so doing might be mistaken. For glum silence may have another construction than frank speech, where a man may speak, as I reckon I may with your Grace; upon confidence whereof I am bold to write thus much for my declaration touching your Grace's letters of the 27th of May, that how earnest soever my letters be taken in fearing any innovation, I neither inwardly fear it, neither show any demonstration in mine outward deeds to the world here, or in communication, that I do fear it to be done by authority; but in myself resist the rumours and vain enterprises, with confidence in the truth and your Grace's wisdom. For if I feared that indeed, with persuasion, it should come to pass, I should have small lust to write in it; but I fear more indeed the trouble that might arise by light boldness of others, and the cumber of such matters while other outward affairs occupy your Grace's mind, than the effect by your direction that hath been talked of abroad. And yet, in the writing, I do speak as the matter leads, continuing mine old manner, to be earnest; which as some men have dispraised, so some have commended it. And therefore, in a good honest matter I follow rather mine own inclination, than to take the pains to speak as butter would not melt in my mouth; wherewith I perceive your Grace is not discontent, for the which I most humbly thank you.

“And first, as concerning Portsmouth, I wrote to the captain and mayor in the thing as I had information, and by men of credence: and yet I suspended my credit till I had heard from thence, as by my letters appeareth; and as I was loth to have it so, so was I loth to believe it. And, to show that I feared no innovation by authority, nor regarded any such danger, I went thither myself, and in conclusion was in such familiarity with the captain, that after he had showed me all the gentle entertainment that he could, he desired me to make an exhortation to his men, as they stood handsomely with their weapons, wherewith they had showed warlike feats: which I did, and departed in amity with the captain and soldiers, and all the town; the captain telling me plainly, he was nothing offended with any thing I had said in my sermon: nor was there

cause why he should. But the very act indeed in defacing the images, had no such ground as Master Captain pretended: for I asked specially for such as had abused those images, and no such could be showed, for that I inquired for openly. And the image of St. John the Evangelist, standing in the chancel by the high altar, was pulled down, and a table of alabaster broken; and in it an image of Christ crucified so contemptuously handled, as was in my heart terrible—to have the one eye bored out, and the side pierced! wherewith men were wondrously offended: for it is a very persecution beyond the sea, used in that form where the person cannot be apprehended. And I take such an act to be very slanderous, and, esteeming the opinion of breaking images to be had as unlawful, very dangerous, void of all learning and truth, wrote after my fashion to the captain; which letters I perceive to have come to your Grace's hands. I was not very curious in the writing of them, for with me truth goeth out plainly and roundly; and, speaking of the king's seal, uttered the common language I was brought up in, after the old sort. When, as I conject of a good will, the people taking St. George for a patron of the realm under God, and having some confidence of succour by God's strength derived by him, to increase the estimation of their prince and sovereign lord, I called their king on horseback, in the feat of arms, St. George on horseback; my knowledge was not corrupt. I know it representeth the king, and yet my speech came forth after the common language, wherein I trust is none offence. For besides learning, I by experience have known the pre-eminence of a king both in war and peace; and yet, if I had wist my letter should have come to your Grace's hands to be answered, then I would have been more precise in my speech, than to give occasion of so long an argument therein. As for St. George himself, I have such opinion of him as becometh me. And have read also of Bellerophon in Homer, as they call him, the father of tales, but I will leave that matter. And as for books, let Latin and Greek continue as long as it shall please God, I am almost past the use of them—what service those letters have done, experience has showed; and religion hath continued in them fifteen hundred years. But as for the English tongue, itself hath not continued in one form of understanding two hundred years; and without God's work and special miracles it shall hardly contain religion long, when it cannot last itself. And whatsoever your Grace's mind is now in the matter, I know well, that having the government of the realm, your Grace will use the gift of policy, which is a gift of God.

ministration of the letter, which is writing and speaking, is exercised, and hath been from the beginning delivered, through man's hand, and taught by man's mouth; which men the Scripture calleth holy men; and that is, contrary to liars. And therefore St. Augustine, in his book *De Mendacio*, saying, *omnis homo mendax*, signifieth, *omnis homo peccans*. If Smith had only written of bishops' laws, and then said loudly, he had (saving your honour) lied, or, to mitigate the matter, said he had erred by ignorance, that had been done truly and humbly: for he that seeketh for much company in lying, as he did, hath small humility; for he would hide himself by the number. And thus much as touching Smith, of whom, nor his book, till he was in trouble, I never heard talking.

"But to the matter I wrote of; I have told your Grace how I came to knowledge of them, very scarcely in time, but in the thing over-quickly: and never had any such thought in my life, as I denied to your Grace, to be worthily charged with them (by them, I mean, that may hereafter charge); for I know no such yet in this world, and I never was in mine opinion so mad, as to write to your Grace in that sort. When all things be well, I have many causes to rejoice; but where things were otherwise, (as I trust they shall not,) I have nothing to do to ask any account: I trust I shall never forget myself so much. I thank God, I am even as well learned to live in the place of obedience, as I was in the place of direction in our late sovereign lord's life. And for my quietness in this estate, I account myself to have a great treasure of your Grace's rule and authority; and therefore will worship and honour it otherwise than to use such manner of presumption to ask any account. And I know your Grace cannot stay these matters so suddenly; and I esteem it a great matter, that things be stayed hitherto thus: but, if things had increased as the rumours purported, your Grace might have been encumbered more in the execution of your good determination. Now, thanks be to God, your Grace goeth well about to stay it.

"As for myself, I know mine inward determination to do, as I may, my duty to God and the world, and have no cause to complain of the universal disposition of them in my diocese. I know but one way of quiet: to keep and follow such laws and orders in religion as our late sovereign lord left with us; which, by his life, as the bishops and clergy said, was the very truth, so I never yet read or heard any thing why to swerve from it, or think it expedient to call any one thing in doubt, during the king's Majesty's minority, whereby to impair the strength of the accord established.

Which I write, not mistrusting your Grace in the contrary, but declaring myself, and wishing the same mind to others about you, as I trust they have, for which I shall pray to God, who prospered our late sovereign lord in that rebellion, as we have seen experience, and, by your Grace's foresight and politic government, shall send the like prosperity to our sovereign lord that now is; wherein I shall do my part, as a subject most bounden many ways thereunto.

"I send unto your Grace herewith, my discussion of my Lord of St. David's purgation, wherein I walk somewhat more at liberty than writing to your Grace; and yet I take myself liberty enough, with a reverent mind, nevertheless, to keep me within my bounds; which if I at any time exceed, I trust your Grace will bear with me after your accustomed goodness, for whose prosperity I shall continually pray, with increase of honour.

"At Winchester, the sixth of June [1547.]"

A letter of Winchester to the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: upon trust that your Grace would take my letters in good part, and not otherwise than I wrote them, I wrote to your Grace out of this prison, as I was wont to write to our late sovereign lord (whose soul God pardon!) when I was ambassador, refreshing myself sometimes with a merry tale in a sad matter; which his Highness ever passed over without displeasure, as I trust your Grace will do the semblable. For though some account me a papist, yet I cannot play the pope-holy, as the old term was: I dare not use that severity in writing, which my cause requireth, to speak of God and his truth in every second sentence, and become suddenly a prophet to your Grace, with a new phrase of speech, with whom I have been heretofore so familiarly conversant. As I think honour hath not altered your Grace's nature, even so adversity hath not changed mine.

"Of your high place in the commonwealth, no man is more glad than I, nor no man shall do his duty further than I, to acknowledge you, as your Grace is now, protector and governor of the realm. But I have been so traded to speak boldly, that I cannot change my manner now, when perchance it doth me no good. And although there be an Italian in prison with me, in whom I see a like folly, who, living with a little miserably, will not for his honour take alms, fancying to be still in the state he was some time, which manner I condemn in him, yet I follow him thus far, rather to write after my old manner, which cometh plainly to mind, than to take alms and aid of eloquence, whereof I have, in this,

as the king's Majesty is like to have, will never credit us in it, nor be abused by such a vain answer. And this is a worldly politic consideration, and at home: for the noise abroad in the world will be more slanderous, than this is dangerous. And touching the bishop of Rome, the doings in this realm hitherto have never done him so much displeasure, as the alteration in religion during the king's Majesty's minority, should serve for his purpose. For he wanteth not wits to beat into other princes' ears, that where his authority is abolished, there at every change of governors be change in religion; and that which hath been amongst us by a whole consent established, shall, by the pretence of another understanding in Scripture, straight be brought in question; for they will give it no other name but a pretence, how stiffly soever we will affirm otherwise, and call it God's word.

"And here it should be much noted that my Lord of Canterbury, being the high bishop of the realm, highly in favour with his late sovereign lord, and my Lord of Durham, a man of renowned fame in learning and gravity, (both put by him in trust for their counsel in the order of the realm,) should so soon forget their old knowledge in Scripture set forth by the king's Majesty's book, and advise to inveigh such matter of alteration. All which things be (I know well) by your Grace and them considered. And therefore it is to me incredible, that ever any such thing should be indeed with effect, whatsoever the lightness of talk shall spread abroad, which your Grace hath by proclamation well stayed. But if you had not, and the world talked so fast as ever they did, I assure your Grace I would never fear it, as men fear things they like not, unless I saw it in execution; for of this sort I am, that in all things I think should not be done in reason, I fear them not, wherewith to trouble me, otherwise than to take heed, if I can; and to the head governors (as now to your Grace) show my mind: and such experience hath every man of me, that hath communed with me in any such matters. And therefore, albeit your Grace writeth wisely, that overmuch fear doth hurt, and accelerateth sometimes that which was not intended, yet it needs not to me; for I have learned that lesson already, and would a great many more had, which indeed should be great stay. And thus I talk with your Grace homely, with multiplication of speech and not necessary, as though I meant to send you as great a packet as I received from you.

"One thing necessary to answer your Grace in, is touching your marvel, how I know sooner things from thence, than your Grace doth there; which ariseth not upon any desire of knowledge on my be-

half, (for evil things be over-soon known,) nor upon any slackness of your Grace's behalf there, who is and is noted very vigilant; as your Grace's charge requireth. But thus it is, even as it was when I was in some little authority; they that were the evil doers in such matters, would hide them from me. So, now, they have handled it otherwise; for as for Jack of Lent's English Testament, it was openly sold in Winchester market before I wrote unto your Grace of it. And as for Bale's books, called the Elucidation of Anne Askew's Martyrdom, they were in these parts common, some with leaves unglued, where Master Paget was spoken of; and some with leaves glued. And I called them common, because I saw at the least four of them. As for Bale's book touching the death of Luther, wherein was the duke of Saxony's prayer, (whereof I wrote,) it was brought down into this country by an honest gentlemen, to whom it was (as I remember he told me) given at London for news; and he had it a great while ere I wrote to your Grace. I had not then received the inhibition for preaching, whereof men spake otherwise than they knew.

"And in the mean time Dr. Smith recanted, which a priest of this town (who to mine own mouth boasted himself to be your Grace's chaplain, but I believed it not) brought down with speed, and made bye means to have it brought to my knowledge, which I knew besides, for they had by and by filled all the country hereabouts with tales of me. And when I saw Dr. Smith's recantation begin with *Omnis homo mendax*, so Englished, and such a new humility, as he would make all the doctors of the church liars with himself; knowing what opinions were abroad, it enforced me to write unto your Grace for the ease of my conscience; giving this judgment of Smith, that I neither liked his tractation of unwritten verities, nor yet his retractation; and was glad of my former judgment, that I never had familiarity with him. I saw him not, that I wot, these three years, nor talked with him these seven years, as curious as I am noted in the commonwealth. And whereas in his unwritten verities he was so mad to say, 'Bishops in this realm may make laws,' I have witness that I said at that word, we should be then 'daws:' and was by and by sorry that ever he had written of the sacrament of the altar, which was not, as it was noisome, untouched with that word, All men are liars; which is a marvellous word, as it soundeth in our tongue, when we say a man were better to have a thief in his house, than a liar. And the depraving of man's nature in that sort is not the setting out of the authority of the Scripture. For, albeit the authority of the Scripture dependeth not upon man, yet the

close prisoner, to speak with no man, to hear from no man, to talk with no man? for my household, which is a great number, [to be] wandering and lamenting for me? My case should be in the nature of praise, in the nature of commendation, in the nature of thanks, if none other have said that I can say. If one only man in a realm saith, He knoweth treason to subvert the whole realm, and can show evident proof of his so saying, shall he be prisoned, because of good-will he offereth to say and prove that no man else uttereth but he, and therewith offereth to prove that he saith to be true? It is incredible that a king should set forth a book tending to the subversion of his own estate; and therefore that, I shall say, cannot touch his Majesty, who knoweth not what is done (as reason judgeth) in his tender age. It is also incredible that your Grace, being uncle to him, should be content that any book should be set forth, that might tend to the subversion of his estate. And I dare say for your Grace, you would not—if the book be like the horse that the Trojans received into their city, wherein the Trojans knew not what was in it. Let me be heard, that know what is in the book, and so know it, as I can show it as evidently as I can the sun and the moon in bright days and bright nights, when both shine. I do not trifle with my wit to undo myself, but travail with my honesty to preserve my country, to preserve my prince, to preserve religion: and this your Grace shall find to be true, which, knowing my letters to be construed to the extremity, I would not write, unless I were furnished with matter to discharge my writing. Your Grace, I doubt not, remembereth Singleton's conspiracy: and Erasmus hath framed his doctrine, as though Singleton had required him thereunto.

"I have such matter to show, as though I had myself devised it for my justification; and yet I am reasoned with, as though one given to let good doctrine, to find a knot in a rush, to trouble good enterprises; after which sort your Grace is moved to write unto me; and thereupon I remain here still without hearing, having such matter to utter as shall confound them all; which I would not write if I were not assured. For it were a small pleasure to me, writing thus extremely, to be confounded when I had been heard, and then worthily sent hither again for lying so manifestly; which I would think a worthy punishment, as this is unworthy—to be handled as I am for virtue, that I dare say the truth can declare the abomination of this Paraphrase, and of the Homilies also—in both which matters I have showed all I can show. I shall declare I am not worthy to be kept here, and yet here I have remained these seven weeks, without speaking with

any man saving my physician, who, I thank your Grace, hath done me good. And yet, when men see I am thus banished from the world, so as no man may speak with me, it is not pleasant for any man to resort unto me. And this I perceive: If my Lord of Canterbury think I will wax mad, he is deceived; for I wax every day better learned than other, and find every day somewhat to impugn the Paraphrase and Homilies, not by wit or device, or other subtlety, but plain sensible matter, if I may be heard. And if I be not heard, my conscience telleth me I have done my duty, and therewith from travail shall apply myself to prayer, wherein I shall remember the prosperous estate of your Grace,—whom God preserve!

"In the Fleet.

S. W."

To the lord protector.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: in my third letter I signified unto your Grace my need of the counsel of a physician, as the state of my body then required: whereunto because I had no answer, I have used all other means of relief that I could to avoid that need; as one loth to trouble your Grace with requests not necessary. Master Warden of the Fleet, and my servants, know that I feign not; and I have cause to fear, the effect will show I feign not indeed. In this case I may not desperately forbear to write to your Grace, and think that because I have had no answer to all mine other letters, among which I made mention of this necessity, that I should likewise have none answer to this. As I have determined myself to a truth in the chief matters, so I eschew to use simulation in by-matters. My mind, I thank God, was never so quiet as it hath been since my coming hither, which hath relieved my body much; but the body hath need of other relief, which cannot be had as I am kept by commandment.

"These seven weeks, saving one day, I have been here under such strait keeping, as I have spoken with no man. And thus me seemeth I see my matter perplexed: Your Grace will meddle with nothing done before your coming home; and those of the council that sent me hither, can by themselves do nothing, now your Grace is coming home; upon which consideration I sue to none of them, and perceive that your Grace, to whom I sue, for some respect forbeareth to make me answer: for such a paraphrase I make of your Grace's silence, wherein I go as near as I think the truth, as Erasmus in his Paraphrase sometimes, wherein he taketh upon him to guess the cause of Christ's doings. I thank God my mind can take no hurt, how vehement soever these temptations be. But when a certain sect

f philosophers, called Stoics, contemned in their bearing stoutly the grief and disease of the body, they were fain a little to shrink, when the gout or any disease nipped them: and now my stomach nip-peth me, which I have favoured as much as any man in England, and have laden it as light either with meat or drink of many years, and specially since my coming, as any other. And after I saw I could get no answer from your Grace for a physician, I have left off such study as I used, and given myself to continual walking for exercise; and, with hope of relief, have delayed any further suit in that matter till now. And now I sue enforced, which I do most humbly, with request that imprisonment—being to me, that was never in prison before, of itself tedious—be not with special commandment made more grievous, unless I were charged with other offence than I am yet charged with, or in my conscience can be. For me seemeth I have deserved thanks of your Grace and the realm, for the disclosing of the faults of the Paraphrase, wherein I have written some specialties, but not all; and have such to show, as I may term that book at one word, ‘abomination,’ both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus’s pen, and also the arrogant ignorance of the translator into English, considering the book should be authorized by a king, and, by the injunctions, charge the realm for buying rather above twenty thousand pound than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books. The translator sheweth himself ignorant, both in Latin and English; a man far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part; whereby your Grace may take an argument, what moved them that counselled your Grace to authorize such a book in the realm. As for my Lord of Canterbury’s Homily of Salvation, [it] hath as many faults as I have been weeks in prison, which be seven, besides the general, that the matter maketh a trouble without necessity, and is handled contrary to the teaching of the parliament.

“Finally, In the two books the matter I have to show is some part so dangerous, as (after I knew it as I know it) the concealment thereof were a great fault, if I did not utter it. As for the manner of mine enterprise to utter it, I know not how to have fashioned it better, than to write to the council in your absence, and on my knees to declare some part of it, when I came to them receiving their determination of imprisonment. I humbly departed from them hither without grudge, and remain here without grudge to any one of them, for they showed no fashion of any evil mind towards me. And I have learned in the civil law, that the deed of a

number is no one man’s act; with this also, the authority is to be honoured: which rule I observe in thought, word, and deed. After which sort I remain, with such suits as I have made to your Grace hitherto, and with this also that I add, enforced for the relief of my body (how little soever I do, and have cause to set by it); which I most humbly desire your Grace to consider, and to send me some answer by this bearer. And I shall pray Almighty God for the preservation of your Grace’s felicity.

“Your Grace’s humble head-man,

S. W.”

Certain additions after these letters above specified, with notes and solutions answering to the same.

Thus have we set out to thee, gentle and studious reader, an extract of certain letters of Bishop Gardiner: not of all that he wrote, but of such as could come to our hands. Neither of these also that we have, for any good stuff, or any great profit therein contained, or that they did clear him or his cause any thing, for the which he was most worthily condemned. For if there did or might appear any such thing in all his writings, that might clear the ill-favoured doings of that man, be thou sure, such as were then secret about him, and yet his well-willers, (their names I leave untouched,) having his writings, and being able to show them, as I am privy they are, would not so conceal them in covert as they do, being thereto both provoked and occasioned by us, if they had seen any thing in them meet to relieve the person, or to remedy his matter. Wherefore think not for any such effect these his vain-glorious letters to be brought in here of us; but only that thou mightest hereby collect and understand by those his aforesaid epistles and articles following, not only the whole course and story almost of all his proceedings from time to time, but also mightest see the nature and inward condition of the man, how vain-glorious, full-stuffed and puffed up with arrogancy, and drowned in his own conceit he was; much like to the person, or rather he himself, described in the Latin comedy, Miles Thraso Gloriosus; having nothing in his mouth but emperors, kings, councillors, protectors, advisements, direction: as though all direction of realms and princes did flow out of his brain, like as it is in the poet’s fables, that Minerva did spring out of the head of Jupiter. And yet, if this vain-glorious conceit had been alone in him, less matter had been against him.

Now his subtle practices, and pretended purposes, and dissimulating conveyance, did not only

augment, but also exceed all his other evils, as in the letters above specified is notorious and evident to be seen; wherein though he durst not apertly gainsay that which he inwardly disliked, yet how covertly doth he insinuate himself to the lord protector, under pretence of giving counsel, to bring that to pass which was for his purpose! that is, that no innovation or alteration might be made of religion during all the king's minority, but that all things might stand as King Henry left them; and that is the chiefest butt, in all letters, whereto he driveth, using commonly this argument, which, as it is easy to recite, so neither is it hard to answer to; although we have answered it already sufficiently.

The sum and conclusion of all Winchester's drift in his epistles before.

"That is chiefly to be feared and avoided of the lord protector, and now specially in the king's minority, that may both bring danger to him, and trouble to the realm:—

"Innovation of religion, from that state in which King Henry left it, may be, and is like to be, dangerous to himself, and cause trouble to the realm.

"Ergo, Innovation of religion, from the state that the king left it in, is in no wise to be attempted."

The answer.

To answer first to the vocable Innovation, which he stumbleth so greatly upon—this I say, that innovation is properly used, where a thing is brought in anew, which was not before. Forasmuch therefore as in this alteration there is no new religion brought in, but only the old religion of the primitive church revived; therefore here is to be thought not so much an innovation, as a renovation or reformation rather of religion, which reformation is oftentimes so necessary in commonwealths, that, without the same, all runneth to confusion.

Secondly, I answer to the argument, which I do deny as a fallacy, for there is *fallacia accidentis*; where it is said, that reformation of religion gendereth danger to the protector, and trouble to the realm. First, what will come, that is uncertain: and, God be hallowed! yet no danger hath come to England for the reformation of religion. And though there did, yet the cause thereof is not to be imputed to religion reformed: for sincere and true doctrine of its own nature worketh quiet, peace, and tranquillity, with all good order. And if the contrary happen, that is incident by other causes, as by the malice of Satan, and wicked adversaries; not by reason of the doctrine of true religion. So,

after the preaching of Christ and his apostles, dissension followed in commonwealths betwixt father and son, brother and brother, &c.; but that is not to be ascribed to them, but to others.

As concerning the faults found in the Paraphrase of Erasmus, this I answer and say, that this bishop belike had overwatched himself in this matter. For if it be true, which he himself affirmeth, that he never read that book before, and now he never slept till he himself read it; it happened, peradventure, that in the over-much watching of himself, and swift reading of the book, his judgment was asleep, whilst his eyes were open in reading the same.

Likewise touching the Book of Homilies, especially the Homily of Salvation, wherewith he findeth himself so much grieved with the archbishop: seeing he bringeth forth no proofs, I have nothing to answer. In the mean season, this I have to think, that if he had been so cunning in the knowledge of his own salvation, as he was in the destruction and vexation of Christ's members, he would never so rage against that homily.

Touching the examination of Anne Askew, if it be misreported by Master Bale, why doth not he note the places, which they be, and wherein? And if he had, or were able so to do, yet, seeing the examination was of her own penning, which Master Bale did follow, let every Christian reader judge, whether is more to be credited of these two—the one that was persecuted, or he that was the persecutor.

And where he speaketh so much of quiet and tranquillity; this I answer, that quiet and tranquillity in weals public, so long as they are joined with right reformed religion, be much to be embraced. But, when it is otherwise; that is, where true religion lacketh his right, there let the second table give place to the first.

He thwarteth, also, and wrangleth much against players, printers, preachers. And no marvel why: for he seeth these three things to be set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the pope, to bring him down; as, God be praised, they have done meetly well already.

As touching the article of free justification by faith, which he cannot abide, forasmuch as we have sufficiently declared it in the notes before, we shall refer the reader now also unto the same.

And moreover, because in one of his letters mention is made of a certain letter sent unto Master Ridley, because we will defraud thee, gentle reader, of nothing that cometh to our hands, here hast thou the copy thereof, in effect as followeth:

"Master Ridley, after right hearty commendations: It chanced me, upon Wednesday last past,

to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion, set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon ! admonishing your audience that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy. In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies, and, as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils ; for that you declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity, as ye professed ; not extending any your asseveration beyond your knowledge, but always adding such-like words, 'as far as ye had read,' and, 'if any man could show you further, ye would hear him,' (wherein you were much to be commended,)—upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I have read in the matter of images and holy water ; to the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained ; wherein I have seen others forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith, (which I am sure ye have read,) what Eusebius writeth of images : whereby appeareth that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church. And to say we may have images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over-gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle : for you know the text of the old law, Thou shalt not make to thee any graven thing, forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. And if all things be clean to the clean to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves unclean to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then, when we have images, to call them idols, is a like fault, in fond folly, as if a man would call a king a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove that *tyrannus* signified once a king, like as *idolum* signified once an image : but like as *tyrannus* was by consent of men appropriated to signify a usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king, so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation, and a false image : insomuch as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol ; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the king our master (God save him !)—our true just king, a tyrant ; and yet in talk he might show, that a tyrant

signified sometimes a king : but speech is regarded in its present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

"I verily think, that for the having of images ye will say enough, and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols, nor despise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them ; but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled way all other regard to them) strove stoutly, and obtained, as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation, that they should (as they do) still stand.

"All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the Church of Rome hath been very precise ; and especially Gregory, writing to the bishop of Marseilles : which is contained in the chapter, De Consecratione, dist. 3, as followeth :

"*Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, sanctorum imagines sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris. Et quidem eas adorari te vetuisse, omnino laudamus : fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti ? * * * * ** Aliud est enim picturam adorare : aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia, in ipsâ etiam ignorantes vident, quid sequi debeant : in ipsâ legunt, qui literas nesciunt. Unde et præcipuè gentibus pro lectione pictura est."

"Herein is forbidden adoration, and then, in the Sixth Synod, was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden ; that is to say, divine adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the chapter Venerabiles Imagines, in the same distinction, in this wise :

"*Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum iudicium : sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas, et adorant ; sed non serviunt eis cultu Divino, nec alicui creaturæ.*"

"By which doctrine all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words ; so as we cannot say, that the worshipping of images had its beginning by popery ; for Gregory forbade it, unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet there is forbidden *cultus divinus* : and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good Friday ; wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that it signifieth, as we kneel and creep before it, whilst it lieth there,

and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which cross nevertheless the sexton, when he goeth for a cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and hold it under his gown whilst he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of holiness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold, at a shift, (if he were also churchwarden,) to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the mean time, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was crept unto on Good Friday.

“In specialties there have been special abuses; but, generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify a holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing, godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound: so doth the object of the image, by the sight, work like effect in man, within and without; wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also showed to that whereby we attain that understanding; and is to us in the place of an instrument; so as it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in its nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembrance in us, by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the priest at mass, whom they little regard all the day after.

“And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an over-gross error to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly honour, so, to grant that we may not have images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not to use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship, to place them worshipfully: so as if a man place an image in the church, or hang it about his neck, (as all use to do the image of the cross, and the knights of the order of St. George,) this is some piece of worship. And if we may not condemn the images of Christ and his saints, when we have them, (for that were villany,) nor neglect them, (for that were to have them without use, which were inconvenient,) we must have them in estimation and reputation; which is not without some honour and worship; and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them, (as in the church,) as where they serve us, rather than we them. And because their service is worshipful, they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called the venerable images, and be worshipfully ordered;

before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense, not at that the images be, but at that the images signify, which, in our kneeling, bowing, and censing we knowledge to understand and read in that fashion of contract writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them.

“And me seemeth, after the faith of Christ received and known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain painting and graving and forbear writing, or, choosing writing, to forbear both the other gifts; it would be a problem, seeing if graving were taken away we could have no printing. And therefore they that press so much the words, Thou shalt not make to thee any graven thing, ever, me thinketh, condemn printed books; the original whereof is of graving to make *matrices literarum*. Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them: which, I hear, is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry.

“But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late sovereign lord, ye shall in the matter see the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his Highness, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the clause in the book, for discussion of ‘the Lord,’ and ‘our Lord,’ hath made many think otherwise. But I take our Lord to witness, I was not; and that declaration of ‘our Lord’ was his Highness’s own device. For he saw the fond Englishing of ‘the Lord,’ dissevered in speech, whom our Lord had congregated. And this I add, lest, giving authority to that book, I should seem to vaunt myself.

“Now will I speak somewhat of holy water, wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the History Tripartite, where Marcellus the bishop bade Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed, wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true; for we be assured by Scripture, that in the name of God the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel. In my name they shall cast out devils, &c.: so as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God, that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of the water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God’s

name. And first in Christ, the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blind; and St. Peter's shadow, and St. Paul's handkerchiefs.

“And, leaving old stories, here at home the special gift of curation, ministered by the kings of this realm, (not of their own strength, but by invocation of the name of God,) hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Eliseus put his staff in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of God's name, there is no Scripture to the contrary: but there is Scripture how other inferior creatures have been promoted to like dignity; and much Scripture, how water hath been used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you sheweth how water hath been used in the same service, to drive away devils. In which matter if any shall say, he believeth not the story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no Scripture; that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the king's cramp rings. And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured; and of all sorts entreated to have them, with offer of as much for them as they were double worth.

“Some will say, ‘What are rings to holy water?’ Marry thus I say, If the metal of gold and silver may do service to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away devils. Here-to will be said, No inference can be drawn from what may be, to what is: but the story saith, ‘The water did that service;’ and other strangers say and affirm by experience, ‘The king's Majesty's rings have done the service.’ And our late master continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service, to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter: and yet he had no Scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more than is for the ashes ministered a little before ye last preached. And as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, not to neglect the grace of God in the gift of these charges, but follow his father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him, as he hath heard his father and other his progenitors kings of this realm; to whose dignity God

addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling, percase, that would say, how worldly, wily, witty bishops, have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so have authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a king, as when I reasoned thus: If ye allow nothing but Scripture, what say you to the king's rings? but they be allowed; ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides Scripture. And another: If images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St. George on his breast? But he weareth St. George on his breast: ergo, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St. George's feast? But we keep St. George's feast: ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the devils, cannot be distributed by water, why can it be distributed in silver to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil? But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so: ergo, the water hallowed by the church may do like service.

“These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet; and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye said, ‘Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey where God's law repugneth not expressly.’ And in this effect to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, Scripture maintaineth evidently; and the same Scripture doth authorize us so to pray, and encourageth us to it—so as if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect of the holiness which proceedeth from God by invocation of the church, and take water only for a servant to carry abroad holiness; there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which Scripture authorizeth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our baptism by God's special ordinance—so as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to do this service; only the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, ‘Use water thus in this service, as we do in holy water;’ which me thinketh needeth not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole church agreed upon such a use, or any particular church, or the common minister of it,

the exorcism ordered for it, the thing to be used, purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honoured, and the power of his name set forth; whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because Scripture appointeth it not, that 'because' driveth away much of the rest which the church useth, and especially our cramp-rings. For if water may not serve to carry abroad the effects of God's grace, obtained by invocation from God, by the common prayer of the church, how can the metal of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the king's invocation in the cramp-rings? which manner of reasoning *ad hominem*, Christ used with the Jews, when he said, If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? And if by our own principles we should be enforced to say, that our cramp-rings be superstitious, (where truth enforceth us not so to do,) it were a marvellous punishment. If we were blind, as Christ saith, we should not have sin, but we see; and this realm hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof; according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, not in the scales of the people, but of the artificer; I mean, that artificer which teacheth the church our mother, (as ye fully declared it,) and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point, speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto, and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself; whereupon followeth the old proverb, *Ζοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἐστὶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ ῥάδι*; which is far from the unity ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said, 'Pride is the let;' as it is undoubtedly. Which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion! For that is the way to relieve the world.

"And albeit there hath been between you and me no familiarity, but, contrariwise, a little disagreement, (which I did not hide from you,) yet, considering the fervent zeal ye professed to teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images, and holy water to put away devils, agreed not, I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is; whereupon ye may have occasion the more sub-

stantially, fully, and plainly, to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it; wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to show how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever to mock and improve that which is established. And yet again, I come to Marcellus, that made a cross in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad faithfully and zealously: after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcelluses, and many Elizeuses, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that prayer have faith and zeal, as Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the temple of their body and soul, as Equitius out of the temple of Jupiter. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holiness than there is; but, as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water; fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. Christ alone washes away sins, who sprinkleth his blood by his ministers, as he hath taught his spouse the church, in which those ministers be ordered, wherein 'Many ways maketh not many saviours,' as ignorants do jest; whereof I need not speak further unto you, no more I needed not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all men in your sermon to say what they thought to you.

"Your loving friend,

STEPHEN WINCHESTER."

As I have set forth here, gentle reader, the cavilling letter of Winchester against Master Ridley's sermon, so am I right sorry that I have not likewise the answer of the said Ridley again to join withal. For I understand, that not only Master Ridley, but also Master Barlow, bishop of St. David's, (for Winchester wrote against them both,) had written and sent immediately their answers to the same, refuting the frivolous and unsavoury reasons of this popish prelate, as may well appear by a parcel additional of a letter sent by the lord protector to the said bishop in these words:

"And because we have begun to write to you, we are put in remembrance of a certain letter or book which you wrote unto us against the bishop of St. David's sermon, and Dr. Ridley's, to the which answer being immediately made, it was by negligence of us forgotten to be sent. Now we both send you

that, and also the answer which the bishop of St. David's wrote to the same book of yours."

Nineteen articles and positions ministered and objected, each of them jointly and severally, to the bishop of Winchester: as followeth.

The First Article.

"In primis, That the king's Majesty justly and rightfully is, and by the laws of God ought to be, supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland; and so is by the clergy of this realm in their convocation, and by act of parliament, justly, and according to the laws of God, recognised."

This first article the bishop of Winchester granteth.

The Second Article.

"Item, That his Majesty, as supreme head of the said churches, hath full power and authority to make and set forth laws, injunctions, and ordinances, for and concerning religion, and orders of the said churches; for the increase of virtue, and repressing of all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses."

To this second article he answereth affirmatively.

The Third Article.

"Item, That all and every his Grace's subjects are bound, by the law of God, to obey all his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, and proceedings concerning religion, and orders in the said church."

To the third article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fourth Article.

"Item, That you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have sworn obedience unto his Majesty, as supreme head of this Church of England, and also of Ireland."

To the fourth article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Fifth Article.

"Item, That all and every his Grace's subjects, that disobey any his Majesty's said laws, injunctions, ordinances, and proceedings already set forth and published, or hereafter to be set forth and published, ought worthily to be punished, according to his ecclesiastical law used within this his realm."

To this fifth article the said bishop answereth affirmatively, and granteth it.

The Sixth Article.

"Item, That you the said bishop, as well in the king's Majesty's late visitation within your diocese,

as at sundry times, have been complained upon, and sundry informations made against you for your doings, sayings, and preachings, against sundry injunctions, orders, and other proceedings of his Majesty, set forth for reformation of errors, superstitions, and other abuses in religion."

Winchester.—"This article toucheth other men's acts; who, or how they have complained and informed, I cannot thoroughly tell; for, at the time of the king's Majesty's visitation, I was in the Fleet, and the morrow after Twelfth-day I was delivered at Hampton-court, my Lord of Somerset and my Lord of Canterbury then being in council, with many other councillors; and was delivered by these words: The king's Majesty hath granted a general pardon,—and by the benefit thereof I was discharged. Whereunto I answered, that I was learned never to refuse the king's Majesty's pardon, and in strength as that was; and I would and did humbly thank his Majesty therefore.

"And then they began with me in an article of learning, touching justification, whereunto they willed me to say my mind; adding therewith, that because other learned men had agreed to a form delivered unto me, I should not think I could alter it: which I received of them, and promised the Thursday after to repair to my Lord of Somerset's house at Sheen, with my mind written: which I did, and, at that day seven-night following, appearing before him and others of the council, was committed to my house for prisoner, because I refused to subscribe to the form of words and sentences that others had agreed unto, as they said. In which time of imprisonment in my house, the bishop of Rochester, then being, was sent to me, and after Master Smith, and then Master Cecil; to which Master Cecil, when I had by learning resolved my mind in the matter, I delivered it; and he, delivering it to my Lord's Grace, wrote me, in his name, thanks for it. And then it was within the time of Lent, ere I was discharged of that trouble; and so went down to Winchester, as a man clearly out of all travail of business.

"And within fourteen days after that, or thereabouts, began other travail with me, upon a request made by my Lord of Somerset to surrender a college in Cambridge: and divers letters were written between his Grace and me in it; wherein I might perceive the secretary, with his pen, took occasion to prick me more than, I trusted, my Lord's Grace himself would have done. And by this trouble was I deduced to an end. Then, shortly after, I received letters to come to the council, and by reason I alleged my disease, I was respite by other letters; and three days before Whitsuntide received yet other letters to come: by which it might seem,

me, that it was not of all believed that I was diseased. And therefore with all expedition, when I could not ride, I came in a horse-litter; and, according to my duty, presented myself to my Lords of the council, who all then entertained me secretly among them before the matters were objected unto me, as if I had been in the same place with them, that I was in our late sovereign lord's days. Afterwards my Lord of Somerset's Grace charged me with these matters following, and in this form, having the articles written in a paper:

"First, with disobedience; that I came not at his sending for. Whereunto I answered, that I had his letters of licence to stay till I might come conveniently. And upon these last letters I came incontinently in a horse-litter.

"Then it was objected, that I bare palms, and crept to the cross. Whereunto I answered, that they were misinformed; and I trusted they would not think I durst deny it, if I had done it, because ceremonies had such circumstances, as I might easily be reprov'd if it were otherwise.

"Then it was objected, that at Easter I had a solemn sepulchre in the church, and such other ceremonies. I answered, that I had even as many as the king's Majesty's proclamations commanded me: declaring plainly, that I thought it not expedient to make any alteration, wherein to offend the king's Majesty's proclamation; adding, how he that followeth as he is commanded, is very obedient.

"It was then objected unto me, that I went about to defame two of the king's Majesty's chaplains, sent down to be canons of the church of Winchester. Whereunto I answered, declaring the fact truly as it was, which I am yet able to justify.—After this matter thus oft objected and answered, I was commanded to go apart, and being called in again, my Lord of Somerset's Grace, looking upon a bill of articles, said, I had preached how the apostles went from the presence of the council, of the council, of the council; which matter I denied, adding, that it was not my fashion of preaching, so to play in iteration of words.

"After that, it was objected unto me for preaching of the sacrament, to say, The body of Christ was really present; being a fault to use the word really, not comprised in the Scripture. Whereunto I answered, that I did not use the word really, which needeth not. For, as I once heard my Lord of Canterbury reason against one Lambert, in the presence of the king's Majesty that dead is; the words of the Scripture, This is my body that shall be betrayed for you, do plainly and lively express the very presence; and so did I set it forth to the people in my diocess.

"And this is the effect of all that was said against me at my being at the council, as I can remember. To whom I declared how much I esteemed obedience, and told them, I had taught in my diocess how the whole life of a Christian man consisteth in suffering properly; and therefore we may not do our own will, but the will of God: and among men, we must either suffer the rulers' will, or their power; their will to order us, and their power to punish us. After declaration whereof, my Lord of Somerset said, Ye must tarry in the town. Whereunto I answered, I would be contented at their commandment or pleasure to tarry; but, seeing I was no offender, I desired them I might not tarry as an offender; and for declaration thereof, that I might have some house in the country about London, to remove unto for a shift; in devising whereof, I stuck much to borrow Escher. My Lord of Somerset said, If he had any, in faith he would lend me one. And in the end, my Lord of Somerset desired me to write what my mind was in ceremonies, and to send it unto him; and with that departed.

"Thus I have truly opened after what sort I have been complained on, that hath certainly come to my knowledge: truth it is, that one Philpot in Westminster, whom I accounted altered in his wits, (as I have heard,) devised tales of me, the specialties whereof I never was called to answer unto. Players and minstrels also railed on me, and others made ballads and rhymes of me; but never man had just cause to complain of any my sayings, doings, or preachings, or to my knowledge did, otherwise than afore. And if any man shall put me in remembrance of any other complaint that might in my absence be made of me, if I have heard it, I will grant so. But well assured I am, I was never complained on, and called to make answer to the complaint, but this one time in all my whole life, by any man of any degree. Once the Lord Cromwell (God pardon his soul and forgive him!) caused one day and a half to be spent in a matter between Sir Francis Bryan and me; which was ended, and I declared an honest man; which the king's Majesty that dead is (God pardon his soul!) set forth with his familiarity to me incontinently. And this is all the trouble that I have had in my life, saving the sending to the Fleet, being occasioned by my own letter to the council, upon a zeal that I had, which they allowed not; and finally, this sending of me to the Tower, which was without calling me before the council, to hear what I could say. I am loth to be forsworn, and therefore I recount all the complaints in my whole life made against me, whereunto I have been made privy.

The Seventh Article.

"Item, That after and upon occasion of those and many other complaints and informations, you have been sundry times admonished, commanded, and enjoined to conform yourself, as to your duty appertaineth."

Winchester.—"To this seventh article I answer, I was never called afore the council by way of outward complaint and information, but only once in all my whole life; which was at my last coming to London. Whereunto I answered as afore, and have told the form and process of speech to serve for furniture of answer to this and that article: for other than I have before written, I remember not to have done or suffered by the higher powers in all my whole life, till my coming into the Tower, (without that I have had any by-admonitions, as a man faulty or negligent at any time, that I remember not,) for the observation of any thing already made or set forth by the king's Majesty that now is; but have kept, and caused to be kept to my power, the king's Majesty's acts, statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, inviolably; having for that purpose such a chancellor, as in orders and ordinances hath been always himself diligent and precise for the time I might have knowledge of his doings."

The Eighth Article.

"Item, That after the premises, and for that, those former admonitions and commandments notwithstanding, you did still show yourself not conformable; and for that also others, by your example, were much animated, and thereby occasion of much unquietness ministered among the people. You were called before the king's Majesty's council in the month of June, in the second year of his Majesty's reign, and by them, on his Majesty's behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his Majesty; and therein to declare the justness and godliness of his Majesty's father, in his proceedings upon certain matters partly mentioned in certain articles to you delivered in writing, and partly otherwise declared unto you. The effect whereof was touching the usurped power and authority of the bishop of Rome, that the same was justly and godly taken away in this realm, and other the king's Majesty's dominions; touching the just suppressing and taking away of monasteries, religious houses, pilgrimages, relics, shrines, and images. The superstitious going about of St. Nicholas, bishop of St. Edmund, St. Katharine, St. Clement, and such-like; and just taking away of chantries, abbeys, and colleges, hallowing of candles, water, ashes, palms, holy bread, beads, creeping to the cross, and such-like. Also, touch-

ing the setting-forth of the king's Majesty's authority in his young years, to be as great as if his Highness were of many more years. That auricular confession is indifferent, and of no necessity by the law of God: and touching the procession, and Common Prayer in English."

Winchester.—"This article, being of so many parts as it is, some true, some otherwise, must be answered by division of it into divers members, to divide the one from the other, granting that which is true, denying that which is otherwise, and opening that which is ambiguous, avoiding that which is captious; so as, according to my oath, I may open directly and plainly the truth, with sincerity of conscience. The motion of preaching was made unto me in mine own house by Master Cecil, upon the duke of Somerset's behalf, after I had been before the council, as I have before said; from which council I departed (as before is rehearsed) as no offender; and therefore when Master Cecil spake to me of preaching before the king's Majesty, with request to write my sermon before, I denied that manner of preaching, because I said it was to preach like an offender, and I was none, but departed from the council otherwise, as I have before showed. And the said Master Cecil did not say to me that I was moved to preach, because I was not conformable; for I had at that time no manner of variance with the council, but was in all conformity with them, for any thing that I know, as I will answer afore God.

"As for evil example to any man, I could none give, for I never offended law, statute, or proclamation in this realm, nor did ever any act to the impairing of due obedience to the king's Majesty in all my whole life; but by observation of them, and letting innovations, have done as much as in me lay to maintain obedience.

"After Master Cecil had spoken to me of preaching, and delivered two papers containing the matters whereupon I should entreat, because I refused to give my sermon in writing, (which was to me like an offender,) or to read those papers of another man's device, as the conception and sincere manner of uttering of mine own conscience: which me thought then and since, and yet, a marvellous unreasonable matter, touching both my conscience and honesty.

"I was then fetched to the duke of Somerset's Grace's chamber, and came in at a back door to himself alone, saving he took to him as witness (he said) the lord now of Wiltshire, then great master; and after many words, he showed me certain articles subscribed by lawyers, what a bishop might command and what the king might command, and

pain to the disobeyer. To whom I said plainly and truly, how those lawyers' subscription could not serve, in this case, to command me to utter to the people for mine own device in words, that which is not indeed so; and if I might speak with these lawyers, (I said,) his Grace should soon perceive them to agree with me. My Lord said, I should speak with no man, and I should do as I was bidden, or do worse; and bade me advise me till dinner was done. And then was I conveyed by the lord great master to his chamber, and there left alone to dine, as was indeed honourably prepared. But I took myself to be in the nature of a prisoner, and a restrained man.

"And about two of the clock at afternoon, came unto me Master Thomas Smith, then secretary, unto whom I complained of the unreasonableness of the matter, and showed him certain particularities; who said it was not meant so precisely, but to speak of the matters. To whom I said, I was content to speak of the matters, and then if I spake not according to the truth of them, there should be enough to bear witness to my condemnation; and if I spake the truth, then they had their desire. And I said further, I thought I might with my conscience say, so as men ought and should be content and satisfied. And further, if I thought that in my manner of the uttering of those matters I should offend the council, I had rather deny to speak of the thing, and begin the contention secretly with them, than to begin with the pulpit, and so bring myself in further trouble than needed; and therefore, if they would have me preach, I would preach as of myself, and of these matters, so as I thought they should be content.

"Whereupon I was brought up to my Lord of Somerset's chamber, and there the matter ended thus: that my Lord of Somerset said, he would require no writing of me, but remit it to me, so I spake of the matters in the papers delivered me by Master Cecil. I told him I would speak of them, saving for children's toys, of going about of St. Nicholas, and St. Clement. If that be now gone, quoth I, and forgotten, if I be too busy in rehearsal of them, they will say I cumber their heads with ceremonies, and thus they will defame me. When ceremonies were plenty, they will say, I did nothing but preach on them; and now they be gone, I babble of them still. I said, I would touch the chief points, adding, that I would speak of other matters also; and with that, being put to my liberty to choose the day, departed: and otherwise I was not spoken with concerning preaching, saving after Master Cecil came unto me, whereof I shall speak anon.

"And concerning the matters to be spoken of, all such things as be here rehearsed, be named in the papers delivered unto me, although not altogether after this sort; saving the setting forth of the king's Majesty's authority in his minority, whereof there is no word in those papers, nor was there ever any promise made of me to speak of it. Truth it is, that after I had signified the day when I would preach, Master Cecil came unto me, making the chief message to know the day when I would preach: to whom I had sent word before, that it should be St. Peter's day, because me thought the gospel served well for that purpose. And in process of communication, he told me, that he liked gaily well a word that I had said in another communication: how a king was as much a king at one year of age, as at a hundred years of age; and if I touched it, he thought it would be well taken. I told him again, every man knew that; and then opened of myself the matter further. And at his next repair unto me, which was the Monday before I preached, the said Master Cecil brought me papers of the king's Majesty's hand, showing me how the king's Highness used to note every notable sentence, and specially if it touched a king; and therefore (quoth he) if ye speak of a king, ye must join counsel withal. Whereunto I made no answer, but shifted to other matter, without making him any promise or denial, because I would neither bind myself, nor trouble myself to discuss that matter: for albeit it is godly and wisely done of every prince to use counsel, yet, speaking of a king's power by Scripture, I cannot by express Scripture limit the king's power by counsel. And hearing blindly by report some secret matter, that I will not speak of here, I thought not to meddle with it at all in the pulpit; and yet, to the effect to have our sovereign lord now obeyed, of which mind I was ever, I pointed to our sovereign lord there in presence, and said, He was only to be obeyed; and, I would have but one king; and other words to that purpose. But, for any promise to be made by me, I utterly deny it, and tell plainly the cause why I spake not otherwise of it. There was also, in the papers delivered unto me, occasion given me to speak of the mass, because of matters satisfactory, as some understand them. And also there was occasion to speak of the sacrament of the altar, because of the proclamation passed of the same; which to be true, I shall justify by the said papers."

The Ninth Article.

"Item, That you, receiving the same, and promising to declare the same in a sermon by you made before his Majesty for that purpose, on the

feast of St. Peter, in the said second year of his reign, did then and there contemptuously and disobediently omit to declare and set forth many of the said matters; and of divers other of the said articles you spake and uttered your mind in such doubtful sort, as the justness and godliness of his Majesty's father's, and his proceedings, was not set forth according to the commandment given unto you, and your own promise, to the great offence of the hearers, and manifest contempt of his Majesty, and dangerous example of others."

Winchester.—"Touching that promise, I answer as afore; and as touching omission of that I should have spoken of, by contempt or disobedience, I answer by mine oath, I did not omit any thing (if I did omit it) by contempt or disobedience; for I ever minded to satisfy the promise, to speak of all matters in those papers according to my former declaration. And if I did percase omit any thing, (whereof I can make now no assurance, it being two years and a half past since I preached,) but if I did omit any thing, he who knew my travail in the matter, would not marvel, being troubled with a letter sent from the duke of Somerset, whereof I shall speak after; so as from four of the clock on Thursday, till I had done my sermon on the Friday, I did neither drink, eat, nor sleep: so careful was I to pass over the travail of preaching without all slander of the truth, and with satisfaction of my promise, and discharge of my duty to God, and the king's most excellent Majesty. Wherein, whether any thing were omitted or not, I could have answered more precisely than I can now, if, according to my most instant suit, and the suit of my servants, the matter had been heard while it was in fresh memory. But, because omission may be by infirmity of nature, in which oblivion is a pain of our original sin, in which case it is no mortal offence, if a man being put in remembrance will purge it; I therefore, according to the true testimony of mine own conscience, dare the more boldly deny all contempt and disobedience, having for my declaration a general sentence spoken in my sermon, that I agreed with the upper part in their laws, orders, and commandments, or such-like words, and found fault only in the lower part. By which sentence it appeared, how I allowed in the whole that was past hitherto, and only dissented from the doings of them that attempt innovations, of their own presumption. And furthermore I say, that that saying 'omission' here objected unto me, if it were true, as I know it not to be, may happen two ways, one way by infirmity of nature, another way of purpose. Charity of a Christian man permitteth not to determine the worst of that which is

doubtful and ambiguous to both parties: as touching doubtfulness objected, I take God to record, I minded to speak simply, and to be on the king's Majesty's side only, and not to go invisible in the world with ambiguities, esteeming him, &c. The worst man of all, is he that will make himself a lock of words and speech, which is known not to be my fashion, nor do I think this life worth that dissimulation; and how can that be a doubtful speech in him, that professeth to agree with the king's laws, injunctions, and statutes, which I did expressly?

"There be that call in doubt whatsoever serveth not their appetite. It is not in the speaker to satisfy the hearer that will doubt, where doubt is not. The sum of my teaching was, that all visible things be ordered to serve us, which we may in convenient service use. And when we serve them, that is an abuse, and may then, at the rulers' pleasure, unless Scripture appointeth a special use of them, be corrected in that use, or taken away for reformation. And this is a plain teaching that hath no doubt in it, but a yea and a nay on both sides, without a mean to make a doubt. And if any that doubteth cometh unto me, I will resolve him the doubt as I can. And if I promised to speak plainly, or am commanded to speak plainly, and cannot, then is my fault to promise only in the nature of folly and ignorance, whereunto I resort not for a shift, whereof indeed I profess the knowledge but to show how sometimes, to my hinderance, I am noted learned, that can speak plainly, and yet speak doubtfully; otherwhiles am rejected, as one that understandeth not the matter at all. As touching contempt, there can be none manifest that proceedeth of a privy promise: if I had broken it, I intended not, but intended to take it, as appeareth by my general sentence, to agree with the superiors, and only find fault in the inferior subjects, who daily transgress the king's Majesty's proclamations, and others, whereof I spake then."

The Tenth Article.

"Item, That you, being also commanded and, on his Majesty's behalf, for the avoiding of tumult, and for other great considerations, inhibited to treat of any matter in controversy concerning the mass, or the communion, (then commonly called The Sacrament of the Altar,) did, contrary to the said commandment and inhibition, declare divers your judgments and opinions in the same, in manifest contempt of his Highness's said inhibition, to the great offence of the hearers, and disturbance of the common quiet and unity of the realm."

To the tenth article Winchester answered thus:—"The Wednesday at afternoon next before the

Friday when I preached, Master Cecil came to me, and having in all his other accesses spoken no word thereof, did then utter and advise me from the duke of Somerset, that I should not speak of the sacrament, or of the mass, whereby, he said, I should avoid trouble. And when he saw me not to take it well, I mean, quoth he, doubtful matters. I asked him what? he said, transubstantiation. I told him, he wist not what transubstantiation meant. I will preach, quoth I, the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament, which is the catholic faith, and no doubtful matter, nor yet in controversy, saving that certain unlearned speak of it they wot not what. And among the matters, quoth I, whereof I have promised to speak, I must by special words speak of the sacrament, and of the mass also. And when I shall so speak of them, I will not forbear to utter my faith and true belief therein, which I think necessary for the king's Majesty to know; and therefore, if I wist to be hanged when I came down, I would speak it. Which plain zeal of my conscience, grounded upon God's commandment to do his message truly, I would not hide, but utter so as my Lord should, if he would not have it spoken of, not let me to come there as he might have done: whereas else, if I had had a deceitful purpose, I might have accepted the advice, and without any colour of trouble, have refused to follow it, as a thing grounded upon wealth only, as it was then uttered.

"With this my answer Master Cecil departed, and upon the Thursday, which was the next day following, and the evening before I preached, between three and four at afternoon, I received a letter signed with the hand of the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof I am ready to exhibit; and took it then, and esteemed it so now, to contain no effectual inhibition, whereunto I might by God's law, or the king's Majesty's laws, with discharge of my conscience and duty obey, although the said letters had been (as they were not) in such terms framed, as had precisely forbidden me (as they did not) but only to speak of matters in controversy of the sacrament; which indeed I did not, but only uttered a truth to my conscience, most certainly persuaded of the most holy sacrament, necessary to be known to the king's Majesty, and to be uttered by me admitted to that place of preaching, from whence God commandeth his truth to be uttered; which (in this nature of truth, the undue estimation and use whereof, St. Paul threateneth with temporal death) may in no wise be omitted. So as I was and am persuaded, the right estimation of the sacrament to be, to acknowledge the very presence of the same most precious body and blood

present in the sacrament to feed us, that was given to redeem us. If I showed not my sovereign Lord the truth thereof, I for my part suffer him wittingly to fall into that extreme danger of body, which St. Paul threateneth, whose person I am bound by nature, by special oaths, and by God's laws, to preserve to my power; as I will do, and must do, by all ways and means. And if the king's Majesty doth vouchsafe to teach his people not to obey his commandment, where God commandeth the contrary, I might not take my Lord of Somerset's letter for an inhibition to hold my peace, when God biddeth me to speak, as he doth when the wolf cometh, and not to hide myself in silence, which is the most shameful running away of all. I have much matter to allege against the letter, why I should not credit it, written in his name alone, against a common letter (as I took it) written by him and the council, and published in print the first day of the said month, which maintaineth my preaching of the sacrament and mass, according to the proclamation and injunctions, the violation of which public letters had been a disorder and contempt; whereas I neither offended in the one nor the other.

"And as for tumult, none could reasonably be feared of any thing spoken agreeable to the king's Majesty's laws, as there did follow none; nor the people, nor any man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me, notwithstanding players, jesters, rhymers, ballad-makers, did signify me to be of the *true* catholic faith, which I, according to my duty, declared to the king's Majesty, from whom I may hide no truth that I think expedient for him to know. And as the name of God cannot be used of any creature against God, no more can the king's name be used of any subject against his Highness. Wherefore, seeing the abuse of this holy sacrament hath in it a danger assured by Scripture, of body and soul; whosoever is persuaded in the catholic faith, as I am, findeth himself so burdened to utter that unto his Majesty, as no worldly loss can let him to do his duty in that behalf, and much less my Lord's private letters written without other of the council's hands."

The Eleventh Article.

"Item, That after the premises, viz., in the month of May or June, or one of them, in the third year of his Highness's reign, his Majesty sent *eftsoons* unto you, to know your conformity towards his said reformatiōns, and specially touching the Book of Common Prayer then lately set forth by his Majesty; whereunto you at the same time refused to shew yourself conformable."

To the eleventh article, for answer and declara-

tion thereof, Winchester said, "The next day at afternoon after I had preached, when I looked for no such matter, came to my house the right worshipful Sir Anthony Wingfield, and Sir Ralph Sadler, knights, accompanied with a great number of the guard, and used themselves, for their part, according to their Worships, and, I doubt not, as they were appointed. And Sir Ralph Sadler began thus with me: My Lord, said he, ye preached yesterday obedience, but ye did not obey yourself; and went forth with his message very soberly, as he can, and discreetly. I asked him, wherein I obeyed not. He said, touching my Lord of Somerset's letter. Master Sadler, quoth I, I pray you say unto my Lord's Grace, I would he never made mention of that letter, for the love I bare him. And yet, quoth I, I have not broken that letter; and I was minded, quoth I, to have written to my Lord upon the receipt of it, and lo, quoth I, ye may see how I began:—and showed him (because we were then in my study) the beginning of my letter, and reasoned with him for the declaration of myself, and told him therewith, I will not spend, quoth I, many words with you, for I cannot alter this determination. And yet in good faith, quoth I, my manner to you, and this declaration, may have this effect, that I be gently handled in the prison; and for that purpose, I pray you, make suit on my behalf.

"Master Wingfield laid his hand on my shoulder, and arrested me in the king's name for disobedience. I asked him, whither I should? They said, to the Tower. Finally, I desired them, that I might be spoken with shortly, and heard what I could say for myself; and prayed them to be suitors in it: and so they said they would. After that I was once in the Tower, until it was within six days of one whole year, I could hear no manner of word, message, comfort, or relief; saving once when I was sick, and me thought some extremity towards me, my chaplain had leave to come to me once: and then denied again, being answered, that my fever was but a tertian; which my said chaplain told me when he came to me at the Easter following; and there being with me from the morning until night on Easter-day, departed, and for no suit could I ever have him since. To Master Lieutenant I made divers suits to provoke the duke of Somerset's Grace to hear me, and, if I might have the liberty of an Englishman, I would plainly declare I had neither offended law, statute, act, proclamation, nor his own letter neither: but all would not help. And I shall report me to Master Lieutenant, whether in all this time I maligned, grudged, or used any unseemly words; ever demanding justice, and to be heard according to justice.

"When I had been thus in the Tower one whole year within six days or seven, as I remember, came to the Tower the lord chancellor of England, now being the lord treasurer, and Master Secretary Peter, who, calling me unto them, as I remember entered thus: They said they had brought with them a book passed by the parliament, which they would I should look on, and say my mind to it; and upon my conformity in it, my Lord of Somerset would be suitor to the king's Majesty for mercy to be ministered to me. Whereunto I answered that I trusted, if I might be heard, the king's Majesty's justice would relieve me, which I had long sued for, and could not be heard. And to sue for mercy, quoth I, when I have not in my conscience offended, and also to sue out of this place, where asking of mercy implieth a further suspicion than I would be for all the world touched in, were not expedient; and therefore, quoth I, 'Not guilty,' is and hath been continually allowed a good plea for a prisoner.

"Then my Lord said, Why, quoth he, were ye not commanded to preach of the king's authority in his young age, and did not? I told him I was not commanded. Is not, quoth he, that article in the papers ye had delivered you? I assured him no.

"And after communication of the king's Majesty's authority, wherein was no disagreement, then my lord chancellor said, I had disobeyed my Lord's Grace's letter.—I told him, I thought not, and if the matter came to judgment, it should appear. And then I said to him, My Lord, how many open injunctions under seal and in open court have been broken in this realm, the punishment whereof hath not been handled after this sort? and yet I would stand in defence, that I have not broken his letter: weighing the words of his letter, wherein I reasoned with Master Secretary Peter what a controversy was, and, some part, what I could say further. But whatsoever I can say, quoth I, you must judge it, and, for the passion of God, do it; and then let me sue for mercy, when the nature of the offence is known, if I will have it. But when I am, quoth I, declared an offender, I will with humility of suffering make amends to the king's Majesty, so far as I am able; for I should never offend him, and much less in his young age.

"My lord chancellor then showed me the beginning of the act for Common Prayer, how dangerous it was to break the order of it. I told him that it was true; and therefore, if I came abroad, I would beware of it. But it is, quoth I, after in the act, how no man should be troubled for this act, unless he were first indicted; and therefore, quoth I, I may not be kept in prison for this act. quoth he, I perceive ye know the law well en

I told him my chaplain had brought it unto me the afternoon before. Then they required me to look on the book, and to say my mind in it. I answered, that I thought not meet to yield myself a scholar to go to school in prison, and then slander myself, as though I redeemed my faults with my conscience. As touching the law which I know, I will honour it like a subject; and if I keep it not, I will willingly suffer the pain of it. And what more conformity I should show, I cannot tell, for mine offences be past, if there be any. If I have not suffered enough, I will suffer more—if upon examination I be found faulty; and as for this new law, if I keep it not, punish me likewise.

“Then my lord chancellor asked me, whether I would not desire the king’s Majesty to be my good lord. At which words I said, Alas, my Lord! quoth I, do ye think that I have so forgotten myself? My duty, quoth I, requireth so; and I will on my knees desire him to be my good lord, and my lord protector also, quoth I. That is well said, quoth my lord chancellor. And what will ye say further, quoth my lord chancellor? In good faith, quoth I, this: that I thought when I had preached, that I had not offended at all, and think so still; and had it not been for the article of the supremacy, I would have rather feigned myself sick, than be occasion of this that hath followed: but, going to the pulpit, I must needs say as I said. Well, quoth my lord chancellor, let us go to our purpose again. Ye will, quoth he, desire the king’s Majesty to be your good lord, and the lord protector also; and ye say, ye thought not to have offended. All this I will say, quoth I. And ye will, quoth my lord chancellor, submit yourself to be ordered by the lord protector. Nay, quoth I, by the law; for my lord protector, quoth I, hath scourged me oversore this year, to put my matter in his hands now. And in the latter point I varied with my lord chancellor, when I would not refer my order to my lord protector, but to the law; and staying at this point they were content to grant me of their gentleness, to make their suit to procure me to be heard, and to obtain me liberty to go in the gallery, and that I should hear of one of them within two days following. I desired them to remember that I refused not the book by way of contempt, nor in any evil manner, but that I was loth to yield myself a scholar in the Tower, and to be seen to redeem my faults, if I had any, with my conscience. My body, I said, should serve my conscience, but not contrariwise. And this is the truth upon my conscience and oath, that was done and said at their coming. There was more said to the purposes aforesaid. And I bind not myself to the precise form of words,

but to the substance of the matter and fashion of the entreating. So near as I can remember, I have truly discharged mine oath. But I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two letters written by me to the council, of most humble request to be heard according to justice. And then, at the end of two years almost, came unto me the duke of Somerset, with others of the council; which matter, because it is left out here, I shall not touch, but prepare it in a matter apart, for declaration of my behaviour at all times.”

The Twelfth Article.

“Item, That after that, viz., the ninth day of July, in the fourth year of his Majesty’s reign, his Highness sent unto you his Grace’s letters, with a certain submission and articles, whereunto his Grace willed and commanded you to subscribe. To the which submission you contemptuously refused to subscribe.”

To the twelfth article, for answer thereunto, Winchester granted, that about the time mentioned in this article, the lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, lord great master, Sir William Harbert, and Master Secretary Peter, came to the Tower, and called him before them, and delivered unto him the king’s Majesty’s letters—“which I have to show,” said he, “and received them at the hands of the lord treasurer upon my knees, kissed them as my duty was, and still upon my knees read them, whereas they gently required me to take more ease, and go apart with them, and consider them. Which after that I had thoroughly read, I much lamented that I should be commanded to say of myself as was there written, and to say otherwise of myself than my conscience will suffer me, and, where I trust my deeds will not condemn me, there to condemn myself with my tongue. I should sooner, quoth I to them, by commandment, I think, if ye would bid me, tumble myself desperately into the Thames.

“My Lord of Warwick, seeing me in that agony, said, What say ye, my Lord, quoth he, to the other articles? I answered, that I was loth to disobey where I might obey, and not wrest my conscience, destroying the comfort of it, as to say untruly of myself. Well, quoth my Lord of Warwick, will ye subscribe to the other articles? I told him I would: but then, quoth I, the article that toucheth me must be put out. I was answered, that needeth not, for I might write on the outside what I would say unto it. And then my Lord of Warwick entertained me very gently, and would needs, whiles I should write, have me sit down by him; and

when he saw me make somewhat strange so to do, he pulled me nearer him, and said, we had ere this sat together, and trusted we should do so again. And then having pen and ink given me, I wrote, as I remember, on the article that touched me, these words,—I cannot with my conscience say this of myself,—or such-like words. And there followed an article of the king's Majesty's primacy, and I began to write on the side of that, and had made an *I* onward, as may appear by the articles; and they would not have me do so, but write only my name after their articles; which I did. Whereat, because they showed themselves pleased and content, I was bold to tell them merrily, that by this means I had placed my subscription above them all; and thereupon it pleased them to entertain me much to my comfort.

"And I was bold to recount unto them merry tales of my misery in prison, which they seemed content to hear. And then I told them also, (desiring them not to be discontent with that I should say,) when I remembered each of them alone, I could not think otherwise but they were my good lords; and yet when they met together, I felt no remedy at their hands. I looked, quoth I, when my Lord of Somerset was here, to go out within two days; and made my farewell feast in the Tower and all; since which time there is a month past, or thereabout; and I agreed with them, and now agree with you, and I may fortune to be forgotten. My Lord treasurer said, Nay, I should hear from them the next day. And so by their special commandment I came out of the chamber after them, that they might be seen to depart as my good lords; and so was done. By which process appeareth, how there was in me no contempt, as is said in this article; but such a subscription made as they were content to suffer me to make; which I took in my conscience for a whole satisfaction of the king's Majesty's letters, which I desire [it] may be deemed accordingly. And one thing was said unto me further: that others would have put in many more articles; but they would have no more but those."

The Thirteenth Article.

"Item, That you, having eftsoons certain of the king's Majesty's most honourable council sent unto you the twelfth of July, in the said fourth year, with the said submission, and being on his Majesty's behalf required and commanded to consider again, and better, [of] the said submission, and to subscribe the same, stood in justification of yourself, and would in no wise subscribe thereunto."

To the thirteenth article Winchester said, "The

next day after the being in the Tower of the said lord treasurer, the earl of Warwick, and others, came unto me Sir William Harbert and Master Secretary Peter, to devise with me how to make some acknowledging of my fault, as they said, because the other form liked me not. Whereunto I said, I knew myself innocent, and to enter with you to entreat of a device to impair my innocency in any the least point, either by words or writings, it can have no policy in it. For although I did more esteem liberty of body than the defamation of myself, yet, quoth I, when I had so done with you, I were not so assured by you to come out. For when I were by [my] own pen once made a naughty man, then were I not the more sure to come out, but had locked myself the more surer in; and a small pleasure were it to me to have my body at liberty by your procurement, and to have my conscience in perpetual prison by mine own act. Many more words there were, and persuasions on their parts; which caused me to require of them, for the passion of God, that my matter might take an end by justice. And so they departed, there being no contempt or faction of disobedience showed on my behalf, but only allegation for my defence of mine own innocency in the best manner I could devise, as I trust they will testify."

The Fourteenth Article.

"Item, That after all this, viz. the fourteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, the said king's Majesty sent yet again unto you certain of his Majesty's honourable council, with another submission, and divers other articles, willing and commanding you to subscribe your name thereunto: which to do, you utterly refused."

To the fourteenth article Winchester said, "On the Monday in the morning following came the bishop of London, Sir William Harbert, Master Secretary Peter, and another whom I know not, who brought with them a paper, with certain articles written in it, which they required me to subscribe. Whereupon I most instantly required, that my matter might be tried by justice, which although it were more grievous, yet it hath a commodity with it, that it endeth certainly the matter. And I could never yet come to my assured stay, and therefore refused to meddle with any more articles, or to trouble myself with the reading of them; and yet they desired me instantly to read them, that I was content, and did read, and, to show my perfect obedient mind, offered incontinently upon my delivery out of prison to make answer to them all; such as I would abide by, and suffer pain for, if I have deserved it. I would indeed gladly have been in hand with

Lord of London ; but he said he came not to dispute, and said, It was the hand of God that I was thus in prison, because I had so troubled other men in my time. Finally, my request was, that they should in this form make my answer to my Lords of the council, as followeth : That I most humbly thank them for their good-will to deliver me by the way of mercy ; but, because in respect of mine own innocent conscience I had rather have justice, I desired them, seeing both was in the king's Majesty's hands, that I might have it ; which if it happened to me more grievous, I will impute it to myself, and evermore thank them for their good-will. And so departed I with them, as I trust they will testify, and no misbehaviour or misdemeanour to have been used on my behalf."

The Fifteenth Article.

"Item, That after all this, viz. the nineteenth day of July, in the said fourth year, you, being personally called before the king's Majesty's privy council, and having the said submission and articles openly and distinctly read unto you, and required to subscribe the same, refused, for unjust and fantastical considerations by you alleged, to subscribe the same."

Winchester.—"To the fifteenth article I grant, that upon a Saturday at afternoon, even at such time of the day as they were at even-song in the chapel of the court, I was brought thither ; and at my coming the lords of the council said, they were all my judges by special commission, and intended to proceed thus with me : that I should subscribe certain articles which were then read ; and I must directly make answer, whether I would subscribe them or no. I answered on my knees in this wise : For the passion of God, my Lords, be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I be faulty or no : and as for these articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I would make answer to them, whether I would subscribe them or no. Then they having [no] further to say, I answered, These articles are of divers sorts ; some be laws, which I may not qualify ; some be no laws, but learning and fact, which may have divers understandings ; and a subscription to them without telling what I mean, were over-dangerous. And therefore I offered, for the more declaration of mine obedience to all their requests, that if they would deliver me the articles into the prison with me, I would shortly make them particular answer ; and suffer the pains of the law, that by my answer I might incur into. Whereupon I was commanded to go apart, and they sent unto me the lord treasurer and Master Secretary Peter, who communed with me of a mean way, and that

liked not the lords. And then I was called forth again, and my absolute subscription required again : and I again made offer to answer particularly ; for I could not with my conscience subscribe them as they were, absolutely. And these my considerations I trust to be just, seeing no man for any commandments ought to offend his conscience, as I must have done in that case."

The Sixteenth Article.

"Item, That for your sundry and manifold contempts and disobediences in this behalf used, the fruits of your bishopric were then, by special commission of his Majesty, justly and lawfully sequestered."

Winchester.—"To the sixteenth article I answer, I deny contempts and disobedience of parts, and say, that my doings cannot so be termed, because it is taught in this realm for a doctrine of obedience, that if a king command that which is contrary to the commandment of God, the subject may not do as he is commanded, but humbly stand to his conscience ; which is my case, who could not with my conscience do as I was required. And as touching the fact of decree, there was indeed a decree read, having words so placed and framed as though I were such an offender ; which matter I deny. And in that decree was mention made of sequestration of fruits ; but whether the former words were of the present tense, or else to be sequestered, I cannot precisely tell, but do refer that to the tenor of the decree."

The Seventeenth Article.

"Item, That after this, you had intimation and peremptory monition, with communication, that you should, within three months next following the said intimation, reconcile and submit yourself, under pain of deprivation."

Winchester.—"To the seventeenth article I answer, that in the same decree of sequestration at the same time read, I kneeling from the beginning of the decree to the latter end, I remember there was an intimation, and three months spoken of, and expressed also, how at every month's end I should have pen and ink offered to write, if I would yet subscribe ; and, as I understand, it was upon the pain of proceeding further. And I do not remember that I heard the word 'deprivation,' but therein I refer me to the acts of the sentence ; which when it was read, I desired it might be testified what mine offer was, to answer all those articles particularly, even remaining in prison. And this done, I made suit for some of my servants abroad to resort to me to the Tower, partly for my comfort, partly for my necessary business ;

which could not be obtained. And yet, to provoke t, I said to my Lord of Warwick, how for agreeing with my Lord of Somerset, I had some commodity; and for agreeing with him, had nothing; and therefore would needs by intercession press him, that I might by this means have some of my servants resorting unto me. He answered very gently. And then one said, I should within two or three days have somebody come to me. And then I was dismissed, with commandment to the lieutenant, to let me have the same liberty I had, but no more."

The Eighteenth Article.

"Item, That the said three months are now fully expired and run."

Winchester.—"To the eighteenth article I say, there is almost six months passed in time and number of days, but not one month past to the effect of the law, nor ten days neither, because I have been so kept in prison, that I could not seek for remedy in form abovesaid; nor was there at every month, after the form of the sentence, offered me pen and ink, and liberty given me to consult and deliberate with other learned men and friends, what were best to do, or to send unto them. And furthermore, the very eighth day after the decree given, I protested before my servants, whom I had only commodity to use as witnesses of the nullity of the decree, for the evident and apparent matter in it; but if it were in law, I appealed to the king's Majesty, because my request was not admitted, to have the copy of the articles to answer them particularly, and because it is excessive correction, to sequester my fruits and keep me in prison: with other cases to be deduced where I might have opportunity. Which appellation I protested to intimate as soon as I could come to any presence meet there-for, as I did in this assembly at my last repair; desiring therewith the benefit of complete restitution, because of mine imprisonment; and therefore do answer this matter with protestation of that appeal, and utterly deny all manner of contempt."

The Nineteenth Article.

"Item, That you have not hitherto, according to the said intimation and monition, submitted, reconciled, nor reformed yourself, but contemptuously yet still remain in your disobedience."

Winchester.—"To the nineteenth article I say, that I have been all this while in prison so kept, as no man could have access to counsel with me, nor any means to write or send to any man, having made continual suit to master lieutenant and master marshal, under whose custody I am here, and to make suit in my name to the lords of the council,

that I might come to hearing, or else be bailed upon surety; which I could not obtain, and so have remained, under the benefit of my said appeal to the king's Majesty made, as I might for the time; which I esteems desire I may have liberty to prosecute.

"And whereas, answering to these articles for declaration of the integrity of my conscience, I use in the same places general words, I protest I mean not by those words to set forth myself otherwise more arrogantly than as my direct intent (which excludeth malice) and purpose move me to say, and as my conscience beareth witness unto me at this time; and therefore will say therein with St. Paul, *Nihili mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum*. Wherefore if any especially be objected unto me, wherein, by ignorance or oversight and negligence, any offence of mine may appear against the king's Majesty's laws, statutes, and injunctions, I shall desire and protest that it be not prejudicial to mine answer for this present *Credo* (as lawyers in civil matters use that term) to be true; that is to say, such as, without any alteration in my conscience, presently I may of myself say in affirmation or denial, as afore is answered. And whereas I spake of commandment to be made to me against God's law, I protest not to touch my sovereign lord's honour therein, which my duty is by all means to preserve, but that the commandment given resolveth to be against God's law on my part, in the obedience to be given; because I may not answer or say otherwise but yea, yea, and nay, nay. So as my words and heart may agree together, or else I should offend God's law; which my sovereign, if he knew my conscience, would not command me."

Now that we have set forth and declared the matters and articles propounded and objected against the bishop, with his answer and purgations unto the same, wherein, though he utter many words to the most advantage of his excuse, yet he could not so excuse himself, but that much fault, and matter of great complaint, and most worthy of accusation, did remain in him: it remaineth, consequently, to set forth the process of his doings, and such complaints and accusations, wherewith he was worthily charged withal, as in the copy here following doth appear.

The copy of a writ or evidence touching the order and manner of the misdemeanour of Winchester, with declaration of the faults wherewith he was justly charged; copied out of the public records.

"Whereas the king's Majesty, by the advice of

the lord protector and the rest of his Highness's privy council, thinking requisite, for sundry urgent considerations, to have a general visitation throughout the whole realm, did, about ten months past, address forth commissions; and, by the advice of sundry bishops and other the best learned men of the realm, appointed certain orders or injunctions to be generally observed; which, being such as in some part touched the reformation of many abuses, and in other parts concerned the good governance and quiet of the realm, were (as reason would) of all men of all sorts obediently received, and reverently observed and executed, saving only of the bishop of Winchester, who, as well by conference with others as by open protestations and letters also, showed such a wilful disobedience therein, as, if it had not been quickly espied, might have bred much unquietness and trouble:—upon the knowledge thereof he, being sent for, and his lewd proceedings laid to his charge, in the presence of the whole council so used himself (as well in denying to receive the said orders and injunctions, as otherwise) as he was thought worthy most sharp punishment; and yet, considering the place he had been in, he was only sequestered to the Fleet, where, after he had remained a certain time, as much at his ease as if he had been at his own house, upon his promise of conformity, he was both set at liberty again, and also licensed to repair to and remain in his diocese at his pleasure. Where when he was, forgetting his duty, and what promise he had made, he began forthwith to set forth such matters as bred again more strife, variance, and contention, in that one small city and shire, than was almost in the whole realm after. Besides that, the lord protector's Grace and the council were informed, that to withstand such as he thought to have been sent from his Grace and their Lordships into those parts, he had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed; and moreover, when such preachers as, being men of godly life and learning, were sent into that diocese by his Grace and their Lordships to preach the word of God, and appointed to preach, the bishop, to disappoint and disgrace them, and to hinder his Majesty's proceedings, did occupy the pulpit himself, not fearing in his sermon to warn the people to beware of such new preachers, and to embrace none other doctrine but that which he had taught them (than the which words none could have been spoken more perilous and seditious). Whereupon, being afterwards sent for, and their Grace and Lordships objecting to him many particular matters wherewith they had just cause to charge him, they did in the end, upon his second promise, leave him at liberty, only willing him to remain at his

house at London, because they thought it most meet to sequester him from his diocese for a time. And, being come to his house, he began afresh to ruffle and meddle in matters wherein he had neither commission nor authority; part whereof touched the king's Majesty. Whereof being yet once again admonished by his Grace and their Lordships, he did not only promise to conform himself in all things like a good subject, but also, because he understood that he was diversely reported of, and many were also offended with him, he offered to declare to the world his conformity; and promised, in an open sermon so to open his mind in sundry articles agreed upon, that such as had been offended should have no more cause to be offended, but well satisfied in all things. Declaring further, that as his own conscience was well satisfied, and liked well the king's proceedings within this realm, so would he utter his conscience abroad, to the satisfaction and good quiet of others. And yet, all this notwithstanding, at the day appointed, he did not only most arrogantly and disobediently, and that in the presence of his Majesty, his Grace, and their Lordships, and of such an audience as the like whereof hath not lightly been seen, speak of certain matters contrary to an express commandment given to him on his Majesty's behalf both by mouth and by letters, but also, in the rest of the articles whereunto he had agreed before, used such a manner of utterance as was very like, even there presently, to have stirred a great tumult; and, in certain great matters touching the policy of the realm, handled himself so colourably, as therein he showed himself an open great offender, and a very seditious man. Forasmuch as these his proceedings were of such sort, as, being suffered to escape unpunished, might breed innumerable inconveniences, and that the clemencies showed to him afore, by his Grace and their Lordships, did work in him no good effect, but rather a pride and boldness to demean himself more and more disobediently against his Majesty's and his Grace's proceedings; it was determined by his Grace and their Lordships, that he should be committed to the Tower, and be conveyed thither by Sir Anthony Wingfield; and that at the time of his committing, Sir Ralph Sadler, and William Hunninga, clerk of the council, should seal up the doors of such places in his house as they should think meet: all which was done accordingly."

By this evidence above-mentioned, first, here is of the reader to be noted, how lewdly and disobediently the said Stephen Gardiner misused himself in the king's general visitation, in denying to receive such orders and injunctions, as for the which he justly

deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the king, with his uncle the lord protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the Fleet; in the which house, as his durance was not long, so his entreating and ordering was very easy. Out of the which Fleet, divers and sundry letters he wrote to the lord protector and others of the council; certain also to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some to Master Ridley, bishop of London, as is above specified.

Here follow the circumstances of the council's proceedings with the bishop of Winchester, taken out of the register.

"Greenwich, June 8, 1550.

"Considering the long imprisonment that the bishop of Winchester hath sustained, it was now thought time he should be spoken withal; and agreed by the council, that if he repented his former obstinacy, and would henceforth apply himself to advance the king's Majesty's proceedings, his Highness, in this case, would be his good lord to remit all his errors passed. Otherwise his Majesty was resolved to proceed against him as his obstinacy and contempt required. For the declaration whereof the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Peter, were appointed the next day to repair unto him."

After these things thus passed, certain of the council, by the king's appointment, had sundry days and times access to him in the Tower, to persuade with him; which were these, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, and Master Secretary Peter, who repaired to him the tenth day of June.

"Greenwich, June 10, 1550.

"Report was made by the duke of Somerset and the rest, sent to the bishop of Winchester, that he desired of them to see the king's book of proceedings; upon the sight whereof he would make a full answer, seeming to be willing in all things to conform himself thereunto, and promising, that in case any thing offended his conscience, he would open it to none but to the council. Whereupon it was agreed, the book should be sent him to see his answer, that his case might be resolved upon; and that, for the mean time, he should have the liberty of the gallery and garden in the Tower, when the duke of Norfolk were absent."

The king was lying at Greenwich at this time.

"Greenwich, June 13, 1550.

"This day the lieutenant of the Tower, who be-

fore was appointed to deliver the king's book unto the bishop of Winchester, declared unto the council, that the bishop, having perused it, said unto him, he could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty; and so being, he would say his conscience. Whereupon the lords and others that had been with him the other day, were appointed to go to him again to receive a direct answer, that the council thereupon might determine further order for him."

"At Westminster, July 8, 1550.

"This day the bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the king's Majesty's proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the king's Highness, with which the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth."

A letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, signed by the king, and subscribed by the council.

"It is not, we think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministered unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts, and other inobediences as, after and contrary to our commandment, were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said council committed to ward: where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen, and others of our privy council, and travelling by them with clemency

and favour to have reduced you to the knowledge of your duty; yet in all this time have you neither acknowledged your faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseeemed you, nor yet showed any appearance either of repentance, or of any good conformity to our godly proceedings. Where-with albeit we both have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our laws, cause your former doings to be reformed and punished to the example of others; yet, for that we would both the world and yourself also should know that we delight more in clemency, than in the strait administration of justice, we have vouchsafed, not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send estoons unto you four of our privy council with certain articles, which being by us, with the advice of our said council, considered, we think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you; and therefore will and command you to subscribe the said articles, upon pain of incurring such punishment and penalties as by our laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

"Given at our palace of Westminster, the eighth day of July, the fourth year of our reign."

This letter, signed by the king's Majesty, was also subscribed by the whole council.

"At Westminster, July 10.

"The lord treasurer, lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, made report unto the council, that they had not only delivered to the bishop of Winchester the king's Majesty's letter, but also the articles appointed unto all; which articles he subscribed with his own hand, saving to the first, whereunto he wrote his answer in the margin, as hereafter appeareth."

With the before-mentioned letter, addressed from the king and his council, these articles, also, were delivered to the bishop of Winchester, here following:

The copy of the articles, six in number.

"I. That by the law of God, and the authority of the Scriptures, the king's Majesty and his successors are supreme heads of the churches of England, and also of Ireland."

The bishop of Winchester's answer to this article, in the margin.—"Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one too much favouring the bishop of Rome's authority, decrees, and ordinances, and, as one that did not approve or allow the king's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, was convented before the king's Highness's council, and admonished thereof;

and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done that as I ought to do, although I promised to do the same; whereby I have not only incurred the king's Majesty's indignation, but also divers of his Highness's subjects have, by my example, taken encouragement (as his Grace's council is certainly informed) to repine at his Majesty's most godly proceedings: I am right sorry there-for, and acknowledge myself condignly to have been punished; and do most heartily thank his Majesty, that of his great clemency it hath pleased his Highness to deal with me not according to rigour, but mercy. And to the intent it may appear to the world, how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm and say freely of mine own will, without any compulsion, as ensueth."

"II. Item, That the appointing of holy-days and fasting-days, as Lent, Ember-days, or any such like, or to dispense therewith, is in the king's Majesty's authority and power: and his Highness, as supreme head of the said churches of England and Ireland, and governor thereof, may appoint the manner and time of the holy-days and fasting-days, or dispense therewith, as to his wisdom shall seem most convenient for the honour of God, and the wealth of this realm.

"III. Item, That the king's Majesty hath most Christianly and godly set forth, by and with the consent of the whole parliament, a devout and Christian book of service of the church, to be frequented by the church, which book is to be accepted and allowed of all bishops, pastors, curates, and all ministers ecclesiastical of the realm of England, and so of him to be declared and commended in all places where he shall fortune to preach or speak to the people of it, that it is a godly and Christian book and order, and to be allowed, accepted, and observed of all the king's Majesty's true subjects.

"IV. I do acknowledge the king's Majesty that now is, (whose life God long preserve!) to be my sovereign lord, and supreme head under Christ to me as a bishop of this realm, and natural subject to his Majesty, and now in this his young and tender age to be my full and entire king; and that I, and all other his Highness's subjects, are bound to obey all his Majesty's proclamations, statutes, laws, and commandments, made, promulgated, and set forth in his Highness's young age, as well as though his Highness were at this present thirty or forty years old.

"V. Item, I confess and acknowledge, that the

deserved much more severe punishment, albeit the king, with his uncle the lord protector, more gently proceeding with him, were contented only to make him taste the Fleet; in the which house, as his duration was not long, so his entreating and ordering was very easy. Out of the which Fleet, divers sundry letters he wrote to the lord protector and others of the council; certain also to the archbishop of Canterbury, and some to Master Ridley, bishop of London, as is above specified.

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"This day the bishop of Winchester's case was renewed upon the report of the lords that had been with him, that his answers were ever doubtful, refusing while he were in prison to make any direct answer. Wherefore it was determined, that he should be directly examined, whether he would sincerely conform himself unto the king's Majesty's proceedings or not. For which purpose it was agreed, that particular articles should be drawn, to see whether he would subscribe them or not; and a letter also directed unto him from the king's Highness, with which the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him; the tenor of which letter hereafter ensueth."

A letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, signed by the king, and subscribed by the council.

"It is not, we think, unknown unto you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon the sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said council of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation, and otherwise. Which notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and many other times ministered unto you, wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation, we would not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts, and other inobediences as, after and contrary to our commandment, were openly known in you, as also for some example and terror of such others as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge against our most godly proceedings, whereof great discord and inconvenience at that time might have ensued. For the avoiding whereof, and for your just deservings, you were by our said council committed to ward: where albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you in the mean time, at sundry times, divers of the noblemen, and others of our privy council, and travelling by them with clemency

"VII. Also, the king's Majesty that now is, by the advice and consent of the parliament, did, upon just ground and reason, suppress, abolish, and take away the said chantries, and such other livings as were used and occupied for maintenance of private masses, and masses satisfactory for the souls of them that are dead, or finding of obits, lights, or other like things. The mass that was wont to be said of priests was full of abuses, and had very few things of Christ's institution, besides the Epistle, Gospel, the Lord's Prayer, and the words of the Lord's supper; the rest, for the more part, were invented and devised by bishops of Rome, and by other men of the same sort, and therefore justly taken away by the statutes and laws of this realm; and the communion which is placed instead thereof, is very godly, and agreeable to the Scriptures.

"VIII. Item, That it is most convenient and fit, and according to the first institution, that all Christian men should receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ in both the kinds, that is, in bread and wine.

"IX. And the mass, wherein only the priest receiveth, and the others do but look on, is but the invention of man, and the ordinance of the bishop of Rome's church, not agreeable to Scripture.

"X. Item, That upon good and godly considerations it is ordered in the said book and order, that the sacrament should not be lifted up, and showed to the people to be adored; but to be with godly devotion received, as it was first instituted.

"XI. Item, That it is well, politically, and godly done, that the king's Majesty, by act of parliament, hath commanded all images which have stood in churches and chapels, to be clearly abolished and defaced; lest hereafter, at any time, they should give occasion of idolatry, or be abused, as many of them heretofore have been, with pilgrimages, and such idolatrous worshipping.

"XII. And also that, for like godly and good considerations, by the same authority of parliament, all mass-books, cowchers, grails, and other books of the service in Latin, heretofore used, should be abolished and defaced, as well for certain superstitions in them contained, as also to avoid dissension; and that the said service in the church should be, through the whole realm, in one uniform conformity, and no occasion through those old books to the contrary.

"XIII. That bishops, priests, and deacons have no commandment of the law of God, either to vow chastity, or to abstain continually from marriage.

"XIV. Item, That all canons, constitutions, laws positive, and ordinances of man, which do prohibit

or forbid marriage to any bishop, priest, or deacon, be justly, and upon godly grounds and considerations, taken away and abolished by authority of parliament.

"XV. The Homilies lately commanded and set forth by the king's Majesty, to be read in the congregations of England, are godly and wholesome, and do teach such doctrine as ought to be embraced of all men.

"XVI. The book set forth by the king's Majesty, by authority of parliament, containing the form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, and deacons, is godly, and in no point contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; and therefore ought to be received and approved of all the faithful members of the Church of England, and, namely, the ministers of God's word, and by them commended to the people.

"XVII. That the orders of sub-deacon, Bezet and Colet, and such others as were commonly called *minores ordines*, be not necessary by the word of God to be reckoned in the church, and be justly left out in the said Book of Orders.

"XVIII. That the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all doctrine required of necessity for eternal salvation through faith in Jesus Christ; and that nothing is to be taught as required of necessity to eternal salvation, but that which may be concluded and proved by the Holy Scriptures.

"XIX. That upon good and godly considerations it was and is commanded by the king's Majesty's injunctions, that the Paraphrase of Erasmus in English should be set up in some convenient place in every parish church of this realm, where the parishioners may most commodiously resort to read the same.

"XX. And because these articles aforesaid, do contain only such matters as be already published and openly set forth by the king's Majesty's authority, by the advice of his Highness's council, for many great and godly considerations; and amongst others, for the common tranquillity and unity of the realm; his Majesty's pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, is, that you, the bishop of Winchester, shall not only affirm these articles with subscription of your hand, but also declare and profess yourself well contented, willing, and ready to publish and preach the same at such times and places, and before such audience, as to his Majesty from time to time shall seem convenient and requisite; upon pain of incurring such penalties and punishments as, for not doing the same, may, by his Majesty's laws, be inflicted upon you.

"These articles were sent the fifteenth of July."

statute commonly called The Statute of the Six Articles, for just causes and grounds, is by authority of parliament repealed and disannulled.

“VI. Item, That his Majesty and his successors have authority in the said churches of England, and also of Ireland, to alter, reform, correct, and amend all errors and abuses, and all rites and ceremonies ecclesiastical, as shall seem from time to time to his Highness and his successors most convenient for the edification of his people; so that the same alteration be not contrary or repugnant to the Scripture and law of God.

“Subscribed by Stephen Winchester, with the testimonial hands of the council to the same.”

To these articles afore specified, although Winchester with his own hand did subscribe, granting and consenting to the supremacy of the king as well then being, as of his successors to come; yet because he stuck so much in the first point touching his submission, and would in no case subscribe to the same, but only made his answer in the margin, (as is above noted,) it was therefore thought good to the king, that the master of the horse and Master Secretary Peter should repair unto him again with the same request of submission, exhorting him to look better upon it; and in case the words seemed too sore, then to refer it unto himself, in what sort and with what words he should devise to submit him, that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the king's Highness might extend his mercy and liberality towards him as it was determined: which was the eleventh day of July, the year abovesaid.

When the master of the horse and Secretary Peter had been with him in the Tower according to their commission, returning from him again, they declared unto the king and his council how precisely the said bishop stood in justification of himself, that he had never offended the king's Majesty: wherefore he utterly refused to make any submission at all. For the more surety of which denial, it was agreed, that a new book of articles should be devised, wherewith the said master of the horse, and Master Secretary Peter, should repair unto him again; and for the more authentic proceeding with him, they should have with them a divine, and a temporal lawyer, which were the bishop of London, and Master Goodrick.

The copy of the last articles sent to the bishop of Winchester.

“Whereas I, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have been suspected as one that did not approve or allow the king's Majesty's proceedings in alteration of certain rites in religion, and was convented be-

fore the king's Highness's council, and admonished thereof, and having certain things appointed for me to do and preach for my declaration, have not done therein as I ought to do, whereby I have deserved his Majesty's displeasure, I am right sorry therefore. And to the intent it may appear to the world how little I do repine at his Highness's doings, which be in religion most godly, and to the commonwealth most profitable, I do affirm as followeth:

“I. That the late king, of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, our late sovereign lord, justly, and of good reason and ground, hath taken away, and caused to be suppressed and defaced, all monasteries and religious houses, and all conventicles and convents of monks, friars, nuns, canons, bonhommes, and other persons called religious; and that the same being so dissolved, the persons therein bound and professed to obedience to a person, place, habit, and other superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon that dissolution and order appointed by the king's Majesty's authority as supreme head of the church, are clearly released and acquitted of those vows and professions, and at their full liberty, as though those unwitty and superstitious vows had never been made.

“II. Item, That any person may lawfully marry, without any dispensation from the bishop of Rome, or any other man, with any person whom it is not prohibited to contract matrimony with, by the law Levitical.

“III. Item, That the vowing and going on pilgrimage to images, or the bones or relics of any saints, hath been superstitiously used, and cause of much wickedness and idolatry, and therefore justly abolished by the late said king, of famous memory; and the images and relics so abused, have been, for great and godly considerations, defaced and destroyed.

“IV. Item, That the counterfeiting of St. Nicholas, St. Clement, St. Katharine, and St. Edmund, by children heretofore brought into the church, was a mere mockery and foolishness, and therefore justly abolished and taken away.

“V. Item, It is convenient and godly, that the Scripture of the Old Testament and New, that is, the whole Bible, be had in English and published, to be read of every man, and that whosoever doth repel and dehort men from reading thereof, doth evil and damnably.

“VI. Item, That the said late king, of just ground and reason, did receive into his hands the authority and disposition of chantries and such livings as were given for the maintenance of private masses, and did well change divers of them to other uses.

chester; and discern, deem, and judge the same to be committed to the several receipt, collection, and custody, of such person or persons as his Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. And because your former disobediences and contempts, so long continued, so many times doubled, renewed, and aggravated, do manifestly declare you to be a person without all hope of recovery, and plainly incorrigible; we eftsoons admonish and require you to obey his Majesty's said commandment, and that you do declare yourself, by subscription of your hand, both willing and well contented to accept, allow, preach and teach to others, the said articles, and all such other matters as be or shall be set forth by his Majesty's authority of supreme head of this Church of England, on this side and within the term of three months; whereof we appoint one month for the first monition, one month for the second monition and warning, and one month for the third and peremptory monition.

"Within which time as you may yet declare your conformity, and shall have paper, pen, and ink, when you shall call for them for that purpose; so if you wilfully forbear and refuse to declare yourself obedient and conformable as is aforesaid, we intimate unto you, that his Majesty, who, like a good governor, desireth to keep both his commonwealth quiet, and to purge the same of evil men, (especially ministers,) intendeth to proceed against you as an incorrigible person, and unmeet minister of this church, unto the deprivation of your said bishopric.

"(Nevertheless, upon divers good considerations, and specially in hope he might within his time be yet reconciled, it was agreed, that the said bishop's house and servants should be maintained in their present estate, until the time that this injunction should expire, and the matter for the mean time to be kept secret.)"

After this sequestration, the said bishop was conveyed unto Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's commissioners, by virtue of the king's special letters sent unto the said commissioners; to wit, the archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Secretary Peter, Sir James Hales, knight; Dr. Leyson and Dr. Oliver, lawyers, and John Gosnold, esquire, &c., before them, and by them, to be examined. But, forasmuch as among other divers and sundry crimes and accusations, deduced against this bishop, the especial and chiefest matter wherewith he was charged, depended upon his sermon made before the king's Majesty, in not satisfying and discharging his duty therein—proving that which

he was required to do, partly in speaking of those things which he was forbid to entreat of—it shall not be out of the order of the story, here to recite the whole tenor and effect of his sermon, as it was penned and exhibited to the commissioners at his examination, with the copy also of the lord protector's letter, sent unto him before he should preach.

The tenor and copy of a letter sent to the bishop of Winchester, from the duke of Somerset and the rest of the commissioners, touching such points as the bishop of Winchester should entreat of in his sermon. On the twentieth eighth of June, 1548.

"To our loving lord the bishop of Winchester.

"We commend us unto you: We sent unto you yesterday our servant William Cecil, to signify unto you our pleasure, and advise that you should, in your next sermon, forbear to entreat upon those principal questions which remain amongst the number of learned men in this realm as yet in controversy, concerning the sacrament of the altar and the mass; as well for that your private argument or determination therein might offend the people, naturally expecting decisions of litigious causes, and thereby discord and tumult arise, the occasions whereof we must necessarily prevent and take away, as also for that the questions and controversies rest at this present in consultation; and, with the pleasure of God, shall be, in small time, by public doctrine and authority quietly and truly determined. This message we send unto you, not thinking but your own wisdom had considered so much in an apparent manner; or, at the least, upon our remembrance, ye would understand it, and follow it with good will: consulting thereby your own quietness in avoiding offence, as observing our pleasure in avoiding contention. Your answer hereunto our said servant hath declared unto us in this manner: 'Ye can in no wise forbear to speak of the sacrament, neither of the mass;' this last, being the chief foundation, as you say, of our religion; and that without it, we cannot know that Christ is our sacrifice. The other being so spoken of by many, that if you should not speak your mind thereof, what ye think, ye know what other men would think of you. In the end, concluding generally, that ye will speak the truth; and that ye doubt not but we shall be therewith content; adding also, as our said servant reporteth unto us, that you would not wish that we ourselves should meddle or have to do in these matters of religion; but that the care thereof were committed to the bishops, unto whom the blame, if any should be deserved, might well be imputed. To this your answer, if it so be, we reply very shortly, signifying

unto you our express pleasure and commandment, on our sovereign lord the king's Majesty's behalf, charging you, by the authority of the same, to abstain in your said sermon from treating of any matter in controversy concerning the said sacrament and the mass; and only to bestow your speech in the expert explication of the articles prescribed unto you, and in other wholesome matters of obedience of the people, and good conversation in living; the same matter being both large enough for a long sermon, and not unnecessary for the time: and the treating of the other, which we forbid you, not meet in your private sermon to be had, but necessarily reserved for a public consultation, and at this present utterly to be forborne for the common quiet. This is our express pleasure, wherein we know how reasonably we may command you, and you, we think, know how willingly ye ought to obey us.

“For our intermeddling with these causes of religion, understand you, that we account it no small part of our charge, under the king's Majesty, to bring his people from ignorance to knowledge, and from superstition to true religion; esteeming that the chiefest foundation to build obedience upon; and, where there is a full consent of other the bishops and learned men in a truth, not to suffer you, or a few other wilful heads, to disorder all the rest. And although we presume not to determine articles of religion by ourself, yet from God we knowledge it, we be desirous to defend and advance the truth determined or revealed. And so consequently we will not fail but withstand the disturbers thereof. So fare you well.

“From Sion, the 28th of June, anno 1548.

“Your loving friend,

EDWARD SOMERSET.”

Here followeth the sum and effect of the sermon which Gardiner bishop of Winchester preached before the king's Majesty, collected by Master Udall, and exhibited up to the commissioners in the time of the examination of the said bishop.

The sermon of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached before the king.

“Most honourable audience! I purpose, by the grace of God, to declare some part of the gospel that is accustomed to be read in the church as this day. And for because that without the special grace of God, neither I can speak any thing to your edifying, nor ye receive the same accordingly, I shall desire you all, that we may jointly pray altogether for the assistance of his grace; in which prayer I commend to Almighty God, your most excellent Majesty our sovereign lord, king of England,

France, and Ireland, and of the Church of England and Ireland, next and immediately under God, here on earth the supreme head; queen Katharine, dowager; my Lady Mary's grace, my Lady Elizabeth's grace, your Majesty's most dear sisters; my lord protector's grace, with all others of your most honourable council; the spirituality and temporality. And I shall desire you to commend unto God with your prayer, the souls departed unto God in Christ's faith; and among these most specially, for our late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth, your Majesty's most noble father. For these, and for grace necessary, I shall desire you to say a Pater-noster [and so forth].

“The gospel beginneth, *Cum venisset Jesus in partes Cesaræ Philippi*, &c. When Jesus was come into the parts of Cesarea, a city that Philip-pus builded, he asked his disciples and said, Whom do men say that the Son of man is? They said, Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some, that thou art Elias; some, that thou art Jeremy, or one of the prophets. He said to them, But whom say ye that I am? Then answered Simon Peter and said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, &c.

“I cannot have time, I think, to speak of the gospel thoroughly, for other matters that I have here now to say; but I shall note unto you such things as I may. And first, of the diversity of opinions concerning Christ, which were among the people variable, but among his (that is, the disciples of Christ's school) there was no variety. They agreed altogether in one truth, and among them was no variety. For when Peter had, for all the rest, and in the name of all the rest, made his answer, that Christ was the Son of God, they all, with one consent, confessed that he had spoken the truth. Yet these opinions of Christ that the people had of him, though they were sundry, yet were they honourable, and not slanderous; for to say that Christ was Elias, and John the Baptist, was honourable; for some thought him so to be, because he did frankly, sharply, and openly, rebuke vice. They that called him Jeremy, had an honourable opinion of him, and thought him so to be, because of his great learning which they perceived in him; and marvelled where he had it. And they that said he was one of the prophets, had an honourable opinion of him, and favoured him, and thought well of him. But there was another sort of people that spake evil of him, and slandered him and railed on him, saying that he was a glutton, and a drinker of wine; that he had a devil in him; that he was a deceiver of the people; that he was a carpenter's son (as though he were the worse for his father's craft). But of these he asked not any question; for among these, none

agreed with the other. Wherein ye shall note, that man of his own power and strength can nothing do. For nothing that good is he can do of his own invention or device, but erreth and faileth when he is left to his own invention. He erreth in his imagination. So proud is man, and so stout of his own courage, that he deviseth nothing well, whensoever he is left to himself without God. And then never do any such agree in any truth, but wander and err in all that they do: as men of law, if they be asked their opinion in any point touching the law, ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion in any point touching the law; ye shall not have two of them agree in opinion one with the other. If there be two or three of them asked their opinion in any matter, if they should answer all one thing, they fear lest they should be supposed and thought to have no learning. Therefore, be they never so many of them, they will not agree in their answers, but devise each man a sundry answer in any thing that they are asked. The philosophers that were not of Christ's school, erred every one in their vain opinions, and no one of them agreeth with the other. Yea, men of simplicity, though they mean well, yet being out of Christ's school, they agree not, but vary in their opinions; as these simple people here spoken of, because they were not perfect disciples of Christ's school, they varied, and agreed not in their opinion of Christ, though they thought well of him.

"Some said he was John, some Elias, some Jeremy, but none made the right answer. He that answered here, was Simon the son of Jonas; and he said, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. Where ye shall note the properties that were in Peter, he was called Simon, which is obedience, and Jonas is a dove; so that in him that is of Christ's school, must be these two properties, obedience and simplicity. He must be humble and innocent as a dove, that will be of Christ's school. Pride is a let of Christ's school; for, as the wise man sayeth, God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace unto the humble and meek. And according to the same doth Christ in the Gospel say, O Father! I confess unto thee, (that is, I laud and magnify thee,) for that thou hast hidden these things from the wise, and hast opened them unto the little ones. Whereupon sayeth St. Augustine, that the gifts of learning, and knowledge of sciences, are no let to Christ's school, but a furtherance thereunto, if they be well applied, and used as they ought to be. But he that is proud, and feedeth himself with his own conceit and opinion of himself, and abuseth the gifts of God, applying his learning and knowledge to the satisfying and fol-

lowing of his own fantasy, is no right disciple of Christ, but falleth into error. When they said and affirmed themselves to be wise, they were made fools. The philosophers had every one a sect of his own, and had many gay sentences for the commendations of their opinions; and every man thought his own opinion to be best. But because they applied all to their own pride and glory, and not to the honour of God, nor humbled themselves as they ought to have done, but followed their own fancy, they erred and fell out of the way, and were not of Christ's school. And all that have gone out of Christ's school, pride hath brought them out of it; and such as have not entered, have kept themselves out of it with pride likewise. Therefore all such as will be scholars of Christ's school and discipline, must be humble and meek: otherwise, *dicentes se sapientes esse, stulti facti sunt*. He that cannot learn this lesson of Peter, and humbly confess with Peter, that Christ is the Son of the living God, is no scholar of Christ's school, be he otherwise never so well learned, never so well seen in other sciences.

"But now concerning the answer of Peter: Matthew here in this place saith,—he answered, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God: St. Luke saith, he answered, Thou art the Christ of God: and St. Mark saith, he answered, Thou art Christ.—But, in all that, is no variety; for to say, Christ the Son of the living God, and to say, The Christ of God, and to say, Christ, is, in effect, all one, and no diversity in it. For Christ alone is the whole, and he that confesseth thoroughly Christ, is thoroughly a Christian man, and doth then therein confess him to be the Lord and Saviour of the world.

"But now we must consider what Christ is. Christ was a sacrifice. He was sent from the Trinity, to be our Mediator between God and us, and to reconcile us to the favour of God the Father. He was the bishop that offered for our sins, and the sacrifice that was offered. And as he is our bishop, so is he our mean to pacify God for us, for that was the office of a bishop, to sacrifice for the sins of the people, and to make intercession for the people. And as he was our sacrifice, so was he our reconciliation to God again. But we must confess and believe him thoroughly, I say, for as he was our bishop then, so is it he that still keepeth us in favour with God. And like as his sacrifice then made was sufficient for us, to deliver us from our sins, and to bring us in favour with God, so, to continue us in the same favour of God, he ordained a perpetual remembrance of himself. He ordained himself, for a memory of himself, at his last sup-

er, when he instituted the sacrament of the altar. Not for another redemption, as though the first had not been sufficient, nor as though the world needed a new redemption from sin; but that we might thoroughly remember his passion, he instituted this sacrament by his most holy word; saying,—This is my body: which word is sufficient to prove the sacrament, and maketh sufficiently for the substance hereof. And this daily sacrifice he instituted to be continued amongst Christian men, not for need of another redemption or satisfaction for the sins of the world, (for that was sufficiently performed by his sacrifice of his body and blood, done upon the cross,) neither that he be now our bishop, for need of any further sacrifice to be made for sin; but to continue us in the remembrance of his passion suffered for us; to make us strong in believing the fruit of his passion; to make us diligent in thanksgiving, for the benefit of his passion; to establish our faith, and to make it strong in acknowledging the efficacy of his death and passion, suffered for us. And this is the true understanding of the mass: not for another redemption, but that we may be strong in believing the benefit of Christ's death and bloodshedding for us upon the cross.

“And this it is that we must believe of Christ, and believe it thoroughly: and therefore, by your patience, as Peter made his confession, so will I make confession. Wherein, by your Majesty's leave and sufferance, I will plainly declare what I think of the state of the Church of England at this day; how I like it, and what I think of it; where I said of the mass, that it was a sacrifice ordained to make us the more strong in the faith and remembrance of Christ's passion, and for commending unto God the souls of such as be dead in Christ. For these two things are the special causes why the mass was instituted. The parliament very well ordained mass to be kept; and because we should be the more strong in the faith and devotion towards God, it was well done of the parliament, for moving the people more and more with devotion, to ordain that this sacrament should be received in both kinds. Therefore I say, that the act of parliament for receiving of the sacrament of the altar in both kinds, was well made. I said, also, that the proclamation which was made, that no man should unreverently speak of the sacrament, or otherwise speak of it than Scripture teacheth them, was well made: for this proclamation stoppeth the mouths of all such as will unreverently speak of the sacrament. For in Scripture is there nothing to be found that maketh any thing against the sacrament, but all maketh with it. Wherefore if they were the children of obedience, they would not use any unreverent talk

against the sacrament, nor blaspheme the holy sacrament; for no word of the Scripture maketh any thing against it.

“But here it may be said unto me, ‘Why, sir, is this your opinion? It is good: you speak plainly in this matter, and halt nothing, but declare your mind plainly without any colouring or covert speaking.—The act for the dissolving and suppressing of the chantries seemeth to make against the mass, how like you that act? What say you of it? or what would you say of it, if you were alone?’ I will speak what I think of it. I will use no colourable or covert words. I will not use a devised speech for a time, and afterward go from it again.—If chantries were abused by applying the mass, for the satisfaction of sin, or to bring men to heaven, or to take away sin, or to make men, of wicked, just, I like the act well; and they might well be dissolved: for the mass was not instituted for any such purpose. Yet, nevertheless, for them that were in them, (I speak now as in the cause of the poor,) it were well done that they were provided of livings. The act doth graciously provide for them during their lives, and I doubt not but that your Majesty and the lords of your most honourable council have willed and taken order, that they should be well looked unto. But yet how shall they be used at the hands of under-officers? God knoweth, full hardly, I fear. But as for the chantries themselves, if there were any such abuse in them concerning the mass, it is no matter if they be taken away. King Henry the Eighth, a noble and wise prince, not without a great pain, maintained the mass; and yet in his doctrine it was confessed, that masses of *Scala cæli*, were not to be used nor allowed, because they did pervert the right use and institution of the mass. For when men add unto the mass an opinion of satisfaction, or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for. I, that allow mass so well, and I, that allow praying for the dead, (as indeed the dead are of Christian charity to be prayed for,) yet can agree with the realm in that matter of putting down chantries. But yet ye would say unto me, ‘There be fewer masses by putting away the chantries.’ So were there when abbeyes were dissolved: so be there when ye unite many churches in one. But this is no injury nor prejudice to the mass. It consisteth not in the number, nor in the multitude, but in the thing itself; so that the decay of the masses by taking away of the chantries, is answered by the abbeyes: but yet I would have it considered for the persons that are in them, I speak of the poor men's livings.

“I have now declared what I think of the act of

parliament, made for the receiving of the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in both kinds. Ye have my mind and opinion, concerning the proclamation that came forth for the same act; and I have showed my mind therein, even plainly as I think. And I have ever been agreeable to this precinct. I have oftentimes reasoned in it. I have spoken and also written in it, both beyond the seas, and on this side the seas. My books be abroad, which I cannot unwrite again. I was ever of this opinion, that it might be received in both kinds: and it was a constitution provincial scarce two hundred years ago, made by Peckham, the archbishop of Canterbury, that it should be received in both kinds: at leastwise, in *ecclesiis majoribus*, that is, in the greater churches; for in the smaller churches it was not thought to be so expedient. Thus have I ever thought of this matter. I have never been of other mind, nor I have not changed my conscience; but I have obeyed and followed the order of the realm: and I prayed you to obey orders as I have obeyed, that we may all be the children of obedience.

"Now I will return to the text. When Simon had answered, *Tu es Christus, filius Dei vivi*, Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, then Christ said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona; for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Blessed art thou, said he, for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee. For otherwise, in Luke, Andrew told of Christ and said, I have found the Messias, which is Christ. But that is not enough. He that shall confess Christ, must have an inward teaching, and must be spiritually taught by the Father of heaven; for Andrew's confession were nothing but a carnal confession, and such a one as any other might have made, by natural reason. But the confession of Peter was above the reason of man; for Christ was there a very man, and Peter's eyes told him, that he was a man and nothing else. But he was inwardly taught by the Father of heaven, and had a secret knowledge given him from heaven, not by flesh and blood, (that is to say, by man's reason,) but inwardly, by the Father of heaven. And seeing this was above reason, it is a marvellous thing, that reason should be used to impugn faith. It is a precinct of carnal men, and such as use gross reason. But Peter had another lesson inwardly taught him; and, because he conned his lesson, Christ gave him a new name,—for *Petros* is a stone, a new name of a Christian man: For upon this confession of thy

faith here, I will build my church; that is, I will stablish all those which I intend to gather unto thee: *et demones non prevalearunt adversus eam*; that is, and the devils shall not prevail against it. For he that with a good heart and sure faith confessed this, he is sure from all peril: this world nor Satan can do him no harm.

"But now for a further declaration. It is a marvellous thing, that upon these words the bishop of Rome should found his supremacy; for whether it be *super petram*, or *Petrum*, all is one matter. It maketh nothing at all for our purpose, to make a foundation of any such supremacy. For otherwise, when Peter spake carnally to Christ, (as in the same chapter a little following,) Satan was his name: where Christ said, Go after me, Satan. So that the name of Peter is no foundation for the supremacy; but, as it is said in Scripture, *Fundati estis super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum*: that is, by participation, (for godly participation giveth names of things,) he might be called the head of the church, as the head of the river is called the head, because he was the first that made his confession of Christ: which is not an argument for dignity, but for the quality, that was in the man—for the first man is not evermore the best. The head man of a quest is not always the best man in the quest; but is chosen to be the head man for some other quality that is in him. Virtue may allure many, so that the inferior person in dignity may be the better in place; as the king sometimes chooseth a mean man to be of his council, of whom he hath a good opinion; yet is the king the king still. And in some case the king of England might send to Rome; and, if the bishop of Rome were a man of such wisdom, virtue, and learning, that he were able, in matters of controversy concerning religion, to set a unity in the Church of England, the king might well enough send unto him for his counsel and help; and yet should not in so doing give the bishop of Rome any superiority over the king. For if a king be sick, he will have the best physician; if he hath war, he will have the best captain; and yet are not those the superiors, but the inferiors. A schoolmaster is a subject, a physician is a subject, a captain is a subject, councillors are subjects; yet do these order and direct the king. Wherefore, leaving the bishop of Rome, this I say, to declare of what opinion I am. I do not now speak what I could say. I have spoken beyond the seas; I have written; my books be abroad; but this is not the place here. I say that this place maketh nothing for the bishop of Rome, but for Christ only; for none can lay any other foundation than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

"But now to go forth declaring my mind; in my time hath come many alterations. First, a great alteration it was, to renounce the bishop of Rome's authority; and I was one that stood in it. A great alteration it was that abbeyes were dissolved. A great alteration it was that images were pulled down. And to all these did I condescend, and yet I have been counted a maintainer of superstition; and I have been called a master of ceremonies and of outward things; and I have been noted to take that religion which consisteth in outward things, as though he were a right Christian that fulfilled the outward ceremonies.

"I promised to declare my conscience, and so will I; and how I have esteemed ceremonies; and that I have never been of other opinion than I am, concerning ceremonies. And mine opinion I have gathered of Augustine and Jerome, ancient fathers and doctors of the church. Ceremonies serve to move men to serve God; and as long as they be used for that purpose, they may be well used in the church. But when man maketh himself servant to them, and not them to serve him, then be our ceremonies brought to an abuse. If by over-much familiarity of them, men abuse them, they do evil: for we must not serve creatures, but God. We had monkery, nunnery, friary, of a wondrous number; much variety of garments, variety of devices in dwelling, many sundry orders and fashions in moving of the body. These things were first ordained to admonish them to their duty to God, to labour for the necessity of the poor, to spare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and provided. And because they abused these things, and set them in a higher place than they ought to do, (not taking monition thereby, the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them,) they were dissolved; their houses and garments were taken away. But one thing King Henry would not take away; that was, the vow of chastity. The vow of obedience he converted to himself: the vow of chastity he willed still to remain with them. We had many images whereto pilgrimages were done, and many tombs that men used to visit; by reason whereof they fell in a fancy of idolatry and superstition, above the things that the image might have been taken for: and because it had not the use that it was ordained for, it was left. When men put the images in a higher place than they served for, then were they taken clean away. As give a child a gay book to learn upon, and then if he gaze upon the gorgeoussness of his book, and learn not his lesson according to the intent that the book was given him for, the book is taken away from him again. So

the images, when men devised and fell to have them in higher place and estimation than they were first set up in the church for, then they might be taken away. And I was never of other mind, nor ever had other opinion of it.

"Divers things there be in the church, which be in the liberty of the ruler, to order as he seeth cause; and he that is ruler, may either let it stand, or else may cause it to be taken away. There be two manner of reformations we have had, of both sorts. There be things in the church, the which if they be abused, may not be taken away; as for baptism, if it be abused, there may not another thing be put in the place of it, but the thing must be reformed and brought to the right use again. Also preaching, if it be abused, may not be taken away, but must be reformed and brought to the right use. But there be other things used in the church, in which the rulers have liberty either to reform them or to take them away. We have had many images, which be now all taken away, for it was in the liberty of the rulers, for the abuse of them, either to reform them or to take them away: and because it was an easier way to take them away than to bring them to the right use that they were ordained for, they were all clean taken away; and so they might be.—'Yea, sir,' will ye say, 'but ye have maintained and defended them; and have preached against such persons as despised them.' It is truth: I have preached against the despisers of them, and have said, that images might be suffered and used in the church, as laymen's books. Yet I never otherwise defended them, but to be used for such purpose as they were first set up in the church for. But now that men be waxed wanton, they are clean taken away; wherein our religion is no more touched than when books were taken away for abusing of them. There was an order taken for books not to be used, wherein some might have said, 'The books are good, and I know how to use them: I may therefore use them well enough. I will therefore use them, though they be forbidden.' But if thou have any charity, thou oughtest to be contented rather to have them all taken away, than to declare thyself of another opinion than thou oughtest to have.

"As touching ceremonies, I esteem them all as Paul esteemeth them—things indifferent; where he saith, The kingdom of God is not meat and drink. So of ceremonies. Nevertheless, we have time, place, and number: as a certain number of psalms to be said at times, which may be used without superstition. But these things must serve us, and not we serve them. Yet if an order be set in them by such as have power, we must follow it; and we

must obey the rulers that appoint such time, place, and number to be kept. Ye may not say, 'If the time will not serve me, then I will come an hour after.' No, sir, ye must keep this time and this hour; because it is so appointed by the rulers: not for the things, but for the order that is set. I have been ever of this opinion. We had palms and candles taken away; which things may indifferently have either of the two reformations above-said. When they were in places, they should have put men in remembrance of their duty and devotion towards God; but, because they were abused, they were and might be taken away. But the religion of Christ is not in these exercises; and therefore in taking away of them, the religion of Christ is nothing touched nor hindered; but men must in such things be conformable, not for the ceremony, but for obedience's sake. St. Paul saith, that we should rebuke every brother that walketh inordinately. I have told you my opinion, (and my conscience telleth me that I have spoken plainly,) that ye may know what I am; and that ye may not be deceived in me, nor be slandered in me, nor make any further search to know my heart. I like well the communion, because it provoketh men more and more to devotion. I like well the proclamation, because it stoppeth the mouths of all such as unreverently speak or rail against the sacrament. I like well the rest of the king's Majesty's proceedings concerning the sacrament.

"I have now told you what I like; but shall I speak nothing of that I mislike? ye will then say, I speak not plainly. I will therefore show my conscience plainly. I mislike that preachers which preach by the king's licence, and those readers which, by the king's permission and sufferance, do read open lectures, do openly and blasphemously talk against the mass, and against the sacrament. And to whom may I liken such readers and preachers? I may liken them unto posts; for the proverb says, that posts 'do bear truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths.' And so do they. And to speak so against the sacrament, it is the most marvellous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would wish, therefore, that there were a stay and an order in this behalf; and that there might be but one order or ruler: for as the poet saith, (I may use the verse of a poet well enough, for so doth Paul of the great poet,) *Οὐχ ἄγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω* that is, A government by many is not good: let there be one king only. And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the king (they call it, 'going before the king'): and such make themselves kings.

"Well, what misliketh me else? It misliketh me

that priests and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry and avow it openly; which is a thing that since the beginning of the church hath not been seen in any time, that men that have been added to any ecclesiastical administration, should marry. We read of married priests, that is to say, of married men chosen to be priests and ministers in the church; and in Epiphanius we read, that such, for necessity, were winked at. But, those being priests already, should marry, was never seen in Christ's church from the beginning of the apostles' time. I have written in it, and studied it, and the very same places that are therein appointed to maintain the marriage of priests, being diligently read, shall plainly confound them, that maintain marry your priests—or at the furthest, within a few lines after.

"Thus have I showed my opinion in orders proceeding from the inferiors, and in orders proceeding from the higher powers; and thus I have, as I have plainly declared myself, without any covering, counterfeiting. And I beseech your most excellent Majesty to esteem and take me as I am; and not to be slandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my conscience unto you. I have not played the post with you: I carry truth in my letters, and lies in my mouth; for I would not for all the world make a lie in my place: but I have disclosed the plain truth which lieth in my mind. And thus I commit your excellent Majesty, and all your most honourable councillors, with the rest of the devout audience here present, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end!"

Thus, having comprised the sum and chief purpose of his sermon, with such other matters as were written, as appertain to the better opening and understanding of the corrupt and blind ignorance of this bishop, with his dissembling and double-dealing doings in matters of religion, now it remained that we should proceed to the process of his examinations, before the king's commissioners, with the full handling of his cause in such order and process as things were done from time to time, as here following is to be seen.

The first session.

THE first session or action against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was holden in the great hall of the manor of Lambeth, by the king's Majesty's commissioners; that is to say,

Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, one of the king's secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight; Griffin Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of law; Thomas Gosnold, esquire; Thomas Argall and William Say, notaries and actuaries in that matter assigned, the 15th of December, A. D. 1550: at which day and place, Master John Lewis, on the behalf of the king's Majesty, presented certain letters of commission under the great seal of England, the tenor whereof ensueth.

"Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland; defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland in earth the supreme head: To the most reverend father in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, the right reverend fathers in God, our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and Henry, bishop of Lincoln; our trusty and right well-beloved counsellors, Sir William Peter, knight, one of our two principal secretaries, Sir James Hales, knight, one of our justices of Common Pleas; Griffith Leyson, John Oliver, doctors of the law; Richard Goodrick and John Gosnold, esquires, greeting.

"Whereas Stephen, bishop of Winchester, showing himself not conformable to our godly proceedings touching the reformations of sundry abuses in religion within this our realm—and for that amongst the multitude of our subjects not yet well persuaded therein, his examples, sayings, preachings, and doings, are very much hurt to the quiet furtherance, and humble receipt, of our said reformations and proceedings—was, for these and other great and urgent considerations, by our council, with our express consent and assent, willed, required, and commanded in our name, to preach and set forth there, in open sermon before us, sundry matters before that time justly ordered and reformed as well by our father of most noble memory, as by authority of parliament; and otherwise, by the advice of sun-

dry learned men of our clergy; and whereas the said Stephen, bishop of Winchester, was at the same time, for the avoiding of occasion of our subjects, by our said council on our behalf, straitly charged and commanded not to speak of certain other matters unfit in respect of the time to be then spoken of, who, forgetting his bounden duty of allegiance to us, did nevertheless openly in our own hearing, and in the presence of our council, and a great number of our subjects, disobey the said commandments given to him, to the danger and evil example of all others, and great contempt of us, our crown, and dignity royal: for the which contempt, the same being notorious, the said bishop was then, by our authority, committed to our Tower of London, where, notwithstanding sundry sendings unto him, he hath ever since continued in this form of disobedience, and utterly and expressly refused to acknowledge the same: And besides that, by other ways and means increased in continuance and disobedience; for the which, after many occasions, and clemency ministered unto him, perceiving no hope of reconciling or conformity, we have further proceeded to the sequestration of the fruits and possessions of his bishopric; and given, afterwards, strait commandment to obey and conform himself within the space of three months, upon pain of deprivation of the said bishopric, as by the record of our council, amongst other things, fully appeareth:

"Forasmuch as the said bishop—these our advertisements, monitions, and other the premises notwithstanding—doth yet still remain (as we be informed) in his former disobedience, and thereby declareth himself to be a person incorrigible, without any hope of recovery, we let you wit, that like us hitherto, by the space of these two years or more, we have suffered, and forborne to reform his offences with just punishment, upon hope of amendment, using and causing to be used (of our princely clemency, and certain knowledge) only such decrees and lenity in proceeding, as is aforesaid: so, seeing now and well perceiving by experience, that our long sufferance and great clemency hath been and is of him totally abused, and he thereby not only grown to a more wilfulness, but others also, by his example, much animated to follow like disobedience, we can no longer suffer his aforesaid misdemeanours and contempts to pass or remain unreformed; and therefore let you wit, that, knowing your gravity's learning, approved wisdoms, and circumspections, we, of our mere motion, certain knowledge, and by the advice of our council, have appointed, and by these presents do name and appoint, nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, &

James Hales, or one of you, to be always one) to be our commissioners, substitutes, and delegates special; giving you nine, eight, seven, six, five, or four of you, (whereof you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, Sir James Hales, or one of you, to be always one,) ample commission, and full power, jurisdiction, and authority, not only to call before you at such days, times, and places, as often as to you it shall be thought convenient, the said bishop of Winchester, and all others, whatsoever they be, whom ye shall think good or necessary to be called for the examination, trial, proof, and full determination of this matter or any part thereof; but also to require all and every such process, writings, and escripts, as have passed and been done in this matter as is aforesaid, to be brought in and exhibited before you. And finding the said bishop either to continue in his former contempt, or that he hath not conformed him according to our pleasure and the monitions given by our council by commission from us; or if he, being called before you, shall, eftsoons, refuse to conform himself, according to our said commandments and monitions, our pleasure is, that you shall proceed against him to deprivation of his bishopric, and removing of him from the same, and further do, and cause to be done in the premises and in all matters and causes annexed, incident or depending upon the same or any part thereof, all and every such thing or things as to our laws either ecclesiastical or temporal, statutes, ordinances, equity, and reason, shall appertain, and to your good wisdoms may seem just and reasonable; causing that that shall be decreed, judged, and determined by you, or four of you, as is aforesaid, to be inviolably and firmly observed: in the examinations, process, and final determinations of which matter our pleasure is that ye shall proceed *ex officio mero, mixto, vel promoto, omni appellatione remota summarie et de plano, absque omni strepitu et figura judicii, ac sola veritate inspecta*: willing that that which, by any four of you, is or shall be begun, shall and may from time to time be continued and ended, by the same, or any other four or more of you; so as you the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, the bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, or Sir James Hales, or one of you, be one. And such persons as you shall send for, or command to appear before you concerning this matter, if they appear not, or, appearing, do not obey the precepts, we give you full and ample authority to punish them and compel them, by such ways and means as to you, or four of you, as is aforesaid, shall seem convenient; commanding and straitly

charging all and singular mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other our ministers and subjects whatsoever, to be aiding and assisting unto you in the doings of the premises. In witness whereof, to this our present commission, signed with our hand, we have caused our great seal of England to be annexed and put unto.

“Given at our palace at Westminster the 12th day of December, and the fourth year of our reign.

“Edward Somerset,	William Paget,
William Wiltshire,	Thomas Cheney,
John Warwick,	Anthony Wingfield,
John Bedford,	Thomas Darcy,
William North,	William Herbert,
Henry Dorset,	William Tirrell,
Edward Clinton,	Edward North.”
Thomas Wentworth,	

This commission being openly read, the archbishop with the rest of the said commissioners (for the honour and reverence due to the king's Majesty) took the charge and burden of the said commission upon them; and decreed to proceed according to the form and effect thereof. And thereupon his Grace, by consent of the rest, then and there assigned William Say and Thomas Argall, jointly and severally, to be registrars and actuaries of that cause, and assigned Master David Clapham and Master John Lewis, proctors of the Arches, jointly and severally to be necessary promoters of their office in that behalf. Which done, the said promoters assigned, taking upon them the said office, and promoting the office of the said commissioners, ministered unto him certain positions and articles.

Whereupon they required the bishop of Winchester, then and there personally present, to be sworn faithfully and truly to make answer; and therewith the said bishop of Winchester requiring and obtaining leave to speak, declared in manner following:

“That forasmuch as he perceived himself to be called to answer to justice, he did most humbly thank the king's Majesty, that it had pleased his Grace to be his good and gracious lord therein, and most humbly did acknowledge his Majesty to be his natural sovereign lord; and that he had [obeyed,] and always would obey, his Majesty's authority and jurisdiction, and be subject thereunto. And that forasmuch as his Grace had been pleased to grant him to use his lawful remedy and defence in this behalf, therefore he, there and then, openly protested, that by any thing then spoken, or to be thenceforth spoken, or then done or to be done, or by his then personal appearance, he intended not to con-

sent unto the said judges, nor to admit their jurisdiction any otherwise, nor further, than by the law he was bound to do; nor to renounce any privilege which he might or ought in this behalf to use, but to use the same to his most advantage, and all other lawful defence meet and convenient to and for him, as well by way of recusation of the same judges, or excepting against their commission, as otherwise: which his said protestation he willed and required to be inserted in these acts, and in all other acts thenceforth to be sped and done in this matter."

And under the same his protestation he required a copy, as well of the said commission, as also of these acts; which copies the judges did decree unto him. And this done, the archbishop, by consent of the rest, then and there did oenerate the said bishop of Winchester with a corporal oath, upon the holy evangelists by him touched and kissed, to make a true and faithful answer to the said positions and articles, and every part of them, in writing, by the Thursday next following, between the hours of nine and ten before noon, in that place; and delivered a copy of the said positions and articles, willing the lieutenant of the Tower to let him have papers, pen, and ink, to make and conceive his said answers, and other his protestations and lawful defences in that behalf: the same bishop, under his form of protestation giving the same oath, as far as the law did bind him, and requiring to have counsel appointed him; which the archbishop, and the rest of the commissioners, did decree unto him, such as he should name.

This done, the said promoters produced Sir Anthony Wingfield, comptroller of the king's Majesty's honourable household, Sir William Cecil, secretary, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward North, Dr. Coxe, almoner, Sir Thomas North, Sir George Blage, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Thomas Challoner, Sir John Cheke, Master Dr. Ayre, Master Dr. Robert Record, Master Nicholas Udall, and Thomas Watson, witnesses upon the articles by them ministered as before. Which witnesses, and every one of them, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, did admit, and with a corporal oath in form of law did oenerate, to say and depose the whole and plain truth that they knew, in and upon the contents of the said articles; and monished them, and every one of them, to come to be examined accordingly: the said bishop of Winchester, under his said former protestation, dissenting to the said production, admission, and swearing; and protesting to say, as well against the persons of the said witnesses, as their sayings, so far as the same did or should make against them; and asking a time to minister interrogatories against them: to

whom it was assigned to minister the said interrogatories by the Thursday immediately following.

As touching the depositions of the witnesses above named, ye shall have them, with all other attestations of the witnesses, as well of nobility as of others produced and examined in this matter, (both *against* the said bishop, and *with* him,) in the twentieth act of this process, where publication of the most part of them was required and granted. After this, the archbishop, with the consent of his colleagues aforesaid, at the petition of the said promoters, continued the cause, in the state it was, unto the Thursday following, between the hours of nine and ten in the forenoon in that place.

The second session.

The second session or act against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was held at Lambeth, on Thursday the eighteenth day of December.

The said eighteenth day of December, in the fore-named place, between the hours as above prefixed, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, assembled as they were the last session, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries, there was there presented to them a letter sent to them from the privy council, the tenor whereof is this:

"After our right hearty commendation unto your good Lordships: It is come to our knowledge by report of persons of good credit which were present at Lambeth at your last session in the bishop of Winchester's cause, that the said bishop did earnestly affirm in open court before your Lordships, and in the hearing of a great multitude of people, that we had made a full end with him at the Tower, for all the matters for which he was then committed, in such sort as he verily thought never to have heard any more thereof: which report seemed to us very strange, and so much toucheth the honour of the king's Majesty, to have him called to justice now for a matter determined: and our fidelities to his Majesty, to have ended the same cause without commission, that although the said bishop seem to defend his cause with untruths, yet can we not suffer him to seek his credit by his over-bold affirmation, amongst a multitude of so false and untrue matters; and, therefore, we have thought it necessary, upon our fidelities and honours to declare, that his said tale of our ending the matter with him, is false and untrue: for neither did we make any end of his matter, neither had we any commission from the king's Majesty so to do; but only to hear and confer with him for his obedience, and thereof to make report. And whereas he saith our end was such, that he thought never to have heard thereof again

if he meant to remember truths, as in this behalf he hath devised untruths, he then can tell what we said to him, requiring more liberty, that we had no commission to grant him that, or to take any order with him, but only to commune with him.

"We be sorry to see him make so evil a beginning at the first day, as to lay the first foundation of his defence upon so false and manifest an untruth; and would wish his audacity and unshamefacedness were used in allegation of truths; for this way, as the proverb saith, 'it doth but feed the winds.' Forgetfulness is oftentimes borne with as a man's excusation, but impudent avowal of falseness was never tolerable. Wherefore, besides that we would admonish him hereof, because his false report was openly made, and arrogantly against the truth told him maintained, we pray you to cause this our declaration to be manifested in like manner; that the truth may appear, and thereby the said bishop may be taught to forbear further false allegations: and, at the least, if he will help his cause no otherwise, yet to consider whom he shall touch with his untruth. For although the king's Majesty is well pleased he shall there, before you, use his defence, and have good justice, yet must he think it is not granted him to become so liberal a talker *out of* the matter, as his natural property and condition moveth him, nor *within* the matter to become so arrogant, as his sayings should be believed against other men's proofs: which two things if he should amend, we will be most glad of it, and charitably wish him a mild spirit, to remember he standeth in judgment for contempt against his sovereign lord the king's Majesty. And so we bid your Lordships most heartily well to fare. From Westminster, the 17th day of December, 1550.

"Your good lords' assured loving friends,
Edward Somerset, John Bedford,
William Wiltshire, William North."

This letter, after they had read it to themselves, they commanded to be openly read; the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, requiring that he might be heard speak before that they would so openly read: for that as he said he had matter to say, that should move the judges not to have it openly read. Which request of the said bishop, because they granted him not, but willed the same letter to be openly read, as it was, by the actuary, who was William Say; and after, by the judges decreed, to remain among the acts: the said bishop upon the said reading, declared among other things to them, that they should have respect to all indifferently, and regard no letters or particular advertisements, but to have God alone before his eyes;

under his former protestation protesting also, for that he could not be heard speak as before.

After this, the said bishop, declaring that he had used all the diligence he could possibly, to make ready his answers—which for the prolixity of them, and lack of a clerk, and shortness of time [he had not been able to complete]—yet, to declare his diligence in this behalf, under his said protestations, exhibited his said answers; being, as he said, the first original of his own hand-writing, which he required and offered to read openly himself. And because of the length of them, the judges were contented, that the said actuaries should exemplify them, and after collation and conference made between the said original and copy, with the said bishop in the Tower, by the said actuaries, the said original to be delivered him again. Thus his answers being exhibited, the commissioners did grant, (as is said,) not only to re-deliver them to him, but also granted to the said bishop to alter and reform his said former answers, in case they should not have been fully and truly made according to his mind; and the same being fully made, to exhibit on Tuesday next in the place and at the hours aforesaid.

Then the said bishop, under his former protestations, gave in certain interrogatories against the witnesses sworn at the last session, requiring them to be interrogated upon them accordingly. The tenor of which interrogatories are these, as followeth:

Interrogatories ministered by Winchester against his witnesses.

"Inprimis: Whether they heard the bishop of Winchester say, in the end of his sermon made before the king's Majesty, that he agreeth thoroughly with the rulers and higher estate of the realm; but all the fault he found was in the lower part, or such like words to that sense?

"Whether the bishop of Winchester did not say unto him, when he came with Sir Anthony Wingfield, that he thought so to have made his sermon, as none of the council should have found fault with it?

"Whether the said bishop of Winchester required the same Sir Ralph Sadler to show the lord of Somerset's Grace, that, by his advice, he should never speak of the letter he sent unto the said bishops?"

These his interrogatories being thus laid in, the judges granted him, at his request, a longer day, to minister more interrogatories, if he were so disposed, against as many of the said witnesses as re-

ained about the city, and that they should not depart thence between that and the next session. When the said bishop, under protestation as afore, required a copy of the sentence of sequestration and intimation made against him in the last summer, and likewise to have a clerk, and some temporal counsel. And the judges granted him to have a clerk to be with him and his counsel, so long as his counsel remained there, and willed him to send them the names of such temporal counsel as he would have, and he should have answer therein as was meet. There was also, by the said bishop, under his said protestation, exhibited a letter missive, directed from the council to Dr. Standish, Dr. Jeffrey, and Dr. Lewis, advocates of the Arches, and to Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same; the tenor whereof ensueth in these words:

Letter missive to Drs. Standish and Jeffrey, &c.

'To our loving friends Dr. Standish and Dr. Jeffrey, advocates of the Court of the Arches, and Dockrel and Clark, proctors of the same.

"After our hearty commendations: Whereas the bishop of Winchester (having counsel granted unto him by our very good lord the archbishop of Canterbury, and other the king's Majesty's commissioners, as we be informed) caused you to be required to be a counsel with him: these be to advertise you the king's Majesty is pleased to, and by these our letters doth, license you, not only to be counsel with him, but also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. And this his Majesty is pleased, notwithstanding one of you is his Majesty's chaplain. Fare you well.

"From Westminster, this present Tuesday, in December, 1550.

"Your friends,

Edward Somerset,	W. North,
William Wiltshire,	F. Huntingdon,
J. Warwick,	E. Clinton,
John Bedford,	Thomas Cheney."

By the said letter, as ye have heard, they were licensed, as well to be a counsel with the bishop of Winchester in this his suit, as also to repair to the Tower from time to time, for conference with him for his defence in this matter. Which letter, under his said protestations, he required to be registered, and the original to be to him re-delivered; and the same his counsel then present (Dr. Lewis only absent) to be licensed also, by decree of the judges, to be of counsel as afore; at whose desire the said judges decreed according to his request.

The third session.

The third session or action was sped on Tuesday, the fourteenth day of December, A. D. 1550, at the prefixed hours, at Lambeth aforesaid, before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (Sir James Hales and Master Richard Goodrick only absent,) in presence of the aforesaid William Say and Thomas Argall, actuaries. At the which day and place, Gardiner bishop of Winchester was assigned to exhibit his full answers to the positions and articles objected, and to minister more interrogations to the witnesses not yet departed: where and at what time, the said bishop of Winchester read an appellation in writing afore the actuaries aforesaid, and required them to make an instrument thereof.

This being done, the bishop, under his former protestation, and under the protestation not to recede from the benefit of his said appeal, did exhibit his answers to the said positions, being fully made as he said; and required a copy thereof, and also his first original answer, to be re-delivered to him: which was decreed, due collation first made of the said original; the tenor of which his fuller answers, word for word, ensueth:

Answer of the bishop of Winchester to the request of a more full answer in certain articles objected unto him.

"The seventh article is not fully answered, where you say, 'I remember not:' 'At any time, that I remember.' First, for that it is required to make a more full answer to the seventh article, containing such general matter as is referred to two years and a half by-past and gone, than do the words 'as I remember,' the said bishop saith his answer therein, uttering as much as is presently in his conscience, doth satisfy all law and reason; and that the word *credo* in Latin, (I believe,) whereby all such positions be answered unto, containeth in effect no more virtue and strength, than do the words 'as I remember' in English; because no man can think of himself to be true, that he remembereth not, except as a man may think of himself generally, that (knowing his direct intention ever to do well) may think well of himself, as the said bishop hath, in the latter general clause of his answers, said; where he saith, *Credo* all his affirmations and denials in his said answer to be true, as his conscience now testifieth unto him. And therefore, because he answereth to the said seventh article, that he was never but once called in all his life, and at that time declared the matters wherefore he was called; and how, in the end

of that examination, the said bishop answereth, that he so departed as he durst; and did allege for himself that he was no offender, and ought not in that sort to tarry by commandment, it must needs, by the matter contained in his said answer, sufficiently appear, he hath fully answered that article; and that (being such a personage as he is and hath been) he ought not—after vexation in prison so long time (two years and a half) in such manner of solitary keeping as he might reasonably forget that, and the world also—be now thus travailed with, whereby to touch the integrity of his conscience, and, without cause, indirectly to impute to him, as though he had not satisfied his oath: specially considering that the answer of the said bishop hath been willingly made to such articles; as else by the direct order of the law, he ought not to be compelled to make answer unto: offering, nevertheless, that when by the judges any further specialty shall be objected unto him, he will, and is ready (in such case as the law bind him to answer unto it) to make such answer as the law bindeth him unto in that behalf.

“The eighth wanteth answer to this part; namely, ‘You were called before the king’s Majesty’s council, in the month of June, in the second year of his Majesty’s reign, and by them, in his Highness’s behalf, commanded to preach a sermon before his Majesty, and therein to declare the justness and godliness,’ &c.

“To the eighth article the said bishop saith that full answer is made, in that the whole process of the fact, as it can come to the said bishop’s remembrance, is plainly told (in what sort that matter of preaching was opened, and where, and with whom) by a clause, that ‘otherwise the said bishop was not spoken with concerning preaching.’ Which preciseness he nevertheless doth understand according to his present memory and conscience, wherein the said bishop can say no more, but as his conscience now testifieth the fact to have been; declaring with whom he was, with whom he spake, and what they said to him; which, as touching the time, he thinketh was done in the month of June; and his being with the duke of Somerset, to have been the Monday sevensnight before the said bishop preached: And the determination of the bishop being such as he intended faithfully to speak of the matters in the papers, after his conscience, (as he indeed ought to think himself in general estimation of his own integrity,) he did—and it cannot be to him prejudicial to have been commanded to preach, and therefore he mindeth not to make contradiction, or any state of question therein, although he must presently answer as his conscience telleth him, and so doth in his answer to the said article.

“The ninth is not sufficiently answered, where you said, ‘If I did omit:’ and, ‘If I did perchance omit any thing, whereof I can make now none assurance: But if I did omit: If it were true, as I know it not to be:’ and, ‘If I promised to speak plainly: If I had broken it,’ &c.

“To the ninth, the said bishop saith his answer to that fact (of two years and a half by-past) of so many divers particularities to be by him touched in special, in a sermon, whereunto he came so troubled as in his said answer is declared, cannot be required to be made now more certain than it is made. And in case of omission, (as is here objected,) which may be by oblivion, and, considering the said bishop’s intent, if it happened, was so, and no otherwise; no man can affirm precisely what he forgot, if it were true he did forget; for he that forgetteth, in that he forgetteth, knoweth it not, being forgotten then. And seeing the said bishop determined to speak of all requisite to be spoken of, according as was answered he would, he may then say, If he forgot, it must be by oblivion, and not of purpose. And it is a position uncertain and dangerous for conscience, whereunto the law bindeth no man to answer, to bring the said bishop’s faith in slander, to answer more precisely to the fact than is already done. Wherefore all the ‘ifs’ that be made in the bishop’s said answer in that article, be to declare the exclusion of contempt and disobedience, if any thing were indeed omitted, as the said bishop knoweth not any to have been, and without prejudice of granting by implication, what ought not to be granted in fact; which was by oblivion, if it were. And therefore, in all law and reason, the said answer as it was first made, is sufficient and reasonable cause by the said bishop now alleged, why none other should now be made or required of him.

“To the tenth, concerning that you were commanded and inhibited, on the king’s Majesty’s behalf, &c., you answer nothing.

“To the tenth, sufficient answer is made by declaration of the fact as it was; whereupon whether an inhibition and commandment may be grounded and proved, shall appear in the discussion of that letter sent by the duke of Somerset’s Grace; which letter the said bishop answereth, in his said answer, to be of no force in his conscience; declaring the reason of the causes why, and more intendeth to declare, by matter specially to be alleged hereafter for the same. And therefore, seeing commandment and inhibition to be terms of law, the force whereof riseth upon estimation of the fact thereupon to be denied, what *is* commandment and inhibition, as what *is none*; the said bishop esteemeth himself discharged in law, to tell for answer the mere fact

done in that matter—with the sincerity of his conscience, how he esteemed and doth esteem it; and is bound by no law to bring his credit in slander upon a point of law, and either to grant to his prejudice that to be a commandment or inhibition, which, in his conscience, is none, or, by denial, incur danger of slander of his conscience, if others would esteem it a commandment or inhibition; and, therefore, he telleth the fact, as it was, of the receipt of the said letter: which letter he is ready to exhibit, as he doth offer in his said answer, for more ample understanding of the said answer.

“The last hath no answer concerning your submission, reconciliation, and reformation, &c. To the last article the said bishop said, that, seeing he denied in his answer all contempt on his part, he answereth it sufficiently, seeing the cause of reconciliation and reformation, after the judgment of his conscience, failing, the same ought not to be by him offered with prejudice of his innocency, which he is bound to maintain and defend; because, being an honest man, he is somewhat worth to the king his sovereign lord; and having cast his innocency willingly away by the untrue testimony of himself, he is nothing worth to the world nor himself either. As touching ‘submission,’ being an ambiguous word, to justice and mercy, the said bishop would think himself not worthy to live, if he should not submit himself to the king’s Majesty’s justice willingly and humbly, which he hath always done, as shall appear hereafter, now doth, and will do during his life. And when, by examination of his cause by justice, the said bishop shall appear in any point faulty, he will humbly submit himself to such punishment as shall be appointed to that fault, if there be any; and, by that means, honour (as his duty is) the king’s Majesty and his laws, as every good subject should do. But otherwise, by submission to mercy whereby to imply an offence in himself, whereof the said bishop in his conscience knoweth he is not guilty, and whereof the said bishop is by no order of law convinced, is what the said bishop dare affirm, and is persuaded, the king’s Majesty would wittingly require of no man; but will graciously permit every man to be tried and taken as he is.

“You lack well near (in your answer) to every article and position this clause—‘and otherwise,’ &c.—without which your answer remaineth imperfect and uncertain.

“Finally, as touching the general clause ‘and otherwise,’ &c., seeing this is a special matter, specially used, and handled in such a special form as the said bishop thinketh was never heard of in a special personage, and in a special time; the said bishop desireth, that among so many specialties he

be not bound to such a general clause as no law requireth in special terms; and such a clause as needeth not in this matter, nor can serve to any other use, but to bring the faith of the said bishop in slander, answering as he doth upon his oath: in consideration whereof, seeing the said bishop hath to such articles made answer, as by law he is not bound to answer unto—declaring thereby his desire to have the fact opened and known, uttering for his part as much as his conscience testifieth to be truth, and as much as upon these generalities he can call to remembrance—the said bishop (his protestations in the acts repeated and preserved) desireth his answers may be so by you the judges accepted and taken; considering also the said bishop offereth himself ready, as any other specialty, according to law and equity, shall be asked of him, he will be and is always ready to make such answer as the law bindeth him, as afore is always said.”

These his full answers, as he said, being perused and considered by the commissioners, then the promoters alleged, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, referring themselves to the same answers and to the law; and therefore, accusing his contumacy in that behalf, did require him to be pronounced contumacious; and in pain thereof to be declared as confessed, upon the same, whereunto he had not fully answered; the said bishop, under his said protestations, saying that he had fully answered, referred himself to the said answers: whereupon the judges had assigned him to make full answer to the said positions, in case his answers already made were not full, the next court day; having first declaration made from the said judges, by St. ohn’s day next, wherein it was not fully answered.

Then the said promoters alleged, that there were certain acts, orders, and other processes concerning that matter, making for the proof of the articles by them ministered in that cause, remaining in the books of the registry of the king’s most honourable council, which they desired might there be exhibited. Whereupon Master Armigil Wade, and Master William Thomas, clerks of the said council, by commandment of the said judges did present two books, being, as they affirmed, originals of the said register, with certain copies extracted therefrom, concerning that matter; and, upon a corporal oath to them proffered by the judges, at the promoter’s request they affirmed the same to be the very true and original books of the said register; and forasmuch as the books contained many secret matters not to be opened abroad, therefore the said judges, at the request of the promoters, decreed collation

to be made between the said originals and copies, by the said clerks, and the foresaid actuaries; and that after collation made, as full faith should be given to the said copies as to the originals, as well as if the said bishop were present at the same collations.

After which decree, the said bishop, under his said protestations dissenting to the said exhibition, and protesting of the nullity thereof, and of the exhibits, and alleging the same to be but private writings, and not authentic, nor such whereunto faith sufficient in law ought to be given, nevertheless, without prejudice of his said protestation, consenting that collation thereof might be made in his absence, reserving power to him to object against the said exhibits, as far as by the law he might in that behalf do, as if he were personally present at the said collation.

After this the judges, at the promoters' request, published the depositions of the witnesses produced by them, (the which witnesses, as heretofore I have declared, ye shall read in the twentieth act of this process,) the said bishop, under his said protestation dissenting thereunto, and protesting not to take knowledge or understanding of the said depositions, for that he intended to propose a matter justificatory, directly contrary to the articles proposed.

After this the judges, at the promoters' request, assigned to the said bishop to propose a matter, if he had any, upon Thursday next after the feast of the Epiphany, at the hours and place [specified,] the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting, and asking a copy, as well of the acts, as of the exhibits aforesaid; to whom it was so decreed.

The fourth session.

The fourth session or act against the bishop of Winchester, was before the aforesaid commissioners, sitting in judgment in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, in the presence of William Say and Thomas Argall, notaries, the eighth day of January,

anno 1551, upon Thursday, before noon.

It was assigned to the bishop of Winchester this day and place, to make full answer to the sixth, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions, before not fully answered; and also to propose a matter, if he had any to propose; whereupon the said bishop of Winchester, repeating his former protestations,

and under the same, and also such protestations as he said were contained in his matter, did then and there exhibit a matter in writing, which he required to be admitted, and a competent term assigned him to prove the same, to all the effects of the law and to all intents, purposes, and effects, contained in his said matter, with compulsory process, and other as shall be requisite for him to have, for proof of the said matter.

Now, to proceed further: in this fourth act the said Gardiner, after this matter thus exhibited: is above-said, did also, under his said protestation, exhibit a certain letter, to him (as he received from the duke of Somerset, inasmuch as the same concerned his full answers to the positions and made for his full answers; and not otherwise. And therewith he also gave in his answer to the positions afore not fully answered, the promoters accepting the contents as well of the said letters, as of his answers, as far as they made in the office, and not otherwise; and further alleging, that the bishop had not fully answered; and therefore requiring, that he be pronounced contumacious and in pain thereof, be declared as confessed upon those positions whereunto it was not fully answered. The said bishop, under his said protestation, alleged that he had fully answered, as far as he was bound by law, referring himself to all his answers, and to the law, and to the letters and matters aforesaid.

Then the promoters (protesting of the nullity and generality, invalidity and inefficacy, of the said matter) alleged that the same did not conclude by law, and therefore ought not to be admitted; and therefore they required the same to be rejected. The said bishop, under his said protestations, requiring the same to be admitted as afore. Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure as well upon the said answers as upon the said matter, upon the Monday following, at the same time and place to which assignation the said bishop (under his said protestations) dissented, and required a letter by him, as before exhibited, to be registered, and the original to be to him re-delivered: which was decreed.

The fifth session against Gardiner.

The fifth appearance or session of the aforesaid bishop was on the twelfth day of January, anno 1551, in the forenoon of that day, before the judges and in the place, as it was in the last session; the said actuaries being present. It was assigned, then and there, to hear the judges' pleasure upon the bishop's answer, and the matter by him proposed.

"The promoters did allege, that the bishop had not fully answered to the seventh, eighth, ninth,

and nineteenth positions, as by them is before alleged, (referring themselves to the answers, and to the law,) and therefore did accuse the contumacy of the bishop. And he, being commanded to make full answer thereunto, and not full answering, they did, as afore, desire him to be pronounced *contumax*; and, in pain thereof, to be declared *pro confesso*, upon the parts of those positions, whereunto he had not fully answered:—the said bishop, under his former protestations, saying, that he ought not to be so pronounced and declared, for that he did not refuse to make answer, but upon the judge's decree and declaration made: that wherein he hath not fully answered, he would then make answer accordingly. And after disputation had on both sides upon the matter, the judges admonished the said bishop to make full answers to the said positions already not fully answered, on Monday, the twenty-sixth day of the same month, the same time and place, under pain of the law. After this, the said judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestation, admitted the matter aforesaid, inasmuch as the law would the same matter to be admitted, and not otherwise; the said promoters accepting the contents in the said matter, as far as the same did make for the office, and none otherwise.

“Then the said judges assigned to the said bishop (for a term to prove the contents of his said matter) Monday, the twenty-sixth day of January, the same time and place; and every judicial day between this and that, to produce his witnesses upon intimation thereof made to the promoters of the office; and further offered to the said bishop, that in case he would nominate his witnesses, he should have (if he would require) letters from the said judges to the said witnesses, to command them with speed to come to answer, and be examined without further compulsory process.”

The copy of the letter sent to the several witnesses here followeth.

The letter from the judges to Gardiner's witnesses.

“After our commendations, we signify unto you, that whereas the bishop of Winchester thinketh your testimony necessary for declaration and proof of the truth, as he saith, in a cause depending before us and others, the king's Majesty's commissioners, and doubteth lest, upon his own request, ye will not willingly come, without certain advertisement from us, thereby to mean no displeasure or danger: these shall be to do you to wit, that ye may, without all blame and lack, upon request unto you made, repair to bear witness in that matter after

the truth, and your conscience. And, to the intent the matter now depending by your absence be not delayed and deferred, we likewise charge you and command you, upon sight hereof, to repair to London with all convenient speed, to depose and testify in the said matter as afore: and therefore will you to use what diligence you can, whereby to avoid that may be objected unto you for the contrary. Thus fare ye well.

“Your loving friends,

T. Canterbury,	John Oliver,
N. London,	John Gosnall,
William Peter,	Griffith Leyson.

“From Lambeth, the 16th day of January, anno 1551.”

“And further the said judges declared, that if at that day (the bishop in the mean time using due diligence for production of his witnesses) there should appear sufficient cause to grant him a longer day to prove, that then they would prorogue his said term further, as should be requisite: the bishop, under his said protestations, dissenting to the assignation to prove, for shortness of the time assigned. After this, upon motion made that the bishop should constitute proctors, to produce his said witnesses for him, the said bishop, under his said protestation, alleging and protesting that these causes were criminal, and that he therefore could not, by the law, constitute a proctor; nevertheless, under protestation also that by his constitution he intended not to alter the nature of his cause, did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerk, proctors of the Arches, James Basset, James Wingfield, and Thomas Somerset, gentlemen, jointly and severally his proctors, to appear for him, and in his name, before the said judges; and to produce witnesses necessary in that behalf, and to require them to be received, sworn, and examined; and, further, to do all things needful and requisite in that behalf, promising to ratify and stand to their doings in the premises and other his said protestations; requiring a copy of all the acts and exhibits in this cause: to whom it was so decreed.”

The sixth act against Gardiner.

Another act or session was held on Saturday, the seventeenth day of January, in the bishop of London's palace, before the said bishop, and the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Dr. Oliver, and Master Gosnall, commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

“The said day and place, appeared before the said judges Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, by him constituted

they knew in that behalf. Whom the said judges did so onerate upon their truth and allegiance to God, and the king's Majesty, and upon their honours and fidelities, to depose the very truth, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of Master Clapham, promoter of the office, then and there requiring them to be so onerated upon the whole cause, and with due reverence approving the honourable personages of the said witnesses; protesting, nevertheless, to use the benefit of the law against their sayings, (their honours always saved,) in case and as far as the same should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring them to be likewise examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them by the office; they likewise, as afore, promising, and by the judges onerated, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to their knowledge in this behalf."

The eighth session against Gardiner.

The eighth session or court day was holden upon the cause of the bishop of Winchester, in the place of the lord chancellor Lord Riche, at Great St. Bartholomew's, before the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the king's commissioners, in the presence of the aforesaid actuaries, on the twelfth day, the twentieth day of January, anno 1551.

"The same day and place appeared before the said judges Master James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, constituted the last court day; and, under the said bishop's former protestations he exhibited the said proxy; and, making himself party for the said bishop, produced the right honourable lord chancellor of England, as witness upon articles I. II. III. IV. XLV. XLVI. XLVII. XLVIII. XLIX. L. LI. LII. LIII. LIV. and LV. of the matter laid in by the bishop; whom he required to be admitted, sworn, and examined, as a witness, according to the law; the said lord chancellor declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity and office, (as he was,) are by the laws of the realm privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses customably do swear; promising nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he doth know, in this behalf: whom the said judges did so onerate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's Majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, in presence of Master Clapham, promoter of the office, approving the honourable personage of the said lord,

and yet protesting to say against his sayings, in case and as far as they should be seen in law to make against the office; and requiring his Lordship to be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto him by the office; his Lordship (like as afore) promising, and by the judges onerated, to declare and answer the truth thereunto, according to his knowledge."

Concerning this noble personage of the lord chancellor here produced, who was then Master Wriothesley, understand, gentle reader, that though we find him here produced and sworn, yet we find not his depositions in any place. Whether he did depose at all, or not, I am not able to say. And this, by the way, concerning that man. Now to the matter.

"This being done, the said James Basset, proctor aforesaid, and under the protestations above recited, did intimate to the said lord chancellor, the appellation and querelation made by the said bishop of Winchester, as he said; and did show the instrument thereof made.

"After this, the said James Basset, under the former protestations, did produce the worshipful John Baker, knight, upon articles I. II. III. and IV. of the matter aforesaid, requiring that he might swear and be examined upon the same. At whose request the said judges did onerate the said Sir John Baker with an oath upon the holy evangelists, to declare the truth he knew upon the same articles, and upon the interrogatories that should be ministered by the office; the aforesaid Master Clapham approving his person, and yet protesting, as before he protested of the lord chancellor."

Interrogatories ministered by the office.

"I. Imprimis: Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the late king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, father of our sovereign lord the king's Majesty that now is, (for sundry causes him moving, and specially for that he judged and esteemed the bishop of Winchester nothing well pleased with the proceedings of the realm in matters of religion,) misliked the said bishop, and was much offended with him?

"II. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the suspicion conceived of the said bishop, as is aforesaid, his Highness did forbear and refuse to have him named among other bishops and learned men, which were appointed to make the books last set forth by his Majesty, touching a uniformity in matters of religion?

"III. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that for the causes aforesaid, and other great considerations him specially moving, he reputed the

said bishop for a man vehemently suspected to favour the bishop of Rome?

"IV. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said late king, expressly willed him (the said bishop) no more to be of the privy council with the king's Majesty our sovereign lord that now is; and omitted, and expressly refused, to have him named among other councillors, in his testament, to be of the council, as is aforesaid?

"V. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that the said bishop, being aforesaid as an executor in the testament of the said late king, was, a little before his death, at his declaring of his last will, put out by his Highness, and so by him refused to be one of his said executors? for what causes the said bishop was so put out, and what the said late king said of the said bishop at the same time?

"VI. Item, Whether you know, or have heard say, that the said bishop is, and in the time of our late sovereign lord hath been, commonly reputed and accepted a man much favouring the authority and proceedings of the bishop of Rome, and, as such a one, an adversary to the king's Majesty's godly proceedings for reformation of abuses in religion in the court, in his diocese, and elsewhere, among such as be men of good understanding; and knoweth him commonly accepted and taken as such, and that such is the common and public fame in the court, in his said diocese, or elsewhere in this realm?

"VII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that to such of his diocese as favour the king's Majesty's godly proceedings, he hath been and is an offence or slander; and whether it is probably thought by them, that he, the said bishop, hath been and is a great hinderance to the said proceedings; and for such a one hath been and is by them commonly reputed and taken.

"VIII. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that he—being commanded in the king's Majesty's name, for the avoiding of tumult, and upon other urgent considerations, not to treat of any thing in controversy concerning the communion or sacrament of the altar and the mass—contrary to that commandment, spake, among other things, these words following, or like in effect; namely, That the very presence of Christ's most precious body and blood is present in the sacrament, to feed us, which was given to redeem us, and that Christ consecrated himself to be a memorial of himself; and that it was the same Christ that was offered then, and is now either sacrificed, or else remembered in the mass; and that private masses might be and were well retained in this realm of England?

"IX. Item, Whether ye know, or have heard say, that as well before the time of the sermon

made by the bishop of Winchester on St. Peter's day, in the second year of the king's Majesty's reign, as at the time of the sermon, there was much contention, strife, debate, and controversy, among divers of the king's Majesty's subjects, as well in the city of London, as elsewhere within this realm of England, concerning the presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar, and the retaining and use of private masses, whether the same might stand with God's word or no."

Then Basset required the lord chancellor to be examined as a witness on the Monday following.

The ninth session against Gardiner.

The ninth session or action upon the cause of Gardiner was held in the house of Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, called Cold Harbour, before Thomas and Henry, bishops of Ely and Lincoln, with the other commissioners judicially sitting, with the presence of the above-named notaries, on Wednesday, the twenty-first of January, 1551.

"The said day and place appeared before the said judges James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, on articles I. II. III. and IV.; William Bell, clerk, on articles XXXIV. and XXXV.; Nicholas Lentall and Richard Hampden on article XV.; John Seton, doctor of divinity, on articles XV. XXIX. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; William Medow, clerk, on articles I. II. III. X. XV. XXV. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVIII.; Thomas Watson, clerk, on articles VII. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXIX. XXXI. XXXIII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. and LXVIII.; and Robert Massey on articles XIII. and XVI. of the matter purposed by the bishop of Winchester; requiring that they and every of them might be operated with an oath, to say and depose the truth in that they knew. At whose request the judges did onerate the same witnesses, and every of them, with an oath corporal, taken in due form, to testify the truth as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause, and, upon such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, and every of them, when they should be examined in the presence of David Clapham, one of the said promoters of the office, approving the person of the said Cuthbert, bishop, and yet protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they should say or depose any thing against his office.

"These things done, appeared before the said commissioners then and there judicially sitting, as

before, Thomas Dockwray, one of the proctors of the bishop of Winchester, constituted and appointed by him, and under former protestations made by the said bishop, he did exhibit his proxy for the said bishop, made in the acts, and made himself party for him. And also, under the said protestations, he gave and exhibited certain positions additional unto the matter already purposed by the said bishop of Winchester, which he desired to be admitted in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, one of the promoters, protesting of the nullity, generality, invalidity, inefficacy, and undue specification, of the same; and desiring the same to be rejected.

"Then the judges assigned to hear their pleasure upon the said positions upon the Monday following at Lambeth, at the hour accustomed, and heretofore already assigned. Consequently the said Thomas Dockwray, proctor aforesaid, under former protestations, &c., did lay in and give a matter in writing, conceived against the exhibits, desiring the same to be admitted by the judges in the presence of the aforesaid David Clapham, promoter, protesting as he did of the positions additional afore given; and further, alleging the same not to conclude in law, and therefore desiring the same matter to be rejected. Hereupon the judges assigned their pleasure to be heard upon the admission, or else the rejection, of the said matter, the day and place assigned; concerning which positions additional, with the matter, also, by the aforesaid proctor, exhibited, the tenor thereof here followeth."

Articles additional exhibited by Gardiner.

Here follow the positions and articles additional and declaratory of the matter, and letter, of late purposed and exhibited by the bishop of Winchester, before the pretended commissaries or judges delegate, named in the same matter, which the said bishop gave under the protestations made by him in the matter aforesaid.

"First, That the bishop of London that now is, then being bishop of Rochester, did openly in his sermon made at Paul's Cross in the month of November or December, or thereabouts, in the first year of the king's Majesty's reign that now is, very earnestly and vehemently preach and teach the true presence of Christ's most precious body to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That Dr. Redman, in a sermon which he preached before the king's Majesty in Lent, the second year of his Majesty's reign, did preach and teach to be believed for the true catholic faith, that the true presence of Christ's body and blood was in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That my lord archbishop of Canterbury,

about the time that the bishop of Winchester aforesaid preached a sermon on St. Peter's day at Westminster, before the king's Majesty, in a book by him translated, called Catechism, did affirm, publish, and set forth, the true presence of Christ's most precious body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; and, to the intent the same should so be believed, observed, acknowledged, and taught to be the true and catholic faith, did cause the same to be printed in his name, and as his translation; which books, so printed into great number of books, were, after their imprinting, to the intent aforesaid, openly and commonly sold by many and sundry booksellers, as well of London as of other places, and came about to all the parts of this realm, or to many parts of the same, and were openly and commonly known, declared, published, read, and heard, of all sorts of the king's Majesty's subjects of this realm. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That in the months November and December, in the second year of the king's Majesty's reign, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, London, Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Hereford, and Westminster, (being of the most ancient bishops and best learned in this realm,) did openly, in the parliament then kept at Westminster, defend the very and true presence of Christ's body and blood to be in the sacrament of the altar.

"Item, That in sundry open and solemn disputations, made as well in the university of Oxford, as of Cambridge, the third year of the king's Majesty's reign, the same true presence of the very body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, was maintained and defended by the great number of the chief and well learned of the said universities. And this was and is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That the truth of Christ's most precious body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hath not been nor was impugned, by any famous clerk, or yet by any named learned man in any part of all Christendom, either in the Greek or in the Latin church, by our time; specially at the time of the letters sent by the same duke of Somerset to the said bishop, mentioned in this matter aforesaid; but only by Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, Vadianus, and Carolostadius, the impugning whereof was most manifest error; and, in England, no learned man named had, or yet did, openly defend or favour that error. And this is true, public, notorious, manifest, and famous.

"Item, That the said bishop said not to Master Cecil that the mass was the chief foundation of our religion, for Christ himself is the only foundation; and

in the mass, as now in the communion, [is] the showing forth of Christ's death; which is a sacrifice recordative of that only sacrifice of the cross, used in the church according to Christ's institution till his coming; the substance of the sacrifice being all as one, and the manner of the offering only differing. And after this manner and sort, in effect, the bishop, in his speaking of the mass to Master Cecil, as is aforesaid, declared to him, and no otherwise, if he had then rightly taken, perceived, and afterwards so uttered and reported the same.

"Item, That by our late sovereign lord the king's Majesty's father that now is, and by his testament and last will, it was provided, ordered, and (upon just considerations then moving his Majesty for the preservation and quietness of this his then realm) decreed, that his Majesty's councillors of his privy council, then being named and appointed in the same testament, or the more part of them, with further execution in that behalf, should have the whole order and governance of the same realm, during the minority of his only treasure under God, the king's Majesty that now is, which things, according to these effects, were thus declared, before the king's Majesty that now is, by the mouth of the lord chancellor, who was at that time in the Tower of London, then being present as well the said bishop of Winchester, as other of the lords of the council, and divers others hearing the same, whereby the authority of the protectorship was clearly restrained.

"Item, That the digression of the said duke from that order aforesaid, and the breaking thereof, was afterwards, among other matters, with the body of the king's Majesty's privy council, objected to him as a fault and offence."

The tenth session.

The tenth session against Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was holden in the house of the bishop of Ely, in Warwick Lane, before the said bishops of Ely and London, Master Leyson, and other the king's commissioners, with their notaries above mentioned, on Friday, the twenty-third day of January, 1551, in the fourth year of Edward the Sixth.

"The said day and place appeared before the said commissioners Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and under former protestations made, &c., he produced Sir John Markham, knight, on articles XL. XLI. XLII. XLIII. XLIV. LVI. LXVIII. and LXXXI.; Thomas White, esquire, on articles I. II. III. and XIII.; John Norton, esquire, on articles I. II. and III.; John Cooke, esquire, on articles I. II. III. VIII. and XIV.; Master John White, warden, on articles I. II. III. XV. XXIX. and XXXVII.; Francis Al-

len, on articles VII. VIII. XI. XII. XXXVI. XXXVIII. XLV. and LXVIII.; John Potinger, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Peter Langridge, on articles I. VIII. and XV.; Roger Ford, on articles I. and VIII.; William Laurence and Giles White, on the XVth; William Lorking, vicar of Farnham, on the XIVth; Herman Bilson, on the XVth; Thomas Williams, John Hardy, Robert Braborne, Robert Quinby, John Reade, on XIVth; Thomas Crowte, on the XVth and LXVIIIth; George Bullock, George Smith, Hugh Weston, Philip Morgan, Richard Bruerne, John Weale, clerks, on the articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; Alexander Deringe, William Browne, on articles I. VIII. IX. and XV.; John Temple, on articles I. II. and III.; Thomas White, prebendary, on the XVth; and John Glasiar, on the VIIth and IXth articles of the matter given by the bishop of Winchester: which said witnesses, and every one of them, the said bishop of London, by the consent of his colleagues, and the desire of the said Thomas Somerset, proctor aforesaid, did oerate with a corporal oath on the holy evangelists, to depose the whole truth as well upon the same articles, that they were so specially produced on, as the whole cause and matter, and upon such interrogatories as should be ministered to them, as far as they knew, in the presence of Master Davy Clapham, one of the promoters of the office; dissenting from the said production, and approving the persons of the aforesaid Sir John Markham and Master Ralph Hopton; but yet protesting to say against their sayings, in case they should depose against the office; and desiring that they might be examined of such interrogatories as should be ministered by the office; and protesting against the persons and sayings of all the other witnesses and of every of them, in case they or any of them should depose against the office; and repeating against them the interrogatories last ministered by the office. This done, the said Master Somerset, proctor aforesaid, alleged that Master Doctor Redman, and Doctor Steward, were necessary witnesses for to prove certain things contained in the aforesaid matter, which Master Redman had been and then was sick, and the said Master Steward in durance. Wherefore he desired a commission for the examination of the said Master Redman, and means had, that the said Master Steward might come to be sworn and examined; and also required temporal counsel to be assigned to the said bishop."

The eleventh session.

The eleventh session upon the matter of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was in the house of the Lord

Paget, without Temple Bar, before the aforesaid commissioners judicially sitting, (Thomas Argall, notary, being present,) the day aforesaid; that is, the twenty-third of January, 1551.

"At that time and place Master Davy Clapham, and John Lewis, promoters of the office, did produce Sir William Paget, knight of the order of the garter, Lord Paget, upon the articles laid in by the office; whom they desired to be sworn and examined as a witness, according to law; the said Lord Paget declaring, that honourable personages being of dignity as he was, were, by the laws of this realm, privileged not to be sworn in common form, as other witnesses usually did swear; promising, nevertheless, upon his truth to God, his allegiance to our sovereign lord the king's Majesty, and upon his fidelity, to testify the truth that he did know in this behalf; whom the said judges did so oenerate upon his truth to God, allegiance to the king's Majesty, and upon his honour and fidelity, to depose the plain and whole truth, as far as he knew, as well upon the said articles, as also upon the whole cause and interrogatories that should be ministered, in the presence of Thomas Somerset, proctor to the bishop of Winchester, under protestation, &c., dissenting to the production, and protesting of the nullity, &c.; and to say against his person and sayings (if he should depose against the said bishop in this matter); and requiring that he might be examined upon such interrogatories as should be ministered against him; and requiring, also, that he might be sworn with a corporal oath upon the evangelists."

The twelfth session against Gardiner.

The twelfth session upon the matter of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, was within the bishop of Ely's house, before the bishops of London and Ely, with the rest of the commissioners delegate, one of the aforesaid two actuaries being present, the twenty-fourth day of January, 1551.

"The same day and place appeared James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, and, under protestations before made, and always reserved, he produced Sir Thomas Smith, on articles XVII. XXII. XXIII. XXIV. XXV. XXVI. XXVII. and XXVIII.; Robert Willerton, John Young, and Edmund Bricket, clerks, on articles XXXIV. XXXV. and XXXVII.; whom and every one of them the said judges, at his desire, did oenerate with a corporal oath, for to say and depose the truth upon the said articles, the whole cause and interrogatories, in the presence of Master Clapham, approving the person of Sir Thomas Smith, and protesting to say against his sayings, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they or

any of them should depose against the office; repeating the interrogatories already ministered against all the said witnesses, saving Sir Thomas Smith.

The thirteenth session against Gardiner.

The thirteenth session wherein appeared the said bishop of Winchester was held at Lambeth, before the archbishop of Canterbury, with all the other judges except Master Hales and Master Goodrick; the two aforesaid actuaries being withal present, on Monday in the forenoon, which was the twenty-sixth day of January, 1551.

This said day and place, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, exhibited an allegation in writing touching the admonishment given to him the last court day to make answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and nineteenth positions or articles; the copy and tenor of this allegation, so by him exhibited, hereafter followeth.

The allegation of Winchester, touching the pretended admonishment.

"The said bishop, repeating his protestations in the acts, said, that discoursing, and particularly debating, the last court day the answers made by him to the said articles, and agreeing, as he took it, with the judges therein, and so departing, it had been, and was besides, his expectation to hear, in the acts, mention of such admonishment. Nevertheless, the said bishop, for the declaration of himself, how ready he was to obey always, for satisfaction of that admonishment laid in his allegations; and therewith declared, that according to the testimony of his conscience, he had fully answered the said articles, weighing together all that he had answered already and proved, so far as the same opened. And further declared the matter of the said answer, without captious understanding, whereof the bishop protested. And yet, if the judges should declare any special point of any the said articles, wherein a more full answer ought by law to be made, the said bishop offered himself, without any further delay, to make such answer as the law should bind him; and thereby eschew, as much as in him was, the report of disobedience not to answer, when he might answer, or not so fully as he might, with his conscience."

"This allegation thus exhibited by the said bishop—furthermore, by word of mouth, for fuller answer [he] alleged, that he thought he spake of every article particularly, saving of the king's authority in his young years, and except St. Nicholas and St. Edmund, and such children's toys. And also he said, that he always submitted himself to justice;

and for that he knew not himself guilty, he called not for mercy within the time of three months expressed in the said articles: which time of three months ran not, because it was suspended by his appellation made from the sequestration mentioned in the said articles.

"After this the judges, at the said bishop's request, under his former protestations, admitted the positions additional, and the matter lastly laid in on his behalf, and before inserted in the ninth session, (as far as the same should or ought in law to be admitted, and none otherwise,) in presence of the promoters protesting of the over-much generality, impertinency, and inefficacy, of the said positions additional and matter; and alleging, that the same ought not, by the law, to be admitted. Then the bishop, under his former protestations protesting that he intended not to renounce the benefit of the law which he ought to have, in the production and swearing of such witnesses as he alleged were received afore in his absence—touching their oath, gave certain interrogatories in writing against the Lord Paget, being a witness received and sworn against him; the promoters alleging that none were received but either [in] his own presence or that of his proctors."

The fourteenth session against Gardiner.

The fourteenth action, or session, was in the bishop of Winchester's lodging, within the Tower of London, on Tuesday, the twenty-seventh day of January, in the presence of William Saye, one of the aforesaid two actuaries.

"The said day and place, in presence of William Saye, notary, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, (that by this act he intended not to alter the nature of the cause,) did constitute Master Thomas Dockwray, John Clerke, (proctors of the Arches,) Thomas Somerset, James Basset, and James Wingfield, his proctors; jointly and severally—for him and in his name—to produce witnesses upon his matters purposed, and to be purposed, in this matter: and further, to do therein as he himself ought or should do, at all times, as well when he was present as absent. And likewise did constitute William Bucknam and Master Mitch, fellows in Trinity Hall in Cambridge, jointly and severally his proctors, to produce Dr. Redman before the king's Majesty's sub-delegates, and to require him to be received, sworn, and examined, upon the articles to the commission annexed; and promised to ratify the doings of his said proctors herein, being present hereat Master Dr. Jeffrey, William Coppinger, and John Davy, &c."

The fifteenth session against Gardiner.

The fifteenth action, or session, upon the matter of the bishop of Winchester was holden before Dr. Oliver, one of the king's commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall, one of the two actuaries.

"The said day Master Thomas Somerset, one of the bishop of Winchester's proctors, according to the assignation made, and under former protestations, &c., did exhibit certain minutes, letters, and escripts, to declare the said bishop's conformity from time to time, since the death of King Henry the Eighth, unto this present time; and also exhibited the same, as much as they should make for him in this cause, and not otherwise; videlicet first, five original letters, whereof three [were] from the duke of Somerset, one from Master Cecil, and the others from Master Brig and other the king's visitors.

"Item, A book of statutes set forth in the second and third year of the king's Majesty that now is; wherein is contained An Act of Uniformity of the Service, and the Administration of the Sacrament, throughout the realm.

"Item, The bishop of Winchester's proxy exhibited in the visitation.

"Item, The copy of a letter printed and directed unto the preachers, from the duke of Somerset and others of the council.

"Item, Minutes of two letters from the bishop of Winchester to the duke of Somerset, then protector, from Winchester, before the said bishop's committing to the Fleet, with copies of them.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the bishop of Canterbury—in No. 3, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lords of the king's Majesty's council, before his committing to the Fleet—in No. 2, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector out of the Fleet—in No. 4, with their copies.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop of Winchester to the lord protector, when he was committed to ward in his house—in No. 1.

"Item, Minutes of letters from the bishop to the lord protector, from Winchester—in No. 1."

In the mean time before the bishop's sending for to London, at which time he was sent to the Tower, all these said originals the said Master Somerset required to have, when they were collated and conferred.

The sixteenth session against Gardiner.

Another action or session upon the cause of Gardiner was in the house of the bishop of Ely, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, Master Leyson, and Master Oliver, (Thomas Argall, actuary, being present,) on Thursday, the twenty-ninth day of January, 1551.

“The same day and place James Basset, one of the bishop of Winchester’s proctors, under the bishop’s former protestations, exhibiting his proxy, &c., produced the reverend father Thomas, bishop of Norwich, on articles I. II. III. IV. of the first matter, and the IVth and VIth of the additional; Sir Edward Carne, on the articles I. II. and III. of the first matter; Thomas Babington, on articles I. VII. X. XI. of the last matter; Maurice Griffith, clerk, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the first matter, and the first article of the additional, and on the twentieth of the last matter; Christopher Moulton, on articles III. IV. XXXV. and XXXVII. of the matter, and on the XXth of the matter contra exhibited; William Glyn, clerk, on the Vth of the additional; Thomas Nave, on articles XV. XVI. and XX. of the last matter; Oliver Wachell, on articles XIII. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the last matter; Thomas Cotisforde, on the VIIth of the last matter; Henry Burton, on articles IX. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; Thomas Skerne, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; Osmond Coware, on the IXth, XVth, and XVIth of the last matter; John Cliff, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; John Warner, on the XVth and the XVIth of the last matter; John Seton, clerk, on articles IV. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; William Medowe, clerk, on the Ist of the additional, and on articles IV. V. VI. VII. IX. XIV. XV. XVI. XVIII. and XX. of the last matter; Thomas Watson, clerk, on the Ist of the additional, and on articles IV. VII. IX. XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII. and XX. of the last matter; John Potinger, on articles II. III. V. VI. XV. and XVI. of the last matter; John Temple, on the XIIIth of the last matter; Alexander Dering, on the XVth and XVIth of the last matter; William Browne, on the IId, IIId, Vth, and VIth of the last matter—which witnesses the said judges did onerate with an oath, to depose of and upon all and singular such articles as they were produced upon, and the whole cause, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in the presence of Clapham and Lewis; approving the persons of the said bishop of Norwich, and Sir Edward Carne; and protesting to say against their sayings, and the persons

and sayings of all the other witnesses; and repeating the interrogatories before ministered, and requiring them to be examined on the same, and others to be ministered by them. Which done, the same James Basset (under the said bishop’s former protestations) alleged that the bishops of Durham, Worcester, and Chichester, were necessary witnesses to prove, &c.; and to have a commission for the examination of Dr. Steward, being prisoner in the Marshalsea. Whereupon the said judges, by one assent, committed their power to the bishop of Ely and Dr. Oliver, for the examination of the bishop of Durham; Master Leyson for the examination of Dr. Steward; and the bishop of Lincoln for the examination of the bishops of Worcester and Chichester in the Fleet.”

And forasmuch as mention is made, in this act, of certain interrogatories, as well of such as were to be ministered, as of the others being repeated before, the copy of them, which were afterwards ministered, here followeth in these words:

Interrogatories upon the first articles additional.

“I. Whether the bishop of London, in his said sermon, speaking of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, did use any of these words: ‘the real, corporal, or substantial presence,’ or the same adverbially; or any such like, and of the same effect, and what they were?”

“II. Item, Whether he did not bid his auditory to be content to delay the discussion of the secret of that matter, till it should be afterwards judged by learning and authority?”

“Item, Whether he did not say, that he would, and did, show them the sentence of an old author, which was both a great learned man, and martyr; and only did cite the same for the manner of Christ’s presence in the sacrament, and who was the author, and what was the place?”

The seventeenth session against Gardiner.

Another action upon the cause of Winchester was holden at Cold Harbour, before the bishops of Ely and Lincoln, and Master Doctor Oliver, with the presence of Thomas Argall, actuary, on Friday, the thirtieth day of January, 1551.

“James Basset, under the bishop of Winchester’s former protestations, produced Cuthbert, bishop of Durham, upon the IVth and VIth positions additional; John Bourne, clerk, on the Ist article of the same additional; Owen Oglethorp, doctor, on the articles III. IV. and XXXVII. of the first matter or matter justificatory, the Vth article of the additional, and the Xth article against the exhibits; whom the said judges did admit and onerate with an oath, to say the truth and the whole truth

upon those articles, and such interrogatories as should be ministered in behalf of the office, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters; approving the person of the said bishop of Durham: protesting, nevertheless, to say against his depositions, and the persons and sayings of the other witnesses, in case they deposed any thing prejudicial against the office; and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered, requiring the witnesses to be examined upon the same.

The eighteenth session against Gardiner.

The same Friday they also met in the Marshalsea in Southwark, Master Doctor Oliver and Thomas Argall being present, on the cause of Winchester.

"James Basset, under the bishop of Winchester's former protestations, produced Master Edmund Steward, clerk, on articles I. II. III. VIII. IX. XV. of the matter justificatory; and on articles II. III. V. VI. VII. XIV. XV. XVI. and XVIII. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said Master Doctor Oliver, at the petition of the same James Basset, did admit and onerate with an oath upon the premises, in the presence of David Clapham, one of the promoters aforesaid, protesting to say against the said witness and his testimony, in case he deposed against the office, and repeating these interrogatories afore ministered.

"The same Friday, in the Fleet, [before] Henry, bishop of Lincoln, in the presence of Thomas Argall, &c., the said James Basset, under the former protestations, produced Nicholas, bishop of Worcester, in his chamber where he lieth there, and George, bishop of Chichester, in another chamber where he lieth, of and upon the IVth and VIth articles of the positions additional; when the bishop of Lincoln, them and either of them, did respectively onerate with an oath, to depose the whole truth that they and either of them knew, upon the said articles, and all such interrogatories as should be ministered unto them, in presence of David Clapham; protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case they deposed against the office."

The nineteenth session against Gardiner.

Saturday, the last day of January, 1551, there was a session in the house of Thomas Argall, before Master John Oliver; the said Argall being present.

"James Basset, proctor, &c., under the bishop's former protestations, did produce John Cooke, a witness before sworn, upon articles II. III. V. VI. and XIV. of the matter against the exhibits; whom the said Master Oliver did admit and swear, at the petition of the said Basset, in the presence of David

Clapham, one of the promoters; protesting, &c., and repeating the interrogatories afore ministered."

The twentieth session against Gardiner.

The twentieth session or action upon the cause of Winchester, with his appearance at Lambeth before the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the commissioners, (Master Gosnall only absent, Thomas Argall and William Say being present,) was on Tuesday, the third day of February, anno 1551.

"The term probatory assigned to the bishop of Winchester, was prorogued to this day by nine of the clock afore noon; and, by the same time, it was assigned to transmit the examination of Dr. Redman. And it was also assigned to the said bishop of Winchester, to see further process, in this cause, between the hours of ten and eleven afore noon of this day. The said day, one Paul Hampcoats, on the behalf of Master Edward Leedes, and Master Michael Dunning, presented the process of the examination of Master Doctor Redman, at Cambridge, being sealed, and in authentical form, in the presence of the bishop of Winchester; under his former protestations, protesting that he intended not to revoke his proctors exhibiting the same process, as far as it made for him, and not otherwise; the promoters protesting to say against the said process, in case and as far as it should seem to make against the office.

"Then the bishop, under his former protestations alleging Master James Basset and Master Jacques Wingfield to be necessary witnesses for proof of certain articles by him purposed, desired that they might be admitted and sworn; at whose requiring the judge admitted them as far as the law would them to be admitted, and not else: whom they did then and there onerate with a corporal oath, to depose the truth, as they knew, upon such articles as they should be examined upon; the promoters protesting of the nullity of their production, for that they were the said bishop's proctors, and had exercised in this cause for him; and, in case the production were of force in law, protesting to say against them and their sayings, in case and as far as the same should make against the office, and to repeat the interrogatories heretofore ministered against the other witnesses produced by the said bishop. And the said bishop, under his said protestations, for further satisfaction of the term assigned him to prove, did exhibit these writings ensuing; videlicet first, an original letter from the king's Majesty that dead is; and another original letter from the king's Majesty that now is, as much as the same did make for his intent, and not otherwise; the promoter accepting

the contents of the same letters as far as they made the office; and none otherwise."

The tenor and words of these two letters, sent to the king from the aforesaid kings, albeit they seem not much to make for the bishop, yet, forasmuch as he doth here allege them, I thought not unfit to set them; the copies whereof thus ensue:—

Part of a letter sent from King Henry the Eighth to the bishop of Winchester.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and beloved, we greet you well. Understanding, by your letters of the second of this instant, your touching such matter as hath lately, on our behalf, been opened to you by certain of our council, we have thought good, for answer, to signify that our doings heretofore in this matter had been agreeable to such fair words as ye have now written, whereby you should have cause to write this excuse, we have any occasion to answer the same; and we do not but marvel at this part of your letter, that you never said nay, to any request made unto you touching those lands, considering that this matter being long and, at good length, debated with you, and well by our chancellor and secretary, as also by the chancellor of our Court of Augmentations, both jointly and apart you utterly refused to grow to any conformity in the same, saying, That you would not give your answer to our own person: which, as we can be well contented to receive, and will not deny you audience at any meet time, when you shall think suit to be heard for your said answer, so we do not, in the mean time, think, that if the remembrance of our benefits towards you had earnestly remained in your heart indeed, as you have now expressed the same in words, you would not have been so precise in such a matter, wherein a great number of our subjects, and, amongst others, many of your own coat, (although they have not had so good cause as you,) have yet, without indenting, dealt both more lovingly and more friendly with us. And, as touching you, our opinion was, that if our request had been for a free surrender, as it was for an exchange only, your duty had been to have done otherwise in this matter than you have: wherein, if you be yet disposed to show that conformity you desire of, we see no cause why you should molest any further therewith, being the same of such sort as may well enough be passed without officers ere.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Oatlands, the 4th of December, the thirtieth year of our reign."

Also, then and there the said bishop did, under

his said protestations, exhibit a letter written from Louvain by one Francis Driander, the contents whereof are hereunder expressed in English, whereof, as much as to the present purpose appertaineth, here followeth.

Part of a letter of Francis Driander.

"Before my departure from the city of Paris, I wrote unto you by our friend the Englishman, &c. Now the narration of your bishop of Winchester, shall satisfy and content you. He (the said bishop) as appertained to the ambassador of so noble a prince, came to Louvain with a great rout and bravery, and was there, at a private man's house called Jeremy's, most honourably entertained and received; where the faculty of divines, for honour's sake, presented him wine in the name of the whole university. But our famous doctors, and learned masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellency of the prelate, perused and scanned a certain oration made by him, and now extant, entitled De vera Obedientia, which is as much as to say, in our English tongue, Of true Obedience; in the which his oration he did greatly impair and subvert the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and preferred his lord and king's authority before the holy apostolic see, as they were wont to term it: which being read and considered by them, they did not only repent them, for attributing such their honour unto him, but also recanted what they had done before; and, like impudent persons, did not so much honour him afore, but now twice so much, with many obloquies and derisions, disabled and dishonoured his person. But, in conclusion, Richard Lathomus, interpreter of the Terms, with the favourers of this fraternity, and other the champions of the falling church, boldly enterprised to dispute with him concerning the pope's supremacy. The bishop stoutly defended his said oration. The divines, contrary, did stiffly maintain their opinion, and, divers times openly, with exclamation, called the said bishop an excommunicate person, and a schismatic; to the no little reproach and infamy of the English nation.

"I will not here repeat the arguments and reasons which were alleged on both parts, for the defence of the opinions of each side, for that lest, perhaps, to learned men, they shall not seem all of the strongest; and also, because it becometh me to save and preserve the estimation of either party. The bishop not long after, minding to say mass in St. Peter's church, they did deny unto him, as to an excommunicate person, the ornaments and vestments meet for the same; wherewith being highly offended, he suddenly hastened his journey from

thence. The dean, the next day after, made an eloquent oration, wherein he openly disgraced and defamed his person. I lament greatly their case, who so rashly, without any advisement, gave themselves to be mocked among grave and witty men. You have heard now a true story, for our doctor was the chief and principal doer of that tragedy."

After this, the said bishop also exhibited a minute of a letter, sent by the said bishop out of the Fleet, to the duke of Somerset, the copy whereof ensueth.

A letter of Gardiner to the lord protector, out of the Fleet.

"After my most humble commendations to your good Grace: This day I received your Grace's letters, with many sentences in them, whereof in some I take much comfort, and especially, in sending a physician; and for the rest that might grieve me, do so understand them as they grieve me not at all. If I have done amiss, the fault is mine; and I perceive your Grace would not be grieved with me, unless I had offended. As for the council, I contend not with their doings, no more than he that pleadeth 'not guilty' doth blame the judge and quest that hath indicted him, and requireth on him. I acknowledge authority: I honour them and speak reverently of them; and yet, if my conscience so telleth me, I must plead 'not guilty,' as I am not guilty of this imprisonment. And so must I say, unless I would accuse myself wrongfully; for I intended ever well. Howsoever I have written or spoken, I have spoken as I thought; and I have spoken it in place where I should speak it; at which time I was sorry at your Grace's absence, unto whom I had used like boldness, the rather upon warranty of your Grace's letter. But I have written truth, without any affection other than to the truth, and could answer the particularities of your Grace's letter shortly, were it not that I will not contend with your Grace's letters; unto whom I wrote simply for no such purposes as they be taken (not by your Grace, but by others); for I trust your Grace will not require of me to believe, that all the contents of your Grace's letter proceed specially from yourself, and, in the mean time, I can flatter myself otherwise than to take them so. Whereupon, if it shall further be applied unto me, that I do your Grace wrong, being in the place ye represent, not to take your Grace's letters as though every syllable were of your Grace's device, being your hand set to them, I will be sorry for it. Thus I take the sum of your Grace's writing: that I will stand for any respect, withstand truth; and

of that conformity I am. And to agree against the truth can do your Grace no pleasure, for truth will continue, and untruth cannot endure; in the discerning whereof if I err, and, when all the rest were agreed if that were so, I only then cannot agree, yet I am out of the case of hatred: for I say as I think. And, if I think like a fool, and cannot say otherwise, then it shall be accounted as my punishment, and I to be reckoned among the indurate, who, nevertheless, heretofore had used myself (when no man impeached me for religion as friend to friends; and although I were not (as is of some now thought) a good Christian man, yet I was no evil civil man; and your Grace, at our being with the emperor, had ever experience of us, that I was a good Englishman.

"Now I perceive I am noted to have two faults: one, not to like Erasmus's Paraphrase; another, not to like my Lord of Canterbury's Homily of Salvation. Herein if I mislike that all the realm liked, and, when I have been heard speak in open audience what I can say, can show no cause of my so doing, or else it cannot so be taken, yet should it be taken for no wonder, seeing the like hath been seen heretofore. And, though your Grace will be sorry for it, I am sure you will love men never the worse: for I adventure as much as any man hath done, to save my conscience. And I do it, if it may be so taken, in the best fashion I can devise: for I accuse not the council, which I confess ought to be honoured; and yet it is not always necessary for those which be committed by the council to prison, evermore to appear guilty; for then should every prisoner plead guilty, for the avoiding of contention with the council. And, howsoever your Grace be informed, I never gave advice, nor ever knew man committed to prison, for disagreeing to any doctrine, unless the same doctrine were established by a law of the realm before. And yet now it might be, that the council, in your Grace's absence, fearing such things, as rulers do in a commonwealth, might, upon a cause to them suspected, and without any blame, commit me to prison; with whom I have not striven in it, but humbly declared the matter with mine innocency, as one who never had conference in this matter with any man but such as came to me; and with them thus—to will them to say nothing. Because I thought myself, if I spake, would speak temperately, and I mistrusted others; being very loath of any trouble to ensue in your Grace's absence, and specially such absence as I feared in rain. (thanks be to God!) as the success hath showed. but not altogether without cause, seeing war is dangerous in the common sense of man, and the stronger hath had evermore the victory.

"I allege, in my letter to your Grace, worldly respects, to avoid worldly reasons against me; but I make not my foundation of them. The world is mere vanity, which I may learn in mine own case, being now destitute of all such help as friendship, service, familiarity, or gentleness, seemed to have gotten me in this world. And if I had travailed my wit in consideration of it since I came hither, (as, I thank God, I have not,) it might have made me past reasoning ere this time.

"I reserve to myself a good opinion of your Grace, being nothing diminished by these letters; in remembrance of whose advancement to honour, when I spake of chance, if I spake 'ethnically,' as you termed in your Grace's letters, then is the English Paraphrase to be condemned for that cause besides all other, wherein that word 'chance' is over common in my judgment. And yet, writing to your Grace, I would not (being in this case) counterfeit a holiness in writing otherwise than my speech hath been heretofore, to call all that comes to pass, God's doings; without whose work and permission nothing indeed is, and from whom is all virtue. And yet, in common speech, wherein I have been brought up, the names 'fortune' and 'chance' have been used to be spoken in the advancement to nobility, and commended when virtue is joined with them. Wherein, me thinketh, it is greater praise, and more rare, to add virtue to fortune, (as your Grace hath done,) than to have virtue go before fortune; which I wrote, not to flatter your Grace, but to put you in remembrance what a thing it were, that, bearing in hand of such as might have credit with you, should cause you to enterprise that which might indirectly work what your Grace mindeth not, and, by error in a virtuous pretence to the truth, advance that which is not truth: wherein I ask no further credit than that I can show shall persuade, which is one of the matters I kept in store to show against the Paraphrase, intending only to say truth, with suit to be heard, and instant request rather to be used, to utter that I can say, than to be here wasted after this sort. I can a great deal, and a great deal further than I have written to your Grace; and yet am so assured of that I have already written, as I know I cannot therein be convicted of untruth. As for Erasmus himself, I wrote unto your Grace what he writeth in his latter days, only to show you the man thoroughly. And [how] in speaking of the state of the church in his old days, [he] doth not so much further the bishop of Rome's matters as he did in his young days, being wanton; which Paraphrase if I can, with expense of my life, let from going abroad, I have done as good a deed, in my opinion, as ever was done in this realm, in the

let of an enterprise: in which book I am now so well learned, and can show the matters I shall allege so plainly, as I fear no reproach in my so doing. And as for the English, either my Lord of Canterbury shall say, for his defence, that he hath not read over the English, or confess more of himself than I will charge him with. Therefore I call that, the fault of inferior ministers whom my lord trusteth. The matter itself is over far out of the way, and the translating also. In a long work (as your Grace toucheth) a slumber is pardonable; but this translator was asleep when he began, having such faults.

"I cannot now write long letters, though I would; but, to conclude, I think there was never man had more plain evident matter to allege than I have, without winches, or arguments, or devices of wit. I mean plainly, and am furnished with plain matter, intending only plainness, and destitute of all man's help, such as the world, in man's judgment, should minister. I make my foundation only on the truth, which to hear, serveth for your Grace's purpose towards God, and the world also; and, being that, I shall say truth in deed and apparent. I doubt not your Grace will regard it accordingly, for *that* only will maintain that your Grace hath attained; *that* will uphold all things, and prosper all enterprises: wherein if I may have liberty to show that I know, I shall gladly do it: and, otherwise, abide that [which] by authority shall be determined of me, as patiently and quietly as ever did man; continuing your Grace's bead-man, during my life, unto Almighty God; who have your Grace in his tuition!"

And thus have ye the aforesaid letter sent from the Fleet to the lord protector. After this the said bishop did also exhibit another minute of a letter by him sent to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter to the said duke from Winchester. Also another minute of a letter sent to the said duke from the said bishop when he was prisoner in his house, as he affirmed; the copy of which letters we have above specified, page 821. Also another minute of a letter in Latin, by him sent to Master Cecil. And also a minute of a letter written from Ratisbon, to the king's Majesty that dead is, by the said bishop, subscribed with the hand of Sir Henry Knivet, as he affirmed; which two last letters here mentioned be not yet come to our hands. All these letters abovesaid, he, under his former protestations, did exhibit as far as they made for his intent, and not otherwise; and required the same to be registered, and the originals to be to him delivered: which was decreed in present

of the promoters, protesting of the nullity of the exhibition of these letters, and of the same exhibits; alleging the same to be private writings, and not authentic, and such whereunto there ought no faith to be given in law; and accepting the contents of the said exhibits as much as they made for the office, and not otherwise. The said bishop, also, under like protestation as before, exhibited a book of Statutes of Parliament, of the first year of the king's Majesty's reign that then was, concerning his general pardon. And, lastly, two papers of articles, which the bishop affirmed were sent to him to preach, which likewise he did exhibit inasmuch as they made for his intent, and not otherwise, the promoters accepting the contents thereof, as far as they made for the office, and not otherwise.

After all this, the judges, at the request of the said promoters, did publish the sayings and depositions of the witnesses examined in this cause, reserving the examinations of the two witnesses lastly sworn as afore; the bishop, under his former protestations, dissenting to the said publication.

Witnesses produced, sworn, and examined, upon the articles ministered by the office, against Stephen, bishop of Winchester.

Sir Anthony Wingfield, Master Secretary Cecil, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Sir Thomas Wrothe, Master John Cheke, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Richard Coxe, Thomas Watson, Master William Honing, Dr. Giles Ayre, Dr. Robert Record, Sir George Blage, Nicholas Udall, Sir Edward North, Edward duke of Somerset, William earl of Wiltshire, William lord marquis of Northampton, John earl of Bedford, the Lord Paget, Andrew Beynton, the lord chancellor Riche, the earl of Warwick, George Lord Cobham, Sir William Harbert, Sir John Baker, Sir Edward Carne, the lord bishop of Durham, the lord bishop of Norwich, Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Markham, William Coppinger, John Davy, Jacques Wingfield, John Seton, Nicholas Lentall, Richard Hampden, Master William Bell, Master William Medowe, Robert Willanton, Herman Bilson, John Reade, William Laurence, Peter Langridge, Giles White, Roger Hurd, William Lorking, John Smith, Thomas Williams, John Glasier, Richard Bruerne, John Hardy, Morgan Phillips, Robert Quinby, Robert Braborne, Edmund Bricket, Alexander Dering, John Potinger, William Browne, Thomas Crowte, Robert Massie, Hugh Weston, John White, John Young, George Bullocke, John Norton, Francis Allen, Philip Paris, Christopher Malton, James Bassett, Thomas Redman, John Redman, Nicholas bishop of Worcester, George bishop of Chichester,

Owen Oglethorpe, Cuthbert bishop of Durham, Thomas bishop of Norwich, Maurice Griffith archdeacon of Rochester, Master Gilbert Bourne, William Glyn, Thomas Cotisforde, Thomas Skerne, John Clyffe, Henry Burton, Thomas Babington, John Warner, Osmond Coward, John Temple, John Cooke, Thomas Neve.

Notes for the reader.

A brief table or index of such notes and specialities, whereunto Stephen Gardiner did agree and grant: concerning reformation of religion.

It may seem to thee, loving reader, we have been too prolix and tedious in reciting the multitude of so many witnesses, which needed not here, peradventure, to have been inserted, considering our other matters more necessary, and the greatness of the volumes: but the cause moving us thereunto was so reasonable, that we could not leave them out. For seeing there be so many yet to this day, that stick so much to Gardiner's wit, learning, and religion, taking him for such a champion, and a firm pillar of the popish church—for such as hitherto have been so deceived in him, we have taken here a little pains: so that if they will either credit his own words, works, sermons, writings, disputations, or else will be judged by his own witnesses on his own part here produced, they shall see how clearly and evidently he withstandeth the pope's supremacy:

First, In his writings, as in his book *De vera Obedientia*.

Secondly, In his disputations and defensions at Louvain, and other places.

Thirdly, In his open sermons and preaching, as where he expoundeth the place *Thou art Peter*, nothing at all to make for authority of the Romish bishop, marvelling how the pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his church.

Item, That the confession of Peter was the confession of all the apostles, like as the blessing gives to Peter pertained as well to all the apostles.

Item, That the place, *Feed my sheep*, was not special to Peter alone, but general to all the apostles. Also that the Greek Church did never receive the said bishop of Rome for their universal head.

Item, That the authority of the bishop of Rome was not received of most part of Christian princes.

Item, He would not grant, that the said authority was received generally.

Item, That the church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter; and though Peter was called chief of the apostles, that was nothing else

but like as it is in an inquest, where the foreman or headman, is not so called because he is best or chiefest of that company ; but because he speaketh first.

Item, When the keys were given, they were given generally to all the apostles.

Item, He taketh away all such scriptures which are thought to serve for the pope's supremacy, as on this rock : feed my sheep : chief of the apostles : proving, that they serve nothing for his authority.

Item, In his book *De vera Obedientia*, he did not only write against the pope's supremacy, but also did defend the same at Louvain.

And moreover in his sermons he did allege and preach the same, and that vehemently—pithily—earnestly—very earnestly—very forwardly.

And not only did so vehemently, pithily, earnestly, and forwardly, preach himself against the pope's supremacy, but also did cause Master White (then schoolmaster, after bishop of Winchester) to make certain verses extolling the king's supremacy against the usurped power of the pope, encouraging also his scholars to do the like.

Item, For the space of fourteen years together, he preached against the pope's supremacy in divers sermons, and especially in one sermon before King Henry.

Item, For ceremonies and images, which were abused : to be taken away by public authority, he did well allow it, as a child to have his book taken from him, when he abuseth, or delighteth only in the golden cover.

Item, For dissolving of monkery, nunnery, or friary, and for dissolution of monasteries, he granteth they were justly suppressed.

Concerning images being by King Edward's injunctions abolished, he exhorted the people in his sermons to be contented therewith.

Monks and friars he calleth flattering knaves.

Friars he never liked in all his life.

Monks he counted but belly-gods.

The going about of St. Nicholas, St. Katharine, and St. Clement, he affirmeth them to be children's toys.

For taking away or transposing of chantry obits, he referreth it to the arbitrement of the politic rulers, granting that in dissolving them it might well be so done.

Item, He wisheth them to be committed to a better use.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the rulers, it is but to set the church in an outward and public order. But if a man inwardly and

privately be addicted to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not availing, but by observing of the same, it is an error.

The Communion set out by King Edward, he liked well.

The Book of Common Service, he was content both to keep it himself and caused it to be kept of others.

For the Homilies he exhorted the people, in his preaching, to come to the church to hear them read.

In sum : to all injunctions, statutes, and proclamations, set forth by the king and superior powers, he yieldeth and granteth.

Item, Cardinal Pole, coming to the French king to stir him up against England, Winchester caused him to be expelled out of France.—Witness : Cuthbert, bishop of Durham.

Item, The said bishop sworn against the pope by express clauses in his proxy.

Now, gentle reader, lay these his writings, preaching, and doings, with his doings in Queen Mary's time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconstant and contrary to himself, how perjured, and far differing from the report of one, who, in an English book, set out in Queen Mary's time, reported, (as it appeareth in the said book to be seen,) that there were three only in England, whose consciences had been never distained in religion, of whom, he said, the aforesaid bishop of Winchester was one.

Notes and points concerning reformation of religion, whereunto he would not grant.

Contrary to the real and natural presence of the body in the sacrament, and to transubstantiation, he would not agree or subscribe.

Contrary to the mass, he would not clearly grant ; but saying it did profit the quick and the dead. Although against the mass of *scala cœli*, masses satisfactory, and masses in number, he could not find them by Scripture.

To the marriage of priests he would not agree.

To the article of justification he would not agree ; and divers other places.

Also, here is to be noted in these aforesaid depositions, especially in the depositions of Andrew Beynton, and of Master Chalenor, how falsely, and traitor-like, Winchester behaved himself against King Henry the Eighth at Ratisbon, insomuch that the said king, for the secret informations which he had of the bishop, caused in all pardons afterward, all treasons committed beyond the seas to be excepted, which was most meant for the bishop's cause.

Item, He did exempt the said bishop out of his testament, as one being wilful and contentious, and that would trouble them all.

Item, That the said King Henry, before his death, was certainly believed to abhor the said bishop more than any Englishman in his realm.

Item, That the said king exempted also out of his testament the bishop of Westminster, for that he was schooled in Winchester's school.

Item, The said bishop of Winchester was found to be the secret worker, that, three years before the king's death, divers of the privy chamber were indicted of heresies; for the which the said king was much offended.

Thus thou seest, reader, Stephen Gardiner here described, what in all his doings he is, and what is to be thought of him; as who is neither a true protestant, nor a right papist: neither firm in his error, nor yet stedfast in the truth: neither a true friend to the pope, nor yet a full enemy to Christ: false in King Henry's time; obstinate in King Edward's time; perjured, and a murderer, in Queen Mary's time; but mutable and inconstant in all times. And finally, whereas in his letters to the lord protector and others, usually he vaunteth so much of his late sovereign lord King Henry the Eighth that is dead, and of the great reputation that he was in with him, behold, in the depositions of the Lord Paget; and there ye shall see, that the king, before his death, both excepting him out of his pardons, and quite striking him out of his last will and testament, so detested and abhorred him as he did no Englishman more. And whereas the Lord Paget, being sent in message from the king to the bishop, by other words than the king's mind and will was, of his own dexterity gave to him good and gracious words: then, indeed, the king neither knew, nor yet by him sent the same. Whereupon the bishop, persuading himself otherwise of the king's favour towards him than it was in deed, was far deceived.

And this, now, being sufficient concerning the witnesses and their depositions, let us return to the rest of the twentieth act and session of the process, where we left off.

The publication of the witnesses, which next before I have put, being had, as you have heard and granted, the judges, at the like petition of the promoters, did assign to hear final judgment and decree, in this matter, on Friday, the thirteenth day of this month of February, between the hours of eight and ten afore noon, in this place: The said bishop of Winchester under like protestation as afore dissenting also to the said assignation.

The twenty-first session.

The twenty-first act or session was held on Friday, the thirteenth day of February, between the aforesaid hours, and in the place assigned, before all the judges and commissioners, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"Here, and at this time, final judgment being assigned to be heard, the bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, did exhibit for proof of his matters and additions, five books in print: videlicet, one entitled thus, Stephani Winton, de Vera Obedientia Oratio: item, another of Peter Martyr, called, Tractatio de Sacramentis Eucharistiæ: item, another called, Catechismus, set forth by my Lord archbishop of Canterbury: item, another entitled De divinis, apostolicis, atque ecclesiasticis Traditionibus, auctore Martino Peresio Guadixiensis, Epistola: item, Injunctions given by the king's Majesty that now is, to all his subjects, as well of the clergy, as the laity: also, A Proclamation against those that do innovate, alter, or leave done, any rite or ceremony in the church, of their private authority: all which he did exhibit (as far as they made for him, and none otherwise) in presence of the promoters, accepting the contents of the same exhibits, as far as they made for the office; and as much as they made against the office, protesting of the nullity and invalidity of the exhibits aforesaid, (saving only the king's Majesty's injunctions and proclamation,) and alleging the same to be such, whereunto no faith ought to be given."

And as concerning the aforesaid five books, with the injunctions and proclamation, before by the bishop exhibited, because they are in print (here omitting them) we thought best to refer you to the perusing of the same. The said bishop also, under his said protestations, did exhibit certain exceptions in writings against the witnesses, which he desired to be admitted: the promoters protesting of the nullity, inefficacy, over-much generality, and invalidity of the same exceptions; and alleging that they were such, whereunto no faith ought to be given nor the same to be admitted. The exceptions, although they were not admitted, yet for divers considerations I thought good to recite them.

Exceptions given, and laid in by the bishop of Winchester: against such witnesses as were produced against him.

"The bishop of Winchester—under all and singular protestations, heretofore by him made in this matter, and the same always to him saved and reserved, accepting and approving all and singular such parts of the depositions of the witnesses produced

and examined against him and by him in this behalf, as the law bindeth him, and as they make for his part, and for this intent and none otherwise—saith, that forasmuch as certain of the witnesses, brought forth by the said bishop and against him, be of the king's Majesty's most honourable council; that is to say, the duke of Somerset, the lord treasurer, the lord great master, the lord privy seal, the lord great chamberlain, the Lord Cobham, the Lord Paget, Sir William Harbert: unto whom, for that respect, and also in consideration of their estate, duty requireth seemly and convenable speech to be used of them: [in] which mind of his behaviour in language towards them, the said bishop protesteth, and by way of exception allegeth; and excepting saith, that the said noblemen have been, without any corporal oath by them taken, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, examined and deposed: unto whom, because the said oath-giving was not by special consent remitted, but especially and expressly by the part of the said bishop required, their deposition by the ecclesiastical laws hath no such strength of testimony, as the judge should or might, for the knowledge of truth, have regard to them. For, albeit the quality of their estate be such, and their sayings also, in words declared to proceed of their faith and honour, with which it becometh no private man to contend, nor to affirm, by objection, that they would otherwise say or depose upon a corporal oath, than they do now: yet, because the order of the law ecclesiastical requireth the oath corporal, lately practised in this realm, in persons of like estate; the said bishop dare the more boldly allege this exception: and so much the rather, that the Lord Paget hath, in his deposition, evidently and manifestly neglected honour, faith, and honesty, and sheweth himself desirous, beyond the necessary answer to that was demanded of him, (only of ingrate malice,) to hinder, as much as in him is, the said bishop, who was in the said lord's youth his teacher and tutor, afterward his master, and then his beneficial master, to obtain of the king's Majesty that dead is, one of the rooms of the clerkship of the signet for him: which ingrate malice of the said Lord Paget, the said bishop saith, in the depositions manifestly doth appear, as the said bishop offereth himself ready to prove and show. And moreover, the said bishop against the Lord Paget allegeth, at such time as the said Lord Paget was produced against the said bishop, the same Lord Paget openly, in the presence of the judges, and others there present, said, how the said bishop did fly from justice, which made him notoriously suspected, not to be affected indifferently to the truth (as seemed him); and without cause therein to speak, as enemy to

the said bishop. Objecting against the Lord Paget, as afore in especial, and generally excepting the omission of the corporal oath in the rest, he saith further—that the sayings of the said noblemen, as they in some points depose only upon hearsay, in some points speaking in general, declaring no specialty, in some points declaring a specialty without such quality as the proof of the fact requireth; without giving such a reason of their saying, as the law in the deposition of a witness requireth, when there is deposition of such matter: the same their sayings do not in law conclude, nor make proof of any matter prejudicial to the said bishop, as upon the consideration of the depositions may appear. And finally, the said bishop, by way of exception, allegeth, and excepting saith, that the Lord Paget, being produced against the said bishop, was by the office examined, as appeareth, upon the interrogatories ministered by the office, without making the bishop privy what the said interrogatories were, to the intent he might understand what new matter were deduced, to use his just defence in that behalf. And, although the bishop produced those noblemen, as witnesses to prove his behaviour, at their repair unto him in the Tower, and at his coming to them, when he was commanded to appear before them at the king's Majesty's palace, whereby his sayings and answers before them might appear, with their testimony in general of the bishop's estimation in our late sovereign lord's days: yet the same personages be produced again for the office, to be taken and used as witnesses against the said bishop in the principal matter of that they themselves supposed to be true in their process, thereby, with their own testimony, to justify their own doings: whereupon they did proceed so as it appeareth, that the same personages be the judges in the first sentence, and brought here witnesses, whereby to approve the justness of their own former doings; which is against all law, equity, and justice. And touching the other witnesses, such as appear in the acts, to have made a corporal oath,—amongst which be also four of the king's most honourable council, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward North, and Master Cecil,—the said bishop, with due respects to their worships, saith their sayings and depositions, where they be general, and declare no specialty against the said bishop, wherein he should especially offend, conclude no proof in law, nor ought to be prejudicial to the said bishop, as by consideration of the depositions may appear.

“And where Master Cecil deposeth upon the Xth article, he is therein singular, and concludeth no proof in such a matter of weight, and telleth not that matter touching the king's Majesty's young

age, as he uttered it, and calleth it a commandment that he uttered not so, leaving out the joining of the council to limit the king's authority; as the said bishop, upon his oath, in answer hath affirmed: and in the VIIIth article, the declaration of his knowledge of commandment given to the bishop to preach, by knowledge, from Master Smith, (as he saith,) varieth from Master Watson, a witness in that part produced. And as for Master Coxe, Master Ayre, Master Honing, Master Cheke, Master Chalenor, Master Record, and Master Smith, the bishop, excepting, allegeth, that either they depose generally, or by hearsay, not concluding any proof, or else so utter their own affection, as they be worthy of no credit, or else show themselves so loth to seem to remember any thing that might relieve the bishop, as they ought to be reputed not indifferent. And moreover, the said bishop saith, that Master Coxe had his conversation so touched in the latter end of the bishop's sermon, for priests to marry contrary to a law, and against order, that it was no marvel though he were offended. Master Ayre declareth himself to have complained of the said bishop, whose complaint by witness already produced is reproved. Master Record, saying that the bishop is yet disobedient, and so wrongfully judging of the bishop in his private prejudice, is unworthy of all faith in the matter. Master Chalenor showeth himself to mistake the matter, not distinguishing Hampton Court from Westminster. Master Smith, in declaring of his treating with the bishop, doth plainly confound the month of February with June. Master Honing's deposition hath no matter substantial in form of proof declared. And also the said bishop, excepting as afore and under his protestation above mentioned, allegeth, that all and singular the witnesses aforesaid, examined against the said bishop, be, in their pretended depositions, variable, singular, discrepant, repugnant, and contrary one to another; and not proving, in any wise, such things as they go about and endeavour themselves to depose of. All which matters the said bishop allegeth as they be above respectively mentioned, touching the witnesses concerning the premises against them, as is aforesaid, objected and excepted, as well for the causes before respectively specified, as other causes contained in their pretended depositions: to whose sayings, credit and faith, sufficient by the law, ought not to be given, as is required for proof and testimony of truth in process, as by their said pretended depositions more plainly appeareth; unto which and unto the law, (as is expedient for him and none otherwise,) the said bishop referreth himself in this behalf. And under his said protestations he allegeth, that these things before by him respec-

tively excepted against the said witnesses, were and be true and notorious, as by the acts and depositions of the same witnesses, and by other records and things had, exhibited, done, and made in this matter, doth appear; and also, by proof to be further made by the said bishop, if he may be admitted thereunto, shall appear; and therewith to what is already deposed, to which (as is aforesaid) the bishop answereth himself so far forth as they make for him and none otherwise."

Besides the premises, the said bishop also, under like protestations as afore, did exhibit, for the better information of the judges in this matter, certain papers: one, containing a collation made of the depositions in both parts, what was said, and how it was said in the bishop's sermon; and of the charge and discharge in the same: which collation, for that I have before comprehended it in the table and index of notes, I thought it not here necessary to occupy any more room.—Item, another abridgement of collections touching the said bishop's sermon.—Item, another touching the articles of the council sending to the said bishop to the Tower.—Another entitled, A note of the bishop's conformity in prison, with confutation of that which hath been in general terms called in him, obstinacy and disobedience.—Another entitled, Answers by evident deeds, to such matter at large in words, as is surmised against the bishop of Winchester: the promoters protesting also of the nullity of the same exhibits, and requiring judgment to be given.

Then and there the judges assigned again to hear judgment, on the following day, between the hours of nine and eleven of the clock before noon, in the same place: the bishop, under his protestation, dissenting to the said assignation, and protesting of a grief, for that he hath not yet all the exhibits again, nor space sufficient to consult with his learned counsel in this behalf: and also requiring another temporal counsellor, because one of them already assigned unto him cannot tarry longer in these parts.

The twenty-second session.

The twenty-second act or session, wherein appeared Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, personally, was sped in the hall of the manor at Lambeth, on Saturday, the fourteenth day of February, before all the judges delegate, in the presence of Thomas Argall and William Say, actuaries.

"On this day and place, according to the assignment in that behalf, between the hours prefixed, the promoters delivering to the archbishop the sentence in writing, required the same to be given in presence of the bishop of Winchester, who, under

his former protestations, before the said actuaries and the multitude there assembled, making a certain appellation from the said judges to our sovereign lord the king's most excellent Majesty, according as was contained in certain paper-leaves, which he then and there openly read; and upon the reading thereof, required the said actuaries to make him an instrument thereof; and the witnesses there present, to bear testimony thereunto: protesting also, that from thenceforth he intended not, by any of his doings or sayings, to recede from the benefit of his said appellation. The copy of which appellation so by the bishop read here followeth.

The appeal of the bishop of Winchester before the sentence definitive.

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you judges delegates, or commissaries pretended, under named, and before you notaries public, and authentic persons: and also before you witnesses here present, I, Stephen, by the permission of God bishop of Winchester, to the intent to appeal, and likewise principally of nullity to querell under the best and most effectual way, manner, and form of law which I best and most effectually ought to do, and to all purposes and effects of the law that may follow thereof, say, allege, and in this writing propone in law—That, although I have obtained, and do obtain, hold, keep, and occupy the said bishopric of Winchester lawfully; and the same, (so by me lawfully had and obtained,) with all the rights and appurtenances of the same, have possessed, by many years, peaceably and quietly; and so (saving always such things and griefs, as be under written) do possess now, at this present time; and, for the very and true bishop, and lawful possessor aforesaid, have been and am commonly taken, named, had, holden, and reputed, openly and notoriously: and albeit I was and am (as I thought to be) in peaceable possession of the law, to take, have, and receive the fruits, rents, provents, obventions, and other rights and profits, whatsoever they be, in any wise to the bishopric aforesaid appertaining, and of the same bishopric, by any manner of means, coming or happening: and though also I was, and am, a man of perfect and full integrity and of good name and fame, and also of life, manners, and conversation laudable; not suspected, not excommunicated, nor interdicted; neither with any crime, at least notorious or famous, nor with any disobedience or contentions against any my superiors, noted, respersed, or convicted; but to obey the law, and to stand to the commandments, precepts, and monitions of the most noble prince, and our sovereign lord, Edward the Sixth, (by the grace of God, king of England,

France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth of the Church of England and Ireland supreme head,) as far forth as they be consonant, conformable, and agreeable with the laws, statutes, parliaments, and injunctions of the said king's Majesty, and ordained by his authority, published, made, and admitted—being not repugnant to the same: and as I may obey the same, saving the integrity of my conscience, am always ready likewise, as hitherto I have always been, as far as I am bound, duly to obey the same, and, with God's help, so do intend to do hereafter, and all other my superiors:—Yet, nevertheless, the most reverend father in God, Thomas, by the sufferance of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan; Nicholas, bishop of London; Thomas, bishop of Ely, one of the king's Majesty's privy council; Henry, bishop of Lincoln; Sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's Majesty's principal secretaries, and one of the king's Highness's privy council; Sir James Hales, one of the justices of the Common Pleas; John Oliver, and Griffith Leyson, doctors of the civil law; John Gosnall, Richard Goodrick, esquires, commissaries or judges delegate, as they pretend themselves, by virtue of commission to them committed by the king's Majesty's proceeding against me, (the bishop aforesaid,) of their pretended office, necessarily promoted, as is pretended: laying and objecting against me certain articles, as well for the generality of them as otherwise, of no value, efficacy, or effect: and thereupon, and upon other interrogatories ministered privately by them, without the knowledge of the said bishop, taking away his just defence in that behalf: examining also divers and sundry witnesses upon them, contrary to the due order and deposition of the law, and without any corporal oath due and accustomed in that behalf, to them given, or by them taken, notwithstanding the said witnesses were, and be, laymen, and the cause original (as it is pretended) very urgent, tending to the deprivation of a bishop: which judges, or pretended commissaries, earnestly and vehemently defend the same, against the said bishop, and, showing themselves manifestly judges not indifferent, but very much affectionate against me; and to be therein to me, and to the truth of my just cause, vehemently, notoriously, and worthily suspected: and that my Lord of Canterbury aforesaid, was one of the judges that caused and commanded me (the said bishop) to the prison in the Tower of London, where I am now prisoner; and upon that commandment have remained as prisoner almost these three years continually: also Master James Hales, Master Goodrick, and Master Gosnall, commissioners pretended aforesaid, were of

counsel, and gave their counsel and advice concerning the same sending of me to the Tower, and imprisonment aforesaid : moreover my Lord of Canterbury, my Lord of London, and my Lord of Lincoln, commissioners pretended aforesaid, do, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical of this realm, teach and set forth the manifest and condemned error against the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar ; and because I (the said bishop) am, and have been always, of the true catholic faith, contrary to them, (who in that, as well by my writings as otherwise, have and do set forth, according to the truth and verity of Christ's word, and the catholic faith and doctrine, that in the same sacrament of the altar is the very presence of Christ's body and blood,) therefore the same archbishop and bishops have and do show themselves unduly affected against me, and be notoriously in the truth adversaries unto me : and Sir William Peter was one of the judges, that decreed the fruits of my bishopric (not according to the order of law, or upon cause sufficient) unjustly, contrary to the laws, to be sequestered ; and did sequester them, *de facto, sed non de jure* : and now is judge in his own cause, concerning his own fact ; and so entreateth, and affecteth the maintenance of the same against me (the said bishop) as his own proper cause, both in the place of judgment, and other places : and also all the said judges have so notoriously handled, used, and openly manifested themselves in the distrust, and in their proceeding in this matter against me, (the said bishop,) that they seem, and appear openly, to indifferent men them hearing and perceiving, rather to be parties, than indifferent judges ; and show, and declare manifestly, in words and deeds, their undue affection towards me, in my matter aforesaid ; and more earnestly, fervently, and rigorously saying, imagining, and intending, with all their endeavours and industry, what they can possibly say and do against me, than any other of them, that be of counsel against me, do or can imagine, or invent to say, or do ; and at no time do show themselves like indifferent judges, to say, speak, declare, or do in word or deed, any thing or matter besides granting of process, that might touch or return to my just innocency, and just and lawful defence, notoriously known to them as judges in this behalf, opening and manifesting thereby, and by other the premises, their undue affection, purpose, and intent they have to deprive me from my bishopric, and to make their determination by sentence against me : and that notwithstanding the copies of such necessary writings, and exhibits, as were exhibited in this cause by the part of me the said bishop, which be very necessary and expedient

for the proof of my part in this behalf, be not yet delivered me, where upon I might consult with my counsel : and that the fact and state of the cause is not yet fully opened or declared, the said judges having, for their affections, and other the causes aforesaid, no respect thereunto, nor to minister justice in this behalf, having as yet little or no knowledge at all of the cause ; and show themselves ready, and, with all their affections, industry, and endeavour, prepare themselves to give sentence of deprivation against me ; and, in effect, uttered the same openly in judgment. And to the intent the verity of the fact, and due proof thereof, whereby the innocency of me (the said bishop) might evidently appear, should pass over unknown, and to have the same concealed, cloaked, and hid, the said pretended commissaries sitting, and unjustly and unlawfully proceeding, in this matter yesterday, being the thirteenth of this present month of February, then being the first time, that, in the matter, was assigned to hear sentence, and the first opening or declaring of any part of the fact, after the publication and other probations made ; having no respect to any of the premises, nor yet that it was almost three of the clock that I returned home to the Tower, to repose and refresh myself ; whereunto, without any consideration had in any the premises, [they] assigned the next morrow ; videlicet, this day, at nine of the clock afore noon, to hear definitive sentence in this matter ; not first admitting the exceptions laid before them by the said bishop, but refusing so to do, and thereby rejecting the same, no day being of respect betwixt the said days : whereby it is notorious, that the said time assigned was and is so short, that the counsel of me the said bishop dwelling about St. Paul's, and I remaining prisoner in the Tower, where the gates be shut at five of the clock in the evening, and till after six in the morning, that there was no sufficient time for me, and my counsel, to peruse and examine such witnesses, proofs, and writings, as were, as well of my part, as against me, in this behalf produced and exhibited, and deliberately to consult thereupon together ; especially this cause being a very urgent, weighty, and arduous cause, concerning the deprivation (as it is intended) of a bishop of many years' continuance therein, from his bishopric ; and that I, being of long time kept in close prison, was so pestered the said thirteenth day, being yesterday, with the populous audience, that I repair this day with the great travail of my body, and make my personal appearance again to the said place of judgment. And that the said injuries and griefs aforesaid, and other the premises, under manner and form above specified, done, and made, were and be true, public,

notorious, manifest, and famous. Whereupon I, (the said bishop,) feeling and perceiving to be grieved of and upon the premises, and of such other things, as, of the acts, facts, doings, and proceedings of the said commissioners may be duly collected, do, from them, and from every of them, appeal in this writing to the king's Majesty aforesaid; and ask apostules, first, secondarily, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, to be given and delivered to me, with the effect, and of the nullity of the premises do libel principally, and querell: and I protest, that there be not ten days since griefs of appeal have been done unto me, and that these griefs be daily continued: and I protest to add, correct, reform, diminish this my appellation, and to subtract from it, and to reduce and conceive the same in a better and more competent form, according to the counsel of such as be expert and have knowledge of the law; and to intimate the same to all and singular persons, that have or may have any interest in this behalf, for time and place convenient, as the manner and style of the law requireth."

After this, upon debate and discussion of the principal matter had, made, and used on both sides, my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, with consent of all the rest of the said judges his colleagues there personally and judicially sitting, gave and read openly a final sentence conceived in writing against the said bishop of Winchester, whereby, amongst other, he judged and determined the said bishop of Winchester to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the right, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be: and him did deprive, and remove from the same, pronouncing and declaring the said bishopric of Winchester to all effects and purposes to be void, according as in the same sentence is more fully contained; the copy whereof here ensueth:

"In the name of God, Amen. By authority of a commission by the high and mighty prince our most gracious sovereign Lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head, the tenor whereof hereafter ensueth: Edward the Sixth, &c.—We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, with the right reverend fathers in God, Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, and Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, knight, one of our said sovereign lord's two principal secretaries, Sir James Hales,

knight, one of our said sovereign lord's justices of his Common Pleas, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors in the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall, esquires, delegates and judges assigned and appointed, rightfully and lawfully proceeding according to the form and tenor of the said commission, for the hearing, examination, debating, and final determination of the causes and matters in the said commission mentioned and contained, and upon the contents of the same, and certain articles objected of office against you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, as more plainly and fully is mentioned and declared in the said commission and articles, all which we repute and take here to be expressed; and after sundry judicial assemblies, examinations, and debatings of the said cause and matters, with all incidents, emergents, and circumstances to the same or any of them belonging; the same also being by us oft heard, seen, and well understood, and with good and mature examination and deliberation debated, considered, and fully weighed and pondered, observing all such order and other things, as by the laws, equity, and the said commission, ought or needed herein to be observed, in the presence of you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, do proceed to the giving of our final judgment and sentence definitive in this manner following.

"Forasmuch as by the acts enacted, exhibits and allegations proposed, deduced, and alleged, and by sufficient proofs, with your own confession, in the causes aforesaid had and made, we do evidently find and perceive that you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, have not only transgressed the commandments mentioned in the same, but also have of long time, notwithstanding many admonitions and commandments given unto you to the contrary, remained a person much grudging, speaking, and repugning against the godly reformations of abuses in religion, set forth by the king's Highness's authority within this his realm; and forasmuch as we do also find you a notable, open, and contemptuous disobeyer of sundry godly and just commandments given unto you by our said sovereign lord and by his authority, in divers great and weighty causes touching and concerning his princely office, and the state and common quietness of this his realm; and forasmuch as you have, and yet do, contemptuously refuse to recognise your notorious negligences and misbehaviours, contempts and disobediences, remaining still, after a great number of several admonitions, always more and more indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment—contrary both to your oath sworn, obedience, promise, and also your bounden duty of allegiance; and for that great slander and offence of the people arise in many parts of the realm,

through your wilful doings, sayings, and preachings, contrary to the common order of the realm; and for sundry other great causes by the acts, exhibits, your own confession, and proofs of this process, more fully appearing; considering withal that nothing effectually hath been on your behalf alleged, proposed, and proved, nor by any other means appeareth, which doth or may impair or take away the proofs made against you, upon the said matters and other the premises:—

“Therefore we, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and metropolitan, judge delegate aforesaid, having God before our eyes, with express consent and assent of Nicholas, bishop of London, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Sir William Peter, knight, Sir James Hales, knight, Griffith Leyson and John Oliver, doctors of the civil law, Richard Goodrick and John Gosnall, esquires, judges and colleagues with us in the matters aforesaid, and with the counsel of divers learned men in the laws, with whom we have conferred in and upon the premises, do judge and determine you, Stephen, bishop of Winchester, to be deprived and removed from the bishopric of Winchester, and from all the rights, authority, emoluments, commodities, and other appurtenances to the said bishopric in any wise belonging, whatsoever they be; and by these presents we do deprive and remove you from your said bishopric, and all rights and other commodities aforesaid; and further pronounce and declare the said bishopric of Winchester, to all effects and purposes, to be void by this our sentence definitive, which we give, pronounce, and declare in these writings.”

“This sentence definitive being given, the said bishop of Winchester, under his former protestations, dissented from the giving and reading thereof, and from the same, as unjust, and of no efficacy or effect in law; and in that the same containeth excessive punishment, and for other causes expressed in his appellation aforesaid, he did then and there, immediately after the pronouncing of the sentence, by word of mouth appeal to the king's royal Majesty, first, secondly, and thirdly, instantly, more instantly, most instantly; and asked apostules, or letters dimissorial, to be given and granted unto him: and also, under protestation not to recede from the former appellation, asked a copy of the said sentence; the judges declaring that they would first know the king's pleasure and his council's therein. Upon the reading and giving of which sentence, the promoters willed William Say and Thomas Argall to make a public instrument, and the witnesses then and there present to bear testimony thereunto; and the bishop of Winchester required us also to make

him an instrument upon his said appellation, and the said witnesses to testify thereunto; being present as witnesses at the premises: namely, the earls of Westmoreland and Rutland; the lord William Haward, the Lord Russel; Sir Thomas Wrothe, Sir Anthony Brown, knights; Master John Cheke, esquire; John Fuller, Richard Lyall, Galfride Glyn, William Jefferey, Richard Standish, David Lewis, doctors of law; Master Serjeant Morgan, Master Stamford, Master Chidley, Master Carell, Master Dyar, temporal counsellors; and many others in a great multitude then assembled.”

And thus have you the whole discourse and process of Stephen Gardiner, late bishop of Winchester, unto whom the papistical clergy do so much lean (as to a mighty Atlas, and upholder of their ruinous religion); with his letters, answers, preachings, examinations, defensions, exhibits, and attestations, of all such witnesses as he could produce for the most advantage to his own cause, with such notes also, and collections gathered upon the same; whereby, if ever there were any firm judgment or sentence in that man to be gathered in matters of religion, here it may appear what it was, as well on the one side as on the other.

And thus an end of Winchester for a while, till we come to talk of his death hereafter, whom as we number amongst good lawyers, so is he to be reckoned amongst ignorant and gross divines, proud prelates, and bloody persecutors, as both by his cruel life and Pharisaical doctrine may appear, especially in the article of the sacrament, and of our justification, and images, and also in crying out of the Paraphrase, not considering in whose person the things be spoken; but what the paraphrast uttereth in the person of Christ, or of the evangelist, and not in his own, that he wresteth unto the author, and maketh thereof heresy and abomination.

The like impudency and quarrelling also be used against Bucer, Luther, Peter Martyr, Cramer, and almost against all other true interpreters of the gospel. So blind was his judgment, or else so wilful was his mind, in the truth of Christ's doctrine, that it is hard to say, whether in him unskilfulness or wilfulness had greater predomination. But against this Dr. Gardiner, we will now set and match, on the contrary side, Dr. Redman, forasmuch as he, departing this transitory life the same present year 1551, cometh now, by course of history, here to be mentioned; who, for his singular life and profound knowledge, being inferior in no respect to the said Gardiner, shall stand as great a friend in promoting the gospel's cause, as the other seemeth an enemy, by all manner of ways to impair

and deface the same: for the more assured declaration whereof we will hereto adjoin (the Lord willing) the learned communication between the said Dr. Redman lying on his death-bed, and Master Wilkes, Master Alexander Nowel, Dr. Young, and other witnesses more; whereof the said Master Wilkes thus recordeth, speaking in his own person, and his own words, as followeth:

"I, (the aforesaid Richard Wilkes,) coming to Dr. Redman lying sick at Westminster, and, first saluting him after my ordinary duty, wished him health both in soul and body; not doubting, moreover, but he did practise the godly counsel in himself, which he was wont to give to others being in his case; and, thanks be to God, said I, who had given him stuff of knowledge to comfort himself withal. To whom he, answering again, said in this wise: 'God of all comfort, give me grace to have comfort in him, and to have my mind wholly fixed in him!' Master Young and I said, 'Amen.'

"Then I communed with him of his sickness, and of the weakness of his body, and said, that though he were brought never so low, yet he, if it were his pleasure, that raised up Lazarus, could restore him to health again. 'No, no,' saith he, 'that is past, and I desire it not; but the will of God be fulfilled!'

"After this, or a little other like communication, I asked if I might be so bold, not troubling him, to know his mind for my learning, in some matters and points of religion. He said, 'Yea,' and that he was as glad to commune with me in such matters, as with any man. And then I said to his servants, I trusted I should not trouble him. 'No,' said Ellis, his servant, 'my Lord of London, Master Nowel, and others, have communed with him, and he was glad of it.' Then said Master Redman, 'No, you shall not trouble me. I pray God ever give me grace to speak the truth, and his truth, and that which shall redound to his glory, and send us unity in his church;' and we said 'Amen.'

"I said, he should do much good in declaring his faith, and I would be glad to know his mind as touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.—He said, 'As man is made of two parts, of the body and the soul, so Christ would feed the whole man: but what (saith he) be the words of the text? let us take the words of the Scripture.' And he rehearsed the text himself thus: 'Christ took bread; wherein his will was to institute a sacrament. Take, eat. Here he told the use of it. What did he give to them? He calleth it his body.'

"Then I asked him of the presence of Christ.—He said, Christ was present with his sacrament, and in those that received it as they ought. And there

was a wonderful union (for that word was named) betwixt Christ and us, as St. Paul saith, Ye be bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh; the which union was ineffable.

"Then I asked him, what he thought of the opinion, that Christ was there corporally, naturally, and really.—He answered, 'If you mean by corporally, naturally, and really, that he is there present, I grant.'

"Then I asked, how he thought of that which was wont commonly to be spoken, that Christ was there flesh, blood, and bone, as I have heard the stewards in their Leets give charge when the six articles stood in effect, and charge the inquest to inquire, that if there were any that would deny that Christ was present in the sacrament of the altar, in flesh, blood, and bone, they should apprehend them.—He said, that it was too gross, and could not well be excused from the opinion of the Capernaïtes.

"Then I asked him, 'Inasmuch as Christ is there *vere*, how do we receive him? in our minds and spiritual parts, or with our mouths, and into our bodies; or both?—He said, 'We receive him in our minds and souls by faith.'

"Then, inasmuch as he was much on this point, that there was 'a marvellous union' betwixt us and Christ, in that we were 'bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh;' I desired to know his opinion, whether we received the very body of Christ with our mouths, and into our bodies, or no?—Here he paused and held his peace a little space; and shortly after he spake, saying, 'I will not say so; I cannot tell; it is a hard question: but surely,' saith he, 'we receive Christ in our soul by faith. When you do speak of it other ways, it soundeth grossly, and savoureth of the Capernaïtes.'

"Then I asked him, what he thought of that which the priest was wont to lift up and show the people betwixt his hands?—He said, 'It is the sacrament.'

"Then said I, 'They are wont to worship that which is lifted up.'—'Yea,' saith he, 'but we must worship Christ in heaven; Christ is neither lifted up nor down.' 'I am glad,' said I, 'Master Doctor, to hear you say so much. I would not speak of the holy sacrament otherwise than reverently; but I fear, lest that sacrament, and the little white piece of bread so lifted up, hath robbed Christ of a great part of his honour.'—Then said he, looking up and praying, 'God grant us grace that we may have the true understanding of his word, whereby we may come to the true use of his sacraments;' and said, he would never allow the carrying about of the sacrament, and other fond abuses about the same.

"Then, after a little while pausing, said I, 'Master Doctor, if I should not trouble you, I would pray you to know your mind in transubstantiation.' 'Jesus! Master Wilkes,' quoth he, 'will you ask me that?'—'Sir,' said I, 'not if I should trouble you.'—'No, no, I will tell you,' said he. 'Because I found the opinion of transubstantiation received in the church, when I heard it spoken against, I searched the ancient doctors diligently, and went about to establish it by them, because it was received. And when I had read many of them, I found little for it, and could not be satisfied. Then I went to the school doctors, and namely to Gabriel, and weighed his reasons. The which when I had done, and perceived they were no pithier, my opinion of transubstantiation waxed feeble: and then,' saith he, 'I returned again to Tertullian and Irenæus, and when I had observed their sayings, mine opinion that there should be transubstantiation was quite dashed.'

"Then said I, 'You know that the school doctors did hold, that bread remained not after the consecration, as they called it.'—'The school doctors,' saith he, 'did not know what *consecratio* meaneth:' and here he paused awhile.

"'I pray you,' said I, 'say you what *consecratio* means?'—Saith he, 'It is *tota actio*, in ministering the sacrament as Christ did institute it. All the whole thing done in the ministry, as Christ ordained it, that is *consecratio*; and what,' said he, 'need we to doubt, that bread remaineth? Scripture calleth it bread, and certain good authors that be of the later time, be of that opinion.'

"After that I had communed with Master Redman, and taken my leave of him, Master Young came forth into the next chamber with me, to whom I said that I was glad to see Master Doctor Redman so well minded. Then said Master Young to me, 'I am sure he will not deny it; I assure you,' saith he, 'Master Doctor hath so moved me, that whereas I was of that opinion before, in certain things, that I would have burned and lost my life for them; now,' saith Master Young, 'I doubt of them. But I see,' saith he, 'a man shall know more and more by process of time, and reading and hearing of others, and Master Doctor Redman's saying shall cause me to look more diligently for them.'

"Also Ellis, Master Doctor Redman's servant, showed me, that he did know, that his master had declared to his Majesty King Henry the Eighth, that faith only justifieth; but that doctrine, as he thought, was not to be taught the people, lest they should be negligent to do good works.

"The said Master Young hath reported, (the which also I heard,) that Master Doctor Redman should say, that the consent of the church was but

a weak staff to lean to; but did exhort him to read the Scriptures, for there was that which should comfort him, when he should be in such case as he was then."

Another communication between Dr. Redman, lying in his death-bed, and Master Nowel, then schoolmaster in Westminster, and certain others, with notes of his censure and judgment touching certain points of Christ's religion.

"Imprimis, the said Dr. Redman sent for Master Nowel, of his own mind, and said, he was willing to commune with him of such matters as he had moved the said Dr. Redman of a day or two before; and he, being desired of the said Master Nowel to declare his mind concerning certain points of our religion, first said, Ask me what ye will, and I will answer you, before God, truly as I think, without any affection to the world or any worldly person.

"Witnesses: Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"II. Item, The said Dr. Redman said, that the see of Rome in these latter days is 'a sink of all evil.'

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

"III. Item, That purgatory, as the schoolmen taught it, and used it, was ungodly, and that there was no such kind of purgatory as they fancied.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

"IV. Item, That the offering up of the sacrament in masses and trentals for the sins of the dead is ungodly.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

"V. Item, That the wicked are not partakers of the body of Christ, but receive the outward sacrament only.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, John Wright.

"VI. Item, That the sacrament ought not to be carried about in procession; for it is taught what is the use of it in these words, Take, eat, and drink, and Do this in remembrance of me.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas.

"VII. Item, That nothing which is seen in the sacrament, or perceived with any outward sense, is to be worshipped.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas, Rich. Burton."

"VIII. Item, That we receive not Christ's body corporally, that is to say, grossly, like other meats, and like as the Capernaïtes did understand it.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Richard Burton, Edw. Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"IX. Item, That we receive Christ's body so spiritually, that nevertheless truly.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alexander Nowel, Richard Burton, Edward Cratford, Ellis Lomas, John Wright.

"X. Item, As touching transubstantiation, that there is not, in any of the old doctors, any good ground or sure proof hereof, or any mention of it, as far as ever he could perceive, neither that he seeth what can be answered to the objections made against it.

"Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

"XI. Item, Being asked of Master Wilkes, what that was, which was lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, 'He thought that Christ could neither be lifted up nor down.'

"Witnesses: John Young, Richard Burton, Ellis Lomas.

"XII. Item, That priests may, by the law of God, marry wives.

"Witnesses: Alex. Nowel, Ellis Lomas.

"XIII. Item, That this proposition, that only faith doth justify, so that faith do signify a true, a lively [faith,] and a faith resting in Christ, and embracing Christ, is a true, godly, sweet, and comfortable doctrine; so that it be so taught that the people take none occasion of carnal liberty thereof.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, John Wright, Edw. Cratford, Rich. Elithorne, Ellis Lomas.

"XIV. Item, That our works cannot deserve the kingdom of God and life everlasting.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright.

"XV. Item, That the said Dr. Redman, at such times as we, the aforesaid persons who have subscribed, heard his communication concerning the aforesaid points of religion, was of quiet mind, and of perfect remembrance, as far as we were able to judge.

"Witnesses: John Young, Alex. Nowel, Rich. Burton, Ellis Lomas, Edw. Cratford, Richard Elithorne, John Wright."

Also Master Young, of himself, doth declare further, touching the former articles, in this wise:

"*To the fifth article.*—Imprimis, That Dr. Redman said more, whereas St. Augustine said, that Judas received the same that Peter did, he said, that he understood that of the sacrament; and that after the same phrase a man might say, 'That Simon Magus received the same baptism that the apostles did,' when he did receive only the outward sacrament to his condemnation; for he said, that he thought Christ would not vouchsafe to give his holy flesh to an ungodly man: and this, he said, was always his mind, though he knew that other men did otherwise think.

"*To the sixth.*—Item, He said, he never liked the carriage about of the sacrament, and preached against it about sixteen years since in Cambridge.

"*To the tenth.*—Item, When he was demanded of transubstantiation, he said, that he had travailed about it, and thinking that the doubts which he perceived did rise thereon, should be made plain by the schoolmen, did read their books; and after that he had read them, the opinion of transubstantiation was every day weaker and weaker, and that there was no such transubstantiation as they made; adding thereto, that the whole school did not know what was meant by consecration, which he said was the whole action of the holy communion.

"*To the thirteenth.*—Item, He said, that he did repent him, that he had so much strived against justification by faith only.

"*To the fourteenth.*—Item, That works had their crown and reward, but that they did not deserve eternal life, and the kingdom of God; no, not the works of grace; for everlasting life is the gift of God."

Although these testimonies above alleged may suffice for a declaration touching the honest life, sound doctrine, and sincere judgment of Dr. Redman, yet I thought not to cut off in this place the testimonial letter or epistle of Dr. Young, written to Master Cheke, specially concerning the premises: which epistle of Dr. Young, as I received it written by his own hand in the Latin tongue, the copy which he himself neither hath nor can deny to be his own, and is extant to be read in the former Book of Acts and Monuments, so I have here exhibited the same faithfully translated into the English tongue, the tenor whereof followeth:

"Although, right worshipful, I am stricken into no little damp and dolour of mind for the unripe (but that it otherwise pleased Almighty God) and lamentable death of that most blessed and learned man Dr. Redman, insomuch that, all-astounded with weeping and lamenting, I cannot tell what to do or think; yet nevertheless, perceiving it to be your

Worship's will and pleasure, that so I should do, I gladly call my wits together, and purpose, by God's grace, here, in these my letters, sincerely and truly to open and declare what I heard that worthy learned man speak and confess at the hour of his death, as touching the controversies of religion, wherewith the spouse of Christ is, in these our days, most miserably troubled and tormented.

"This Dr. Redman, (being continually, by the space of twenty years, or somewhat more, exercised in the reading of the Holy Scripture,) with such industry, labour, modesty, magnanimity, and prayers to Almighty God, tried and weighed the controversies of religion, that in all his doings, as he would not seem to approve that which was either false or superstitious; so he would never improve that, which he thought to stand with the true worship of God. And albeit in certain points and articles of his faith, he seemed to divers, which were altogether ignorant of that his singular gravity, either for softness, fear, or lack of stomach, to change his mind and belief, yet they, to whom his former life and conversation, by familiar acquaintance with him, was thoroughly known, (with them also which were present at his departure,) may easily perceive and understand, how, in grave and weighty matters, not rashly and unadvisedly, but with constant judgment and unfeigned conscience, he descended into that manner of belief, which at that time of his going out of this world he openly professed.

"I give your wisdom to understand, that when death drew near, he, casting away all hope of recovery, attended and talked of no other thing (as we which were present heard) but of heaven and heavenly matters, of the latter day, of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with whom most fervently he desired to be; whose incredible love towards us miserable sinners most worthily, and not without tears, he oftentimes used to extol and speak of: and us which were there present he earnestly moved and exhorted to prepare ourselves to Christ, to love one another, and to beware of this most wretched and corrupt world. And besides that, he promised, (calling God to witness thereunto, to whom he trusted shortly to come,) if any would demand any question, that he would answer him what he thought in his judgment to be the truth. At that time there was present Master Alexander Nowel, a man earnestly bent to the true worshipping of God, and one that had alway singularly well loved the said Master Redman, to whom he spake on this wise:

"Your excellent learning, and purity of life, I have ever both highly favoured, and had in admiration; and for no other cause (God be my judge) I do ask these things of you which I shall propound,

but that I might learn and know of you what is your opinion and belief touching those troublous controversies which are in these our days; and I shall receive and approve your words, as oracles sent from heaven.'

"To whom, when Dr. Redman had given leave to demand what he would, and had promised that he would faithfully and sincerely answer (all affection set aside) what he thought to be the truth, Master Nowel said, 'I would,' quoth he, 'right gladly; but that I fear, by my talk and communication, I shall be unto you, so feeble and now almost spent, a trouble and grief.' Then said Dr. Redman, replying, 'What! shall I spare my carcass,' quoth he, 'which hath so short a time here to remain? Go to, go to,' said he, 'propound what you will.'

"Then Master Nowel put forth certain questions, which in order I will here declare; whereunto the said Dr. Redman severally answered, as hereafter followeth.

"The first question that he asked of him was, What he thought of the bishop of Rome: unto whom Dr. Redman answered, 'The see of Rome, in these our later days, hath much swerved from the true religion and worshipping of God, and is with horrible vices stained and polluted; which I, therefore,' quoth he, 'pronounce to be the sink of all evil; and shortly will come to utter ruin by the scourge of God, except it do fall the sooner to repentance:' wherewith he briefly complained of the filthy abuse of our English church.

"Being then asked, what his opinion was concerning purgatory, and what the schoolmen judged thereof, he answered, that the subtle reasons of the schoolmen concerning purgatory, seemed to him to be no less vain and frivolous, than disagreeing from the truth; adding thereunto, that when we be rapt to the cloudes, to meet Christ coming to judgment with a great number of angels, in all glory and majesty, then every one shall be purged with fire, as it is written, 'The fire shall go before him, and shall flame round about his enemies, and the fire shall burn in his sight; and round about him shall be a great tempest;' saying, that divers of the old writers approved this his sentence concerning purgatory.

"When he was asked, whether wicked and ungodly people, in the holy communion, did eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, he answered, that such kind of men did not eat Christ's most blessed flesh but only took the sacrament to their own damnation; saying, that Christ would not give his most pure and holy flesh to be eaten of such naughty and impure persons, but would withdraw himself from them. 'And that,' quoth he, 'that is

objected by St. Augustine, that Judas received the selfsame thing which Peter received, that I think to be understood of the external sacrament. And the like kind of phrase of speaking,' said he, 'we may use concerning the baptism of Magus,—that Simon Magus received that which the apostles did receive. Indeed, as concerning the sacrament of the external baptism, Simon Magus received that which the apostles did; but that internal grace wherewith the apostles were endued, and that Holy Spirit wherewith by baptism they were inspired, he lacked. And so,' quoth he, 'the wicked and forsaken people, which rashly presume to come to the holy table of the Lord, do receive the sacrament, and the selfsame which good and godly men receive; but the body of Christ they do not receive, for Christ doth not vouchsafe to deliver it them.' And thus, he said, was his opinion and belief, although he knew others to be of a contrary judgment.

"Being then after this demanded, whether he thought Christ's presence to be in the sacrament, or no; he answered, that Christ did give and offer to faithful and Christian men his very real body and blood verily and really, under sacraments of bread and wine; insomuch that they which devoutly come to be partakers of that holy food, are, by the benefit thereof, united and made one with Christ in his flesh and body. And therefore, he said, that Christ did distribute his body spiritually; that he gave it truly: yet not so, nevertheless, that by these and the like words, we should conceive any gross and carnal intelligence, such as the Capernaïtes once dreamed of; but that (quoth he) we might labour and endeavour to express, by some kind of words, the ineffable majesty of this mystery. For the manner whereby Christ is there present, and ministereth to the faithful his flesh, is altogether inexplicable; but we must believe (quoth he) and think, that by God's mighty power, and the holy operation of his Spirit, that so notable a mystery was made; and that heaven and earth were joined together in that moment, as the blessed man St. Gregory saith, 'The lowest parts are joined with the highest;' by which is understood that holy food, whereby they which be regenerate by the Holy Ghost in baptism, are nourished to immortality. And further he said, that Christ's body was received in the said sacrament by faith; which being received, both body and soul were quickened to everlasting life.

"Being then required to say his mind about transubstantiation, he gave answer, that he had much travailed in that point, and that he first much favoured and inclined to that part which maintained transubstantiation; in searching the verity whereof most studiously he had been no little while occupied,

and found to arise thereabout infinite and almost inexplicable absurdities, in confuting whereof, when he had but smally contented himself, (he said,) he took in hand the schoolmen's works, and perused Gabriel and other writers of that sort; for that, by their help and aid, he hoped that all inconveniences which did spring and arise by maintenance of transubstantiation, might be clean convinced and wiped away. Of which his hope he was utterly frustrate, (said he,) for that he did find in those books many fond and fantastical things, which were both too foolish to be recorded in writing, and also to be alleged, about such a mystery; and truly (said he) ever after the reading of them, my former zeal and opinion touching the maintenance of transubstantiation, did every day more and more decrease; and therefore, in conclusion, he persuaded himself to think, that there was no such transubstantiation as the schoolmen imagined and feigned to be; saying, that indeed the ancient writers were plainly against the maintenance thereof; amongst whom he recited by name, Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian, notorious adversaries to the same. Furthermore he added hereunto, that the whole school understood not what this word *consecratio* was, which he defined to be the full entire action of the whole communion. Being demanded also, whether we ought to worship Christ present in his holy supper; he told us, that we are bound so to do, and that it was most agreeing to piety and godly religion.

"Likewise being asked, whether he would have the visible sacrament to be worshipped, which we see with our eyes, and is lifted up between the priest's hands, he answered, that nothing which was visible, and to be seen with the eye, is to be adored or worshipped, nor would Christ be elevated into any higher, or pulled down into any lower place, and that he can neither be lifted up higher, nor pulled down lower.

"Again, being asked his opinion about the custom and manner in carrying about the sacrament in solemn pomps, processions, and otherwise; he said, that he always misliked and reprov'd that order; insomuch that about sixteen years ago, openly in the pulpit at Cambridge, he spake against that abuse, and disallowed that ceremony; showing that Christ had expressed, by plain and evident words, a very fruitful and right use of this sacrament, when he said, 'Take ye,' (by which phrase, quoth he, he doth express that he will give a gift,) 'eat ye' (by which words he doth declare the proper use and order of that his precious gift): 'This is my body' (whereby he doth evidently and plainly show what, by that gift, they should receive, and how royal and precious a gift he would give them): and, there-

fore, he judged such pompous and superstitious ostentations utterly to be condemned, and taken as plain mockeries and counterfeit visors.

"His judgment also being asked about the commemoration of the dead, and the remembrance of them in orisons, whether he thought it profitable or no; he answered, that it seemed to him, to be no less profitable, than religious and godly; and that might be well proved out of the books of Maccabees: the which books, although St. Jerome, adjudging as not authentic, thought good to be read in the temples only for the edifying of the church, and not for the assertion of opinions; yet with him, [Dr. Redman,] the opinions of the other writers, by whom those books are allowed as canons, prevail, which he, in that point, thinketh good to be read.

"Being, furthermore, required to show his mind about trental masses, and masses of *scala cæli*: he showed them that they were altogether unprofitable, superstitious, and irreligious, flowing out of the filthy and impure fountain of superstition, not yielding the fruit which they promised to bring forth. The sacrifice of the supper of the Lord—the eucharist I mean—that sacrifice, he said, could not be offered for the sins of the quick and the dead.

"Finally, of his own voluntary will, and no man (as far as I can call to remembrance) demanding of him, he showed his opinion concerning justification by Christ. 'I lament,' said he, 'and repent, beseeching God forgiveness of the same, that too seriously and earnestly I have withstood this proposition, that only faith doth justify; but I always feared that it should be taken to the liberty of the flesh, and so should defile the innocency of life which is in Christ. But that proposition, that only faith doth justify, is true,' quoth he, 'sweet, and full of spiritual comfort, if it be truly taken, and rightly understood.' And when he was demanded what he thought to be the true and very sense thereof, 'I understand,' quoth he, 'that to be the lively faith, which resteth in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and embraceth him; so that in our only Saviour Jesus Christ, all the hope and trust of our salvation be surely fixed. And as concerning good works,' saith he, 'they have their crown and merit, and are not destitute of their rewards; yet, nevertheless, they do not merit the kingdom of heaven. For no works,' said he, 'could purchase and obtain that blessed, happy, and everlasting immortality; no, nor yet those things which we do under grace, by the motion of the Holy Ghost: for that blessed and immortal glory is given and bestowed upon us, mortal men, of the heavenly Father, for his Son our Saviour Christ's sake, as St. Paul testifieth, The gift of God is eternal life.'

"And these be the solutions which I heard him give to the questions of Master Nowel proposed; from which his sentence and judgment, so heard by me, and of him uttered, (as I remember,) he never declined or varied.

"I beseech our Lord Jesus Christ to cease these troublous storms wherewith the church is tossed, and vouchsafe, for his holy name's sake, tenderly to behold and look upon his poor wretched flock, so miserably scattered and dispersed; beseeching him also, of his goodness, to preserve your worship.

"At London, the third of November."

The history, no less lamentable than notable, of William Gardiner, an Englishman, suffering most constantly in Portugal, for the testimony of God's truth.

oming to the
next year
following,
now we will
for a time
depart, and
leave the
coasts and
country of
England,
whereupon
our style
hath now

long stayed; and with open sails, as it were, following the tempests of persecution, pass over into Portugal amongst the popish merchants there, whereunto William Gardiner, an Englishman, of necessity calleth me, who was burned in Lisbon, the chief city of Portugal, in the year of our Lord 1552. A man verily, in my judgment, not only to be compared with the most principal and chief martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient churches, in the time of the first persecutions, cannot show a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and stedfast constantness, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments; the report only and hearing whereof were enough to put any man in horror or fear. Yet notwithstanding, so far off it was that the same did discourage him, that it may be doubted whether the pain of his body or the courage of his mind were the greater; when as indeed both appeared to be very great.

Wherefore, if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the martyrs of Christ for their valiant acts, this one man, amongst many, seemeth worthy to be numbered, and also to be celebrated in the church, with Ignatius, Laurensius,

Ciriatius, Crescentius, and Gordianus. And if the church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and, finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the gospel doth gloriously triumph; let not us, then, think it any great matter to requite them again with our duty, by committing them to memory, as a perpetual token of our good will towards them. Albeit they themselves receive no glory at our hands, and much less challenge the same, but, referring it wholly unto the Lord Christ, from whom it came, whatsoever great or notable thing there was in them: notwithstanding, forasmuch as Christ himself is glorified in his saints, we cannot show ourselves thankful unto him, except we also show ourselves dutiful unto those by whom his glory doth increase.

Hereupon I think it came to pass, that the ancient Christians, in the time of the first persecutions, thought good to celebrate yearly commemorations of the martyrdom of those holy men, not so much to honour them, as to glorify God in his soldiers, unto whom all glory and praise doth worthily belong; and moreover that we, being instructed by their example, might be the more prompt and ready in the policies of those wars, to stand more stoutly in battle against our adversaries, and learn the more easily to condemn and despise this world. For, in considering the end and death of these men, who will greatly long or lust after this life, which is so many ways miserable, through so many afflictions dolorous, through so many casualties ruinous, wherein consisteth so little constancy, and less safety, being never free from some hard calamity one or other? What good man would have this world in reputation, wherein he seeth so many good men so cruelly oppressed, and wherein no man can live in quietness, except he be wicked? Wherefore I do not a little marvel, that in this great slaughter of good men, with so many spectacles and examples of cruel torment, Christians do yet live, as it were, drowned in the foolish desires of this world; seeing daily before their eyes so many holy and innocent men yield up their spirits under the hands of such tormentors, to lie in filthy prisons, in bonds, darkness, and tears, and, in the end, to be consumed with fire. We see so many prophets of God, even Christ himself, the Son of God, to be so cruelly and many ways afflicted in this world, turmoiled, scourged, and crucified; and yet we laugh, drink, and give ourselves unto all looseness of life, and all lasciviousness. For honour and great possessions we contend; we build; we study and labour by all

means to make ourselves rich: unto whom it doth not suffice, that we, with safety and freedom from their afflictions, racks, wheels, scourges, irons red-hot, gridirons, flesh-hooks, mallets, and other kind of torments, may serve our Christ in peace and quiet; but being herewith not content, will give over ourselves to all kind of wickedness, to be led away at the will and pleasure of Satan.

But what do we think in so doing? Either we must reckon those men to be most miserable in this life, or else ourselves to be most unhappy. But if their blessedness be most certain and sure, then let us direct the course of our life to the same felicity. These men have forsaken this life, which they might have enjoyed. But if we cannot willingly put off this life, yet let us not be slow to correct and amend the same; and though we cannot die with them in like martyrdom, yet let us mortify the worldly and profane affections of the flesh, which strive against the spirit; and, at the least, let us not run thus headlong into the licentious desires of the world, as we do. As the life of Christian men is now, I pray thee, what do these bonds, prisons, these wounds and scars, these great fires, and other horrible torments of martyrs, but upbraid unto us our slothful sluggishness, and worthily make us ashamed thereof? which martyrs, if in their lives they lived so innocently, and in their deaths continued so constant, what then is to be deemed of us, which suffer nothing for Christ, and will not take upon us the small conflict against vices and our own affections? How would we suffer the cruel looks of tyrants, the fearful kinds of torments, or the violent assaults of the tormentors, in any quarrel of godliness, if in peace and quietness we are (and that with every small breath or wind of temptation) blown away from God—so faint-hearted without any resistance, that we are carried headlong into all kinds of wickedness and mischief? One singeth songs of love; another watcheth all the night at dice: some spend their life and time day by day in hawking and hunting; some tittle so at taverns, that they come home reeling. Others, whatsoever desire of revenge doth put into their heads, that, by and by, they seek to put in practice. Some gape after riches; some swell with ambition; some think they are born for no other purpose but for pleasure and pastime. All the world is full of injury and perjury; nay, rather, it is so rare a thing patiently to suffer injuries done unto us, that except we have the sleight to do injury to others, we think ourselves scarce men. There is no love almost, nor charity among men; neither is there any man that regardeth the good name or fame of his neighbour.

But amongst all the rest, unsatiable covetousness and avarice so reigneth, that no man almost is con-

tented with any tolerable estate of life, either that will prescribe himself any measure in having that he possesseth, or in prowling for that which he lacketh; never quiet, but always toiling; never satisfied, but always unsatiable. But now, setting apart these complaints spent in vain, we will prosecute our purposed story touching good William Gardiner.

And first, as concerning his kindred, he was of an honest stock, born at Bristol, a town of merchandise on the sea-coast of England; honestly brought up, and, by nature, given unto gravity; of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always, from his childhood, preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his handsome and indifferent

learning, did not a little commend and beautify him other ornaments. When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to settle their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to the trade of merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain merchant of Bristol, called Master Paget, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty-six or thereabout) sent into Spain; and by chance the ship arriving at Lisbon, (which is the chief city of Portugal,) he tarried there about his merchandise, where, at the last, he, having gotten understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both unto his master and others, in such things as pertained unto the trade of that vocation; whereunto he did so

undefiled from the
Portuguese su-

first day of September in the year abovesaid, betwixt two princes; that is to say, the son of the

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king of Portugal, and the Spanish king's daughter. The marriage day being come, there was great resort of the nobility and estates. There lacked no bishops with mitres, nor cardinals with their hats, to set out this royal wedding. To be short, they went forward to the wedding with great pomp, where a great concourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service' sake, and some (as the matter is) to gaze and look. Great preparation of all parties was there throughout the whole city, as in such cases is accustomed, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness. In this great assembly of the whole kingdom, William Gardiner, who albeit he did not greatly esteem such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also; coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the more opportunity, and better place, to behold and see.

The hour being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnity and pomp; the king first, and then every estate in order; the greater persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their mass; for that alone serveth for all purposes. The cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ-playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying, looking, kneeling, and knocking; their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external sacrament. How grievously these things did prick and move this young man's mind, it cannot be expressed—partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people; and not only of the common people, but, especially, to see the king himself, and his council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed, to be seduced with like idolatry as the common people were; insomuch that it lacked very little, but that he would, even that present day, have done some notable thing in the king's sight and presence, but that the great press and throng that was about him, letted that he could not come unto the altar. What need many words? When the ceremonies were ended, he cometh home very sad and heavy in his mind, insomuch that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him; who, albeit upon divers conjectures they conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man: but, seeking solitariness and secret places, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might re-

voke that people from their impiety and superstition.

In this deliberation and advice his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly, (as well of that which was due unto him, as that which he owed unto others,) that no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer, calling upon God, and in continual meditation of the Scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night; as Pendigrace, his fellow companion both at bed and board, being yet alive, can testify.

◀The Sunday came again to be celebrated either with like pomp and solemnity, or not much less, whereat the said William was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse. Within a while after, cometh the king with all his nobles. Then Gardiner setteth himself as near the altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come, that he had appointed to work his feat. The mass began, which was then solemnized by a cardinal. Yet he sat still. He which said mass, proceeded: he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, showed his god unto the people. All the people gave great reverence, and as yet he stirred nothing. At last, they came unto that place of the mass, where they use to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles. Then the said William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the cardinal; and (which is incredible to be spoken) even in the presence of the king and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This matter at first made them all abashed, but, by and by, there arose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one, drawing out his dagger, gave him a great wound in his shoulder; and, as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the king twice commanded to have him saved. So, by that means, they abstained from murder.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the king; by whom he was demanded what countryman he was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a contumely against his Majesty, and the sacraments of the church? He answered,

"Most noble king, I am not ashamed of my country, who am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic of merchandise. And when I saw, in this famous assembly, so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought nor could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that, which you have seen me presently do. Which thing, most noble prince, was not done or thought of me, for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess—to seek only the salvation of this people."

When they heard that he was an Englishman, and called to remembrance how the religion was restored by King Edward, they were, by and by, brought in suspicion, that he had been suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mock and deride their religion: wherefore they were the more earnest upon him to know who was the author and procurer, that he should commit that act. Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspicion of him, forasmuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For, otherwise, there was no man under the heaven, for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he owed this service, first, unto God, and secondarily, unto their salvation. Wherefore, if he had done any thing which were displeasing unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so irreverently used the holy supper of the Lord unto so great idolatry; not without great ignominy unto the church, violation of the sacrament, and the peril of their own souls, except they repented.

While he spake these, with many other things more unto this effect, very gravely and stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint; whereupon surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured, if it were possible, and be reserved for further examination, and more grievous torment. For they were fully persuaded, that this deed had divers abettors and setters-on; which was the cause that all the other Englishmen, also, in the same city, came into suspicion, and were commanded to safe custody: amongst whom Pendigraze, because he was his bed-fellow, was grievously tormented and examined more than the residue, and scarcely was delivered after two years' imprisonment. The others were much sooner set at liberty, at the intercession of a certain duke. Notwithstanding, their suspicion could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his chamber, to seek if there were any letters, to understand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when they could find nothing there, they came again unto him,

being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of most grievous heresy: of both which points, with such dexterity as he could, he cleared himself; wherein albeit he spake in the Spanish tongue well, yet he used the Latin tongue much more exactly.

But they, not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which (as I suppose) passeth the bull of Phalaris. Because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left unassayed, they caused a linen cloth to be sewed round like a ball, the which they with violence put down his throat unto the bottom of his stomach, tied with a small string which they held in their hands; and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence: plucking it to and fro through the meat pipe, in such sort as that with much less grief they might have rid him out of his life at once.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him, whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorry that it was done in the king's presence, to the disquietness of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, who neither enterprised nor thought upon any such matter; but was rather to be ascribed unto the king, in that he, having power, would not prohibit so great idolatry used among his people.—This he spake with great fervency.

After they had used all kind of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not long live, they brought him, three days after, to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he, taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the market-place, where his other hand also was cut off; which he, kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horse's belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

There was in that place a certain engine, from which a great rope coming down by a pulley was fastened about the middle of this Christian martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into which he was, by little and little, let down, not with the

fire; and thus
oftentimes pull-
ed up and down.

In this great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

At last, when his feet were consumed, the tormentors asked him whether he did not yet repent him of his deed; and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the saints. Whereunto he answered, that as he had done nothing whereof he did repent him, so he had the less need of the help of our Lady, or any other saint; and what external torments soever they used, the truth, he said, remaineth always one, and like unto itself; the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny it at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly; for when Christ did cease any more to be our Advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his Advocate. And said, "O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee

Psalm, when, as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down into the midst thereof; where, giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for perpetual rest and quietness.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God, by this messenger to provoke the Portuguese to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the great love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinance of man's law, and to contemn the ambassadors of kings and princes, let the Portuguese, and all others, look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God. Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevengeed by the mighty hand of God, when as not only the very same night, amongst divers of the king's ships which were in the next haven ready to sail, one was burned, being

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set on fire by a sparkle of Gardiner's fire driven thither with the wind, but also the king's son, who then was married, died within half a year, and, in the next year after, the king himself also died; and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed martyr.

Thus the body of the said Gardiner being consumed, yet the rage and fury of the common people so ceased not, but they were as cruel against him, being dead, as they were when he was alive, and with their tongues tormented this martyr, when they could do no more with their hands; yea, for very madness, they would scarce tarry until he were burned, but every man, as they could catch any piece of him half burned, threw it into the sea.

This sacrifice thus ended, the clergy, to pacify God's wrath, which they feared for the violating of their altar, appointed a solemn fast of certain days, for penance to purge that fact; which fact rather should have taught them to purge themselves, and to put away their filthy idolatry; and much rather they should have fasted and repented for that their extreme cruelty, which they had showed unto the lively member of Christ.

Albeit this death of William Gardiner seemeth to have profited very many of them little or nothing; yet, for all that, there are some (as I have heard divers report) out of whose minds the remembrance of this constant martyr can never be pulled, and is so fresh yet amongst them, as if it were now lately done: and finally, albeit it be a good while since he was put to death, yet the memory of his death, as fruitful seed, hath taken such root in some, that even unto this present day he is a lively and diligent preacher unto them, against superstition and idolatry used in their churches.

The tragical history of the worthy Lord Edward, duke of Somerset, lord protector, with the whole cause of his troubles and handling.

After so many troublous matters in this history afore-passed, coming now to the lamentable and tragical narration of the Lord Edward, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, and protector of his person and of his realm, I could not well enter into the story of him without some premonition, first, to all noble personages, of what honour or calling soever within this realm, by way of history, briefly to admonish them, no man to plant any trust or assurance upon the brickle pillars of worldly prosperity, how high soever it seemeth, considering that there is no state so high, but it hath his ruin; no wisdom so circumspect, but it may be circumvented; no virtue so perfect, but it may be envied; neither any man's trade so simple, but it may be

beguiled. And therefore, seeing the condition of mortal things is so, that no man can always stand in this so ruinous a world, the surest way is, for every man to choose his standing so, that his fall may be the easier. But, because my purpose is (as I have said in the stories before) to abridge and make short, I will here stay; referring thee to the secret consideration of that which remaineth further by me in this matter to be uttered; and so, falling into the story of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, we will (the Lord willing) declare in order the original and whole occasion of his trouble and decay, even from the beginning.

King Edward, after that both his father and mother were dead, had three uncles left him by his mother's side, Edward, Thomas, and Henry Seymour; of the which two first, one was made protector of the realm, and the other high admiral of the same. These two brethren, so long as they were knit and joined in amity and concord, preserved both themselves, the king their nephew, and the whole commonwealth, from the violence and fear of all danger. But the subtle old serpent, always envying man's felicity, through slanderous tongues sought to sow matter, first of discord between them; then of suspicion: and last of all, extreme hatred: insomuch that the protector suffered his brother, being accused, (whether truly or falsely the Lord knoweth,) to be condemned, and to lose his head. Whereby it came to pass, (whether by the correction of God's judgment upon him, or whether that he, after the death of his brother, and the king, being yet but young and tender of age, was the less able to shift for himself,) that, not long after, he was overmatched and overthrown of his enemies; and so cast into the Tower, and at last lost his head also—to the great lamentation of many good men, as in the sequel of this history followeth to be declared. For the better introduction of which history, first to begin with the aforesaid brother of the lord protector, namely, Sir Thomas Seymour, high admiral of England, and the king's uncle, here is to be understood, that he had married Queen Katharine, late wife to King Henry the Eighth, of whom ye heard before. Now it happened, (upon what occasion I know not,) that there fell a displeasure betwixt the said queen and the duchess of Somerset, and thereupon also, in the behalf of their wives, displeasure and grudge began between the brethren; which, albeit, through persuasion of friends, it was for a time appeased between them. yet, in short space after, (perchance not without the privy setting-forward of some, which were back friends to the gospel,) it brake out again, both to the trouble of the realm, and especially to the con-

fusion of them both, as after it proved. First, to the lord admiral's charge it was laid, that he purposed to destroy the young king, and translate the crown unto himself; and for the same being attainted and condemned, he did suffer at Tower Hill the twentieth of March, 1549. As many there were, which reported that the duchess of Somerset had wrought his death; so many more there were, who, misdoubting the long standing of the lord protector in his state and dignity, thought and affirmed no less, but that the fall of the one brother would be the ruin of the other; the experiment whereof, as it hath often been proved, so, in these also, afterwards it ensued.

It was not long after the beheading of the lord admiral, that insurrections began to kindle, the same year, in divers quarters of the realm, as is above storied; by the occasion whereof the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, was sent to the west parts, and the Lord Dudley, earl of Warwick, was sent with an army into Norfolk, where both he himself, and a great number of gentlemen that were with him, meeting with the rebels, were in great danger: notwithstanding, in the end the overthrow was given to the rebels; which was about the beginning of September, 1549. After this victory achieved, in the next month following, which was October, how the matter fell out between the lord protector and certain other lords, I know not, but, at the return of the earl of Warwick aforesaid, great working and consultation there was among the lords, assembling themselves in the house of Master York, and at Baynard's Castle, and in the lord mayor's house, at London, against the lord protector, remaining then with the king at Hampton Court. Of the which business and trouble, thus the lord protector writeth, in his letters to the Lord Russel in the west country, as followeth.

A letter of the lord protector, to the Lord Russel, lord privy seal, concerning troubles working against him.

"After our right hearty commendations to your good Lordship: here hath of late risen such a conspiracy against the king's Majesty and us, as never hath been seen, the which they cannot maintain but with such vain letters and false tales surmised, as was never meant or intended of us. They pretend and say, that we have sold Boulogne to the French, and that we do withhold wages from the soldiers; and other such tales and letters they do spread abroad (of the which if any one thing were true, we would not wish to live): the matter now being brought to a marvellous extremity, such as we would never have thought it could have come unto, spe-

cially of those men, towards the king's Majesty and us, of whom we have deserved no such thing, but rather much favour and love. But the case being as it is, this is to require and pray you to hasten you hither to the defence of the king's Majesty, in such force and power as you may, to show the part of a true gentleman, and of a very friend: the which thing we trust God shall reward, and the king's Majesty, in time to come, and we shall never be unmindful of it too. We are sure you shall have other letters from them; but, as you tender your duty to the king's Majesty, we require you to make no stay, but immediately repair, with such force as ye have, to his Highness in his castle of Windsor, and cause the rest of such force as ye may make, to follow you. And so we bid you right heartily farewell.

"From Hampton Court the sixth of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friend,
EDWARD SOMERSET."

Substance of a letter of the Lord Russel in answer to the lord protector's letter.

"To this letter of the lord protector sent the sixth of October, the Lord Russel returning answer again upon the eighth of the said month, first lamenteth the heavy dissension fallen between the nobility and him, which he taketh for such a plague, as a greater could not be sent of Almighty God upon this realm, being the next way, saith he, to make of us conquerors, slaves, and like to induce upon the whole realm a universal calamity and thralldom, unless the merciful goodness of the Lord do help, and some wise order be taken in staying these great extremities. And as touching the duke's request in his letters, forasmuch as he heard before of this broil of the lords, and fearing lest some conspiracy had been meant against the king's person, he hasted forward with such company as he could make, for the surety of the king, as to him appertained. Now, perceiving by the lords' letters sent unto him the same sixth day of October these tumults to rise upon private causes between him and them, he therefore thought it expedient, that a convenient power should be levied, to be in a readiness to withstand the worst, (what perils soever might ensue,) for the preservation both of the king and state of the realm from the invasion of foreign enemies, and also for the staying of bloodshed, if any such thing should be intended between the parties in the heat of this faction. And this, he, thinking best for discharge of his allegiance, humbly beseecheth his Grace to have the same also in special regard and consideration, first, that the king's Majesty be put in no fear; and that if there be any such thing wherein he hath

given just cause to them thus to proceed, he will so conform himself as no such private quarrels do redound to the public disturbance of the realm; certifying, moreover, the duke, that if it were true, which he understandeth by the letters of the lords, that he should send about proclamations and letters for raising up of the commons, he liked not the same. Notwithstanding, he trusted well that his wisdom would take such a way as no effusion of blood should follow."

And thus much being contained in his former letter of the eighth of October, in his next letter again, written the eleventh day of October, the said Lord Russel wrote to this effect:

"He (rejoicing to hear of the most reasonable offers of the lord protector made unto the lords) writeth unto him, and promiseth to do what, in the uttermost power of him (and likewise of Sir William Harbert joined together with him) doth lie, to work some honourable reconciliation between him and them; so as his said offers being accepted and satisfied, some good conclusion might ensue, according to their good hope and expectation: signifying moreover, that as touching the levying of men, they had resolved to have the same in readiness for the benefit of the realm, to occur all inconveniences, whatsoever (either by foreign invasion or otherwise) might happen; and so, having their power at hand, to draw near, whereby they might have the better opportunity to be solicitors, and a means for this reformation on both parts," &c.

And thus much for answer of the Lord Russel to the lord protector's letters.

But now to the matter again of the lords, who, together with the earl of Warwick, (upon what occasion God knoweth,) being assembled at London, as ye heard, against the lord protector; when the king with his council at Hampton Court heard thereof, first Secretary Peter with the king's message was sent unto them, whom the lords, notwithstanding, detained still with them, making as yet no answer to the message. Whereupon the lord protector writeth to them in this manner as followeth:

"My Lords, we commend us most heartily unto you: and whereas the king's Majesty was informed that you were assembled in such sort as you do now also remain; and was advised by us, and such other of his council as were then here about his person, to send Master Secretary Peter unto you, with such message as whereby might have ensued the surety of his Majesty's person, with preservation of his realm and subjects, and the quiet both of us and yourselves, as Master Secretary can well declare to

you: his Majesty, and we of his council here, do not a little marvel that you stay still with you the said Master Secretary, and have not, as it were, vouchsafed to send answer to his Majesty, either by him or yet any other. And for ourselves, we do much more marvel, and are right sorry, as both we and you have good cause to be, to see the manner of your doings bent with violence, to bring the king's Majesty and us to these extremities. Which as we do intend, if you will take no other way but violence, to defend (as nature and our allegiance doth bind us) to extremity of death, and to put all to God's hand, who giveth victory as it pleaseth him: so that if any reasonable conditions and offers would take place, (as hitherto none have been signified unto us from you, nor do we understand what you do require or seek, or what you do mean,) and that you do seek no hurt to the king's Majesty's person; as touching all other private matters, to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, and to preserve the king's Majesty's person, his realm and subjects, you shall find us agreeable to any reasonable condition that you will require. For we do esteem the king's wealth and tranquillity of the realm, more than all other worldly things; yea, more than our own life. Thus, praying you to send us your determinate answer herein by Master Secretary Peter, or, if you will not him go, by this bearer, we beseech God to give both you and us grace to determine this matter, as may be to God's honour, the preservation of the king, and the quiet of us all; which may be, if the fault be not in you. And so we bid you most heartily farewell.

"From the king's Majesty's castle of Windsor, the 7th of October, 1549.

"Your Lordship's loving friend,
E. SOMERSET."

After these letters received, and the reasonable conditions of the lord protector offered, and yet not much regarded of the lords, they, persisting still in their intended purpose, took this advice, first to keep themselves in the city of London, as strong as they might; and therefore, calling upon the mayor and the aldermen, they willed them in any case to provide a good and substantial watch by night, and a good ward by day, for the safeguard of their city, and the ports and gates thereof; which was consented unto, and the companies of London, in their turns, warned to watch and ward accordingly.

Then the said lords and councillors demanded of the lord mayor and his brethren five hundred men to aid them to fetch the lord protector out of Windsor from the king; but thereunto the mayor answered, that he could grant no aid without the assent of

common-council of the city: whereupon, the next day, a common-council was warned. But, in the mean time, the said lords of the council assembled themselves at the lord mayor's house of London, who then was Sir Henry Amcottes, fishmonger, and William Locke, mercer, and Sir John Aileph, sheriffs of the said city; and there the said council did agree and publish a proclamation forthwith, against the lord protector, the effect of which proclamation was as followeth:

"First, That the lord protector, by his malicious and evil government, was the occasion of all the sedition that of late happened within the realm.

"2. The loss of the king's pieces in France.

"3. That he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeareth by building of most sumptuous and costly houses in the time of the king's wars.

"4. That he esteemed nothing the grave counsel of the councillors.

"5. That he sowed division between the nobles, the gentlemen, and commons.

"6. That the nobles assembled themselves together at London for no other purpose, but to have caused the protector to have lived within limits, and to have put such order for the surety of the king's Majesty, as appertained, whatsoever the protector's doings were; which, they said, were unnatural, ingrate, and traitorous.

"7. That the protector slandered the council to the king, and did what in him lay, to cause variance between the king and the nobles.

"8. That he was a great traitor; and, therefore, the lords desired the city and commons to aid them, to take him from the king."

And in witness and testimony of the contents of the said proclamation, the lords subscribed their names, which were these:

"The lord Riche, lord chancellor.

The lord St. John, lord great master, and president of the council.

The lord marquis of Northampton.

The earl of Warwick, lord great chamberlain.

The earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain.

The earl of Shrewsbury.

The earl of Southampton (Wriothesley).

Sir Thomas Cheney, knight, treasurer of the king's house, and lord warden of the Cinque Ports.

Sir John Gage, knight, constable of the Tower.

Sir William Peter, knight, secretary.

Sir Edward North, knight.

Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas.

Sir Ralph Sadler. Sir John Baker.

Sir Edward Wootton. Sir Richard Southwell.

Dr. Wootton, dean of Canterbury."

After the aforesaid proclamation was proclaimed, the lords, or the most part of them, still continuing and lying in London, came the next day to the Guildhall, during the time that the lord mayor and his brethren sat in their court or inner chamber, and entered and communed a long while with the mayor; and at the last, the mayor and his brethren came forth unto the common-council, where was read the king's letter sent to the mayor and citizens, commanding them to aid him with a thousand well-appointed men out of their city, and to send the same with all speed to his castle at Windsor.

This letter by name was directed to Sir Henry Amcottes, knight, lord mayor, to Sir Rowland Hill, knight, mayor elect; and to the aldermen and common-council of the city of London. The day and date of the letter was the sixth of October, in the third year of his reign, being signed with the hand of the king, and the lord protector; the contents of which letter, for the satisfaction of the reader, are here to be seen in manner and form as followeth.

EDWARD.

By the king.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We charge and command you most earnestly, to give order, with all speed, for the defence and preservation of that our city of London for us; and to levy out of hand, and to put in order, as many as conveniently you may, well weaponed and arrayed, keeping good watch at the gates; and to send us hither, for the defence of our person, one thousand of that our city, of trusty and faithful men, to attend upon us, and our most entirely beloved uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, well harnessed, and with good and convenient weapon; so that they do make their repair hither unto us this night, if it be possible, or at least to-morrow before noon; and, in the mean time, to do what appertaineth unto your duty, for ours and our said uncle's defence against all such as attempt any conspiracy or enterprise of violence against us or our said uncle, as you know best for our preservation and defence at this present.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Hampton Court, the sixth of October, the third year of our reign.

"You shall further give credit to our trusty and well-beloved Owen Cleydon, the bearer hereof, in all such things as he shall further declare unto you on the behalf of us, and our said uncle the lord protector.

EDWARD.

SOMERSET."

This letter of the king, and of the lord protector, was not so secretly devised, nor so speedily sent, but the lords keeping at London had knowledge immediately thereof, (by the means, as some suppose, of the Lord Paget, who was then with the king and the protector, but the truth the Lord knoweth,) being there ready furnished with their own bands of serving men, and other soldiers and men of arms; who, forthwith upon the same, addressed their letters in semblable wise to the said lord mayor and aldermen in the king's name, not only for a supportation of armed men to serve their purposes, and for a sufficient watch to fortify their city; but also, that they should not obey any such letters, proclamations, or injunctions sent to them from the duke: which letter of the lords at the same instant came likewise to the lord mayor and his brethren, the sixth day of the said month of October; the tenor and copy of which letter here ensueth.

"To our very good lord, the lord mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London.

"After our right hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: knowing your hearty favour and earnest zeals to the preservation of the person of the king's Majesty, and of this realm, and other his Majesty's realms and dominions, we have thought good to advertise you, that notwithstanding all the good advice and counsel that we could give to the duke of Somerset, to stay himself within reasonable limits, and to use his government now, in the tender age of his Majesty, in such sort as might tend to his Highness's surety, to the conservation of his estate, and to his honour; the said duke, nevertheless, still continuing in his pride, covetousness, and ambition, ceaseth not daily, by all the ways and means he can devise, to enrich himself without measure, and to impoverish his Majesty.

"He buildeth in four or five places most sumptuously, and leaveth the poor soldiers unpaid of their wages, unvictualled, and in all things so unfurnished, as the losses lately sustained, to the greatest dishonour that ever came to the king and this realm, do declare. He soweth daily division between the nobles and gentlemen, and commons. He rewardeth and entertaineth a number of those that were captains of the commons in these late insurrections; and finally, in such wise subverteth all laws, justice, and good order, (as is evident,) that, putting his trust in the commons, and perceiving that the nobles and gentlemen should be an impediment to him in his devilish purposes, he laboureth first to have them destroyed, and thinketh after, easily enough to achieve his desire; which, it appeareth plainly, is, to occupy the king's Majesty's place.

For his doings, whosoever list to behold them, do manifestly declare, that he mindeth never to render account to his Majesty of his proceedings.

"These things, with many more too long to recite, considered, we pondered with ourselves, that either we must travail for some reformation, or we must, in effect as it were, consent with him to the destruction of our sovereign lord and country. Whereupon, laying apart all respects, and resting only upon our duties, we joined in counsel, and thought quietly to have treated the matter with him; who, perceiving that we joined for the king, and would have such order as might be for the surety of his Majesty's person and the commonwealth, straight put himself in force, and resteth at plain point, (as it appeareth,) either to go through with his detestable purpose in such sort as he hath done, or to try it by the sword.

"Now, forasmuch as we see presently, that unless there be a reformation, the person of the king's Majesty is in most certain danger, and this realm, our natural country, like to be destroyed, with all our posterities; like as we have again fully resolved, with God's help, either to deliver the king's Majesty and the realm from this extreme ruin and destruction, or to spend our lives for the declaration of our faithful hearts and duties; so, knowing your hearty good wills and truth to his Majesty, and therefore nothing doubting of your readiness to join with us in our godly purpose, we thought good to let you know the very truth of our enterprise, and, in the king's Majesty's behalf, to require you not only to put good and substantial order for watch and ward, but also to have an earnest continual regard to the preservation, within your city, of all harness, weapons, and munitions, so as none be suffered to be conveyed to the said duke, nor any others attending about him; and besides, that you from henceforth obey no letters, proclamations, nor other commandments to be sent from the said duke. And thus we bid your Lordship most heartily farewell.

"From London, the 6th of October.

"Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

William St. John.	Th. Southampton.
W. Northampton.	William Peter.
John Warwick.	Edward North.
Arundel.	John Gage.
	Richard Southwell."

After the receiving of these two letters above mentioned, the one from the king, the other from the lords, which came both at one instant, with contrary commandment to the lord mayor and citizens of London, the case seemed hard to them, and very doubtful (as it was indeed) what way to take, and

what were best for the citizens of London to do. On the one side, the name and authority of the king was much; on the other side, the power and garrisons of the lords, lying then in London, was not little, which seemed then to be such as would have no repulse.

The case thus standing perplexedly, first by the mouth of the recorder it was requested, that the citizens would grant their aid rather unto the lords, for that the protector had abused both the king's Majesty and the whole realm; and that without he were taken from the king, and made to understand his folly, this realm was in great hazard; and he therefore required, that the citizens would willingly assent to aid the lords with five hundred men.

Hereunto of a great part in the common-council was no other answer made but silence. But the recorder (who at that time was Master Brook) still rested upon them for answer. At the last stepped up a wise and good citizen, named George Stadlow, and said:

"In this case it is good for us to think of things past, to avoid the danger of things to come. I remember," saith he, "in a story written in Fabian's Chronicle, of the war between the king and his barons, which was in the time of King Henry the Third, and the same time the barons (as our lords do now) demanded aid of the mayor and city of London, and that in a rightful cause, for the commonwealth, which was for the execution of divers good laws against the king, who would not suffer those laws to be put in execution. And the city did aid them, and it came to an open battle, and the lords prevailed against the king, and took the king and his son prisoners; and, upon certain conditions, the lords restored the king and his son again to their liberties, and among all other conditions this was one, that the king should not only grant his pardon to the lords, but also to the citizens of London; the which was granted, yea, and the same was ratified by act of parliament. But what followed of it? Was it forgotten? No surely, nor forgiven neither, during the king's life. The liberties of the city were taken away, strangers appointed to be our heads and governors, the citizens given away body and goods, and from one persecution to another were most miserably afflicted. Such a thing is it, to enter into the wrath of a prince; as Solomon saith, The wrath and indignation of a prince is death. Wherefore, forasmuch as this aid is required of the king's Majesty, whose voice we ought to hearken unto, (for he is our high shepherd,) rather than unto the lords, and yet I would not wish the lords to be clearly shaken off; my counsel is, that they with us, and we with them, may join in suit, and make our most humble petition to the king's Majesty, that it would

please his Highness to hear such complaint against the government of the lord protector, as may be justly alleged and proved; and I doubt not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither shall the king, nor yet the lords, have cause to seek for further aid, neither we to offend any of them both."

After this tale the commons stayed, and the lord mayor and his brethren for that time brake up, till they had further communed with the lords. To make short, I let pass what order by the city was taken; but the conclusion was, that the lords (upon what occasion I know not) sat the next day in council in the Star Chamber, and from thence sent Sir Philip Hobby with their letter of credence to the king's Majesty, beseeching and requesting his Majesty to give credit to that which the said Sir Philip should declare unto his Majesty in their names. And the king gave him liberty to speak, and most gently heard all that he had to say; who so handled the matter, declaring his message in the name of the lords, that in the end the lord protector was commanded from the king's presence, and shortly was committed to ward in a tower within the castle of Windsor, called Beauchamp Tower; and soon after were stayed Sir Thomas Smith, Master Whalley, Master Fisher, and many other gentlemen that attended upon the lord protector. The same day the lords of the council resorted to the king; and the next day they brought from thence the lord protector, and the others that were there stayed, and conveyed them through the city of London unto the Tower, and there left them.

Shortly after the lords resorted unto the Tower, and there charged the lord protector with sundry articles, which follow:

"I. Imprimis, You took upon you the office of protector and governor, upon condition expressly and specially, that you would do nothing in the king's affairs, publicly or privately, but by the assent of the late king's executors.

"II. Also you, contrary to the said condition, of your own authority did stay and let justice, and subverted the laws, as well by your letters, as by your commandments.

"III. Also, you caused divers persons being arrested and imprisoned for treason, murder, manslaughter, and felony, to be discharged and set at large, against the king's laws and statutes of this realm.

"IV. Also, you have made and ordained lieutenants for the king's armies, and other weighty affairs, under your own writing and seal.

"V. Also, you have communed with the ambassadors of other realms, discoursing alone with them the weighty causes of this realm.

"VI. Also, you have sometime rebuked, checked, and taunted, as well privately as openly, divers of the king's most honourable councillors, for showing and declaring their advices and opinions against your purposes, in the king's weighty affairs; saying sometimes to them, that you need not to open matters unto them, and would therefore be otherwise advised; and that you would, if they were not agreeable to your opinion, put them out, and take others at your pleasure.

"VII. Also, you had and held, against the law, in your own house, a court of requests; and thereby did enforce divers the king's subjects to answer for their freeholds and goods, and determined the same to the subversion of the same laws.

"VIII. Also you, being no officer, without the advice of the council, or the more part of them, did dispose of the offices of the king's gift for money, and granted leases and wards of the king's, and gave presentations to the king's benefices and bishoprics, having no authority so to do. And further, you did meddle with the selling of the king's lands.

"IX. Also, you commanded multiplication and alchymy to be practised, to abuse the king's coin.

"X. Also, you caused a proclamation to be made concerning enclosures, whereby the common people have made divers insurrections, and levied open war, and distrained and spoiled divers of the king's subjects; which proclamation went forth against the will of the whole council.

"XI. Also, you have caused a commission, with certain articles thereunto annexed, to be made out concerning enclosures of commons, high-ways, decaying of cottages, and divers other things, giving the commissioners authority to hear and determine the same causes, to the subversion of the laws and statutes of this realm; whereby much sedition, insurrection, and rebellion, have risen and grown amongst the king's subjects.

"XII. Also, you have suffered the rebels and traitors to assemble, and to lie in camp and armour against the king, his nobles and gentlemen, without any speedy subduing or repressing of them.

"XIII. Also, you did comfort and encourage divers of the said rebels, by giving of them divers sums of your own money, and by promising to divers of them fees, rewards, and services.

"XIV. Also, you in favour of the said rebels did, against the laws, cause a proclamation to be made, that none of the said rebels or traitors should be sued or vexed by any person for any their offences in the said rebellion; to the clear subversion of the same law.

"XV. Also you have said, in the time of the

rebellion, that you liked well the doings and proceedings of the said rebels and traitors; and said, that the covetousness of the gentlemen gave occasion to the common people to rise; saying also, that better it were for the commons to die, than perish for lack of living.

"XVI. Also you said, that the lords of the parliament were loth to incline themselves to reformation of enclosures and other things; therefore the people had good cause to reform the things themselves.

"XVII. Also you, after the report and declaration of the defaults and lacks reported to you by such as did survey Boulogne and the pieces there, would never amend the same defaults.

"XVIII. Also, you would not suffer the king's pieces beyond the seas, called Newhaven and Blacknest, to be furnished with men and victuals, although you were advertised of the defaults therein by the captains of the same pieces and others, and were thereto advertised by the king's council; whereby the French king, being the king's open enemy, was encouraged and comforted to invade and win the said pieces; to the king's great loss, and dishonour of his realm.

"XIX. Also, you declared and published untruly, as well to the king's Majesty, as to other the young lords attendant upon his Grace's person, that the lords of the council at London minded to destroy the king; and you required the king never to forget it, but to revenge it: and likewise you required the young lords to put the king in remembrance thereof, to the intent to make sedition and discord between the king and his lords.

"XX. Also, whereas the king's Majesty's privy council, of their love and zeal that they did bear unto the king and his realm, did consult at London, to have communed with you, to the intent to move you charitably to amend your doings and misgovernment, you, hearing of their said assembly, caused to be declared, by letters in divers places, the said lords to be high traitors to the king, to the great disturbance of the realm."

And thus much hitherto, concerning the first trouble of the lord protector, duke of Somerset, with the crimes and articles objected against him, with his imprisonment also in the Tower, and the terrible proclamation given out against him. All which purposes of man, though they seemed fully to intend no less than the spilling of his blood; yet the Lord above, the only disposer of all men's purposes, so ordered the matter, by the means of the king labouring for his uncle, that in short while after, he was let out of the Tower, and that proclamation which before had made him a traitor, within three

days after was called in again, with commandment given, none of them to be sold. And so the duke of Somerset, graciously escaping this adversity, was again restored, though not to the former office, yet unto liberty, wherein he continued the space of two years and two days. After the which time of respite being expired, the said duke of Somerset was apprehended and committed again to the Tower, and with him also Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Ralph Vane, Sir Miles Partridge, and others, &c. At length the time being come of his arraignment, the aforesaid good duke, being brought from the Tower, was conveyed through London with the axe of the Tower before him, and with great preparance of bills, halberds, pikes, and poleaxes, in most forcible wise; a watch also set and appointed before every man's door through the high street of London: and so was he brought into Westminster Hall, where the lords of the council, sitting as his judges in the middle of the hall, upon a new scaffold, he was there before them arraigned and charged both with treason and felony.

In the which judgment I pass over the unseemly speech, the vile taunts and despitful rebukes, without all modesty or honesty, used by certain of the serjeants and justices, and some others sitting there. All which, notwithstanding, he patiently and quietly did suffer, neither storming inwardly in stomach, nor reviling them with words again; but like a lamb, following the true Lamb and example of all meekness, was contented to take all things at their hands, and with no less patience to bear now their ungentle and cruel railings, than he did before their glavering words and flatterings, in time of his high estate and prosperity. And as the patience of this good duke was marvellous in forbearing his enemies, so also was his discretion and temperance no less seen in answering for himself to the articles to him objected; whereunto he wisely and substantially replied, putting himself, in the end, to be tried by his peers; who then, at length, after consultation had, did frame and temper their verdict thus: That as concerning the case of treason, wherewith he was charged, they discharged him, but they accounted him guilty of felony. When the people (which were there present to a great number) heard the lords say, "not guilty," (meaning by the case of treason,) supposing no less but that he had been clearly acquitted by these words, and especially seeing the axe of the Tower to be carried away, for great joy and gladness they made an outcry; well declaring their loving affection and hearty favour unto the duke, whose life they greatly desired. But this opinion of the people was deceived, and the innocent duke condemned to die for felony; which act of

felony had been made a little before against the rebels and unlawful assemblies, such as should seek or procure the death of any councillor, so that every such attempt and procurement, according to the act, should be adjudged felony. By the virtue of which act the duke being accused, with certain others his complices, to intend and purpose the death of the duke of Northumberland, and of certain besides, was therefore cast and condemned of felony, and so was returned toward the Tower again; at whose passage through the city, great exclamations and outcries were made again of the people, some rejoicing that he was acquitted, some bewailing that he was condemned.

Thus the good duke, passing through a great part of the city, landing at the Crane in the Vintry, was conveyed to the Tower, where he endured till the twenty-second of January; upon the which day, at the coming down of the letter of execution from the king and the council, the aforesaid duke and uncle to the king, being found no traitor, only being cast by the act of felony, was delivered unto the sheriffs, and so brought to the place of execution.

Touching which execution a few words here would be [well] bestowed, in describing the wonderful order and manner thereof, as it hath faithfully been suggested to us upon the credit of a certain noble personage, who not only was there present at the deed-doing, but also, in a manner, next unto him upon the scaffold, beholding the order of all things with his eyes; and with his pen, also, reporting the same in order and manner as here followeth.

"In the year of our Lord 1552, the two and twentieth of January, in the fifth year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth, he being yet under age and governance of tutors, the noble duke of Somerset, uncle to King Edward, was brought out of the Tower of London, and, according to the manner, delivered to the sheriffs of the city; and, compassed round about with a great number of armed men, both of the guard and others, he was brought unto the scaffold on Tower Hill, where he, nothing changing either voice or countenance, but in a manner with the same gesture which he commonly used at home, kneeling down upon both his knees, and lifting up his hands, commended himself unto God.

"After that he had ended a few short prayers, standing up again, and turning himself toward the east side of the scaffold, nothing at all abashed (as it seemed to me, standing about the midst of the scaffold, and diligently marking all things) either with the sight of the axe, or yet of the hangman, or of present death; but with the like alacrity and cheerfulness of mind and countenance as beforetimes

he was accustomed to hear the causes and supplication of others, and especially the poor, (towards whom, as it were with a certain fatherly love to his children, he always showed himself most attentive,) he uttered these words to the people :

“ ‘Dearly beloved friends, I am brought hither to suffer death, albeit that I never offended against the king either by word or deed, and have been always as faithful and true unto this realm as any man hath been. But forasmuch as I am by a law condemned to die, I do acknowledge myself, as well as others, to be subject thereunto. Wherefore, to testify my obedience which I owe unto the laws, I am come hither to suffer death : whereunto I willingly offer myself, with most hearty thanks unto God, that hath given me this time of repentance, who might, through sudden death, have taken away my life, that neither I should have acknowledged him, nor myself.

“ ‘Moreover, dearly beloved friends, there is yet somewhat that I must put you in mind of, as touching Christian religion ; which so long as I was in authority I always diligently set forth and furthered to my power. Neither do I repent me of my doings, but rejoice therein, since that now the state of Christian religion cometh most near unto the form and order of the primitive church ; which thing I esteem as a great benefit, given of God, both unto you and me : most heartily exhorting you all, that this which is most purely set forth unto you, you will, with like thankfulness, accept and embrace, and set out the same in your living. Which thing if you do not, without doubt greater mischief and calamity will follow.’

“ ‘When he had spoken these words, suddenly there was a terrible noise heard ; whereupon there came a great fear upon all men. This noise was as it had been the noise of some great storm or tempest, which, unto some, seemed to be heard from above ; like as if a great deal of gunpowder, being enclosed in an armoury, and having caught fire, had violently broken out. But unto some, again, it seemed as though it had been a great multitude of horsemen running together, or coming upon them. Such a noise then was in the ears of all men, albeit they saw nothing. Whereby it happened that all the people, being amazed without any evident cause, without any violence or stroke stricken, or any man seen, they ran away, some into the ditches and puddles, and some into the houses thereabouts : others, being afraid of the horror and noise, fell down grovelling unto the ground, with their poleaxes and halberts ; and most of them cried out, ‘Jesus save us, Jesus save us.’ Those which tarried still in their places, for fear knew not where

they were ; and I myself which was there present among the rest, being also afraid in this hurly-burly, stood still altogether amazed, looking when any man would knock me on the head. It happened here, as the evangelists write it did unto Christ, when the officers of the high priests and Pharisees, coming with weapons to take him, being astonished, ran backwards and fell to the ground.

“ ‘In the mean time, while these things were thus in doing, the people by chance spied one Sir Anthony Brown riding under the scaffold ; which was the occasion of a new noise. For when they saw him coming, they conjectured that which was not true, but notwithstanding which they all wished for—that the king, by that messenger, had sent his uncle pardon ; and therefore, with great rejoicing and casting up their caps, they cried out, ‘Pardon, pardon is come ; God save the king.’ Thus this good duke, although he was destitute of all man’s help, yet he saw, before his departure, in how great love and favour he was with all men. And truly I do not think that, in so great slaughter of dukes as hath been in England within these few years, there were so many weeping eyes at one time ; and not without cause. For all men did see in the decay of this duke, the public ruin of all England ; except such as indeed did perceive nothing.

“ ‘But now to return from whence we have strayed ; the duke in the mean time standing still in the same place, modestly, and with a grave countenance, made a sign to the people with his hand, that they would keep themselves quiet ; which thing being done, and silence obtained, he spake unto them in this manner :

“ ‘Dearly beloved friends, there is no such matter here in hand as you vainly hope or believe. It seemeth thus good unto Almighty God, whose ordinance it is meet and necessary that we all be obedient unto. Wherefore I pray you all to be quiet, and to be contented with my death, which I am most willing to suffer ; and let us now join in prayer unto the Lord for the preservation of the king’s Majesty, unto whom hitherto I have always showed myself a most faithful and true subject. I have always been most diligent about his Majesty in his affairs, both at home and abroad, and no less diligent in seeking the common commodity of the whole realm :’ at which words all the people cried out and said, ‘It was most true.’

“ ‘Then the duke proceeding, said, ‘Unto whose Majesty I wish continual health, with all felicity and all prosperous success :’ whereunto the people again cried out, ‘Amen.’

“ ‘Moreover, I do wish unto all his councillors the grace and favour of God, whereby they may rule in

all things uprightly with justice. Unto whom I exhort you all, in the Lord, to show yourselves obedient, (as it is your bounden duty, under the pain of condemnation,) and also most profitable for the preservation and safeguard of the king's Majesty.

“ ‘ Moreover, forasmuch as heretofore I have had oftentimes affairs with divers men, and hard it is to please every man, therefore, if there be any that hath been offended and injured by me, I most humbly require and ask him forgiveness, but especially Almighty God, whom, throughout all my life, I have most grievously offended ; and all others whatsoever they be that have offended me, I do with my whole heart forgive them. Now I once again require you, dearly beloved in the Lord, that you will keep yourselves quiet and still, lest, through your tumult, you might trouble me. For albeit the spirit be

willing and ready, the flesh is frail and wavering, and, through your quietness, I shall be much more quiet. Moreover, I desire you all to bear me witness, that I die here in the faith of Jesus Christ; desiring you to help me with your prayers, that I may persevere constant in the same unto my life's end.’

“ After this, he, turning himself again about like a meek lamb, kneeled down upon his knees. Then Dr. Coxe, who was there present to counsel and advise him, delivered a certain scroll into his hand, wherein was contained a brief confession unto God ; which being read, he stood up again upon his feet, without any trouble of mind, (as it appeared,) and first bade the sheriffs farewell, then the lieutenant of the Tower, and others, taking them all by the hands who were upon the scaffold with him. Then he gave the hangman certain money ; which done, he

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"Thus this most meek and gentle duke, lying along, and looking for the stroke, because his doublet covered his neck, he was commanded to rise up and put it off; and then laying himself down again upon the block, and calling thrice upon the name of Jesus, saying, 'Lord Jesu, save me!' as he was the third time repeating the same, even as the name of Jesu was in uttering, in a moment he was bereft both of head and life, and slept in the Lord Jesus, being taken away from all the dangers and evils of this life, and resting now in the peace of God; in the preferment of whose truth and gospel he always showed himself an excellent instrument and member, and therefore hath received the reward of his labours."

Thus, gentle reader, thou hast here the true history of this worthy and noble duke, and if any man report it otherwise, let it be counted as a lie. As touching the manners, disposition, life, and conversation of the said duke and the king's uncle, what shall we need to speak, when he cannot be sufficiently commended according to the dignity of his virtues? There was always in him great humanity, and such meekness and gentleness, as is rare to be found in so high estate. He was prone and ready to give ear unto the complaints and supplications of the poor, and no less attentive unto the affairs of the commonwealth, to which, if he had lived together with King Edward, he was like to do much good, in reforming many misorders within this realm. He was utterly ignorant of all craft and deceit, and as far void of all pride and ambition, as he was from doing of injury; being indeed utterly void of both. He was of a gentle disposition, not coveting to be revenged; more apt and ready to be deceived, than to deceive. His ancient love and zeal of the gospel and of religion, he brought with him to the state of this his dignity. The proof whereof sufficiently was seen, in his constant standing to God's truth, and zealous defence thereof, against the bishops of Chichester, Norwich, Lincoln, London, and others more, in the consultation had at Windsor, the first year of the king's reign.

Briefly, considering the nature and virtues of this duke, I may (as seemeth) not unaptly compare and resemble him unto Duke Humphrey, the good duke of Gloucester; who, likewise, being uncle unto King Henry the Sixth, and protector of the realm, (as this was, also, to King Edward the Sixth,) yet he wanted not his enemies and privy enviers, especially Henry Beaufort, cardinal, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor of England; who, at that time disdaining and envying the rule and authority of this duke, procured much trouble against him, and great division in the whole realm, insomuch that

all the shops within the city of London were shut in, for fear of the favourers of these two great personages; for each party had assembled no small number of people. For pacifying whereof, the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Coimbra (called the prince of Portugal) rode seven times in one day between the two adversaries. Such were then the troubles of this tumultuous division within the realm, between these two, as is before expressed; not much unlike to the troublesome discord betwixt parties in this protector's days. And as, in their afflictions and troubles, these two dukes seemed not much unlike, so, in matters of religion, and in discerning truth from falsehood, their zeals seemed not much discrepant. Although the light of the gospel did not so fully then shine out, as in the time of this latter duke, (the Lord be praised there-for,) yet the wisdom and towardness of the other duke also, touching the same, was not utterly unworthy of his commendation. For the more manifest declaration whereof, amongst many other his godly doings, we may take for example the prudent and famous act of that noble duke, in discerning and trying out the false lying miracle and popish hypocrisy of the blind beggar at St. Alban's, mentioned in his story before; for which cause, and for his diligent study in reforming that, and such other blind abuses of feigned religion, he was the more hated of the spirituality, and such as Winchester afterwards was.

Finally, as this lord protector, duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, by certain of the council was then accused, arraigned, and condemned, for the trespass (as it was given forth) of felony, (although I never heard he murdered or robbed any,) so the other uncle of King Henry the Sixth was made away; of whose decease thus writeth Master Tyndale in his Practice of Prelates: "At the last, they found the means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass, and made a parliament far from the citizens of London, where was slain the said good duke, and the only wealth of the realm, and the mighty shield which so long had kept it from the sorrow, which, shortly after his death, fell upon them by heaps. But the chronicles," saith he, "cannot tell wherefore he died, nor by what means. Nevertheless, this they testify, that he was a virtuous man, godly, and good to the commonwealth."

But, to leave Duke Humphrey, and to return to the manners and virtues of the duke of Somerset, which before we were about to describe:—As he was a gentle and courteous duke at home, so was he no less fortunate a captain in warfare abroad; under whose government and guiding not only divers rebellious commotions were happily suppress-

ed here at home ; but also abroad, in the expedition of Scotland, such a victory was given him of God, that with the loss of scarce six hundred of his own men, there were, of the enemies, as good or little less than ten thousand slain and put to flight ; and even the very same day and time in which all the idolatrous images were here burnt at London. And yet, all these wars notwithstanding, whereunto he was against his will compelled, he was a man of nature singularly given to peace, as may be seen by the sweet and peaceable exhortation by him set forth in print before, and sent to the realm of Scotland. But as there is nothing in this world so perfect in all respects, which is not blotted or darkened with some spot of vice adjoined withal ; so, amongst the manifold commendations of this duke, one thing there was too, which both distained his honour and estimation much, and also more impaired and hindered his own life and safety ; which was, that he, in condescending to the death of his brother, followed too rashly the persuasion of certain whosoever they were : for that matter lacked not, perchance, some singular fetch and policy of some more craftily than godly disposed persons ; as many good men have supposed.

But whatsoever of that matter is to be deemed, credible it is, that the said duke, in suffering or procuring the death of his brother, not only endangered himself, and weakened his own power, but also provoked the chastisement of God's scourge and rod, which did so light upon him.

Furthermore, as touching the death and decay of the Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, who also suffered at the Tower next before the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother ; because the casting of him was so near to the death of King Henry, as I know not upon whom or what cause the same did proceed, so I pass it over and leave it to the Lord. Notwithstanding, as for the duke of Somerset, whatsoever his other vices and virtues were, this is certain, that his end (the Lord so working with him) was constant in Christ's truth, as his life was before a great maintenance of the same.

Moreover, on the twenty-sixth day of February in the same year, were Sir Ralph Vane and Sir Miles Partridge both hanged at the Tower Hill, and Sir Michael Stanhope and Sir Thomas Arundel beheaded upon the scaffold ; all which four were condemned by the said act of unlawful assembly, and as accessaries unto the duke of Somerset.

Peter Martyr's disputations holden at Oxford, about the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

Not long after the death of the duke of Somerset, in the next year following, deceased the king him-

self about the month of June, whereof more shall be said (the Lord granting) in his due order and course hereafter. In the mean season, before we come to close up the latter end and story of this good king, the place here present seemeth not unfit to intermit, by the way, a few other things before happening within the time of his reign ; namely, concerning matters incident of the church, and of religion. Which state of religion began well to grow, and to come happily forward during this king's days, had not the unhappy troubles of the outward state, among the lords, not agreeing within themselves, disquieted the good towardness of things begun. But the malice of the devil, how subtilly worketh it, if men could see it ! So long as the lords agreed in concord among themselves, Winchester and Bonner, with all that faction, was cut short, and began to condescend to good conformity. But afterward, perceiving the states and nobles of the realm to be among themselves divided, and the lord protector the king's uncle displaced, and his brother the admiral before beheaded, and the young king now left in that case, they began upon some hope to take more heart to them, till, at last, it came to pass as they themselves desired. And thus, though nothing else will lead us, yet experience may teach us, what discord worketh in public weals ; and contrarily, what a necessary thing concord is, to the advancement especially of God's matters appertaining to his church. Examples whereof in this king's days be not far to seek ; for, as touching the success of the gospel of peace, while public peace and the gospel did join together, marvellous it was how error and popery were in themselves confounded, and ashamed almost to show their faces : insomuch that then, both Drs. Smith, Chedsey, Standish, Young, and Oglethorpe, with many more, recanted their former ignorance, whose recantations I have to show. Bonner then, with his own hand, subscribed unto the king's supremacy, and promoted his injunctions.

The same, also, did Stephen Gardiner, subscribing with his own hand to the first book of the king's proceedings ; and no doubt had done [no] less to the second book also set forth by the king, had not the unfortunate discord fallen amongst the nobles, in a time so unfortunate as then it did. Briefly, during all that time of peace and concord, what papist was found in all the realm, which, for the pope's devotion, would or did once put his neck in the halter, to die a martyr for his sake ?

I showed before, how, in these peaceable days of King Edward, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius, with other learned men more, were entertained, placed, and provided for, in the two univer-

sities of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge, who there, with their diligent industry, did much good. The learned and fruitful disputations of whom I have likewise present in my hands here to insert, but that the bigness of this volume driveth me to make short, especially seeing their disputations to be so long and prolix as they be, and also in Latin; and require of themselves a whole volume to comprehend them.

First, Peter Martyr, being called by the king to the public reading of the divinity lecture in Oxford, amongst his other learned exercises did set up in the public schools three conclusions of divinity, to be disputed and tried by argument; at which disputations were present the king's visitors, to wit, Henry, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Coxe, chancellor of that university, Dr. Hains, dean of Exeter, Master Richard Morison, esquire, and Christopher Nevins, doctor of civil law.

The conclusions propounded were these:

First: "In the sacrament of thanksgiving there is no transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ."

Secondly: "The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Thirdly: "The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

They which were the chief disputers against him on the contrary side, were Dr. Tresham, Dr. Chedsey, and Morgan. The reasons and principal arguments of Peter Martyr hereunder follow.

"The Scriptures most plainly do name and acknowledge bread and wine. In the evangelists we read that the Lord Jesus took bread, blessed it, brake it, and gave it to his disciples. St. Paul, likewise, doth oftentimes make mention of bread.

"Ergo, We also, with the Scriptures, ought not to exclude bread from the nature of the sacrament.

"Cyprian saith, 'As in the person of Christ, his humanity was seen outwardly, and his Divinity was secret within: so, in the visible sacrament, the Divinity inserteth itself in such sort as cannot be uttered; that our devotion about the sacraments might be the more religious.'

"Ergo, As in the person of Christ, so in the sacrament, both the natures ought still to remain.

"Gelasius saith, 'The sacraments which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, are a Divine matter; by reason whereof, we are made partakers, by the same, of his Divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine.

And certes the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,' &c.

"Augustine saith, 'As the person of Christ consisteth of God and man, when as he is true God and true man: for every thing containeth in itself the nature and verity of those things whereof it is made. Now the sacrament of the church is made of two things; that is, of the sacrament that signifieth, and of the matter of the sacrament that is signified,' &c.

"Theodoret saith, 'These visible mysteries which are seen, he hath honoured with the name of his body and blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace unto nature,' &c. And the same Theodoret again saith, 'Those mystical sacraments, after sanctification, do not pass out of their own proper nature, but remain still in their former substance, figure, and shape,' &c.

"Ergo, Like as the body of Christ remained in him, and was not changed into his Divinity; so, in the sacrament, the bread is not changed into the body, but both the substances remain whole.

"Origen saith, 'If whatsoever entereth into the mouth goeth down into the belly, and so passeth through a man; even that meat, also, which is sanctified by the word of God, and by prayer, as touching that part which it hath material within it, passeth into the belly, and so voideth through a man. But through prayer, which is adjoined to it, according to the measure of faith, it is profitable and effectual,' &c. And he addeth moreover, 'For it is not the outward matter of bread, but the word that is spoken upon it, that profiteth him which eateth it worthily,' &c.

"Irenæus saith, 'Jesus, taking bread of the same condition which is after us,' that is, taking bread of the same nature and kind as we use commonly to eat, 'did confess it to be his body. And taking likewise the cup, which is of the same creature which is after us,' that is, which we commonly use to drink, 'confesseth it to be his blood,' &c. Also, 'Like as bread which is of the earth, receiving the word and calling of God, is now not common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly, the other heavenly; so our bodies receiving the sacred eucharist, be now not corruptible, having hope of resurrection,' &c."

Argument.

"The bread in the sacrament is so changed into the body, as our bodies are changed when they are made incorruptible by hope.

"But our bodies are not made corruptible by changing their substance:

"Ergo, No more is the bread changed into the substance of the body."

"Gregory saith, 'Notwithstanding, whether we take leavened or unleavened bread, we are all one body of our Lord and Saviour,' &c.

Argument.

"Where bread leavened or unleavened is taken, there is substance of bread; and not accidents only.

"In the sacrament, bread is received either leavened or unleavened:

"Ergo, In the sacrament is substance of bread, and not accidents only."

Argument.

"The body of Christ is named of that which is proportioned round, and is insensible in operation.

"Accidents only of bread have no figure of roundness:

"Ergo, the body of Christ is not named of accidents, but of very bread substantial."

Argument.

"The words of the evangelist, speaking of that which Christ took, blessed, brake, and gave, do import it to be bread, and nothing else but bread:

"Ergo, the substance of bread is not to be excluded out of the sacrament."

"Chrysostom saith, 'Christ in giving bread and wine, said, Do this in remembrance of me.'

"Cyril saith, 'He gave to them pieces or fragments of bread.' Also the same Cyril saith, 'In bread we receive his precious body, and his blood in wine.'

"Ergo, by these doctors, it remaineth bread after the consecration.

"Ambrose saith, 'Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind of thing. After consecration, the body of Christ is signified.'"

Arguments of Peter Martyr, disputing with Master Chedsey upon the first question.

"The analogy and resemblance between the sacrament and the thing signified, must ever be kept in all sacraments.

"In the sacrament of the Lord's body this analogy or resemblance cannot be kept, if bread be transubstantiated:

"Ergo, the substance of bread must needs remain in the sacrament.

"The major of this argument is certain by St. Augustine, where he saith, 'Sacraments must needs bear a similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, or else they can be no sacraments.'

"The minor is thus proved:"

Argument.

"The resemblance between the sacrament and the body of Christ is this, that as the properties of bread and wine do nourish outwardly, so the properties of the body of Christ do nourish spiritually.

"Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no resemblance of nourishing:

"Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, the analogy cannot hold."

Argument.

"Again, another resemblance and similitude or analogy of this sacrament is this: that as one loaf of bread, and one cup of wine, containeth many corns, and many grapes; so the mystical congregation containeth many members, and yet maketh but one body.

"Without the substance of bread and wine no such resemblance or similitude of conjunction can be represented:

"Ergo, without the substance of bread and wine the analogy of this spiritual conjunction cannot hold."

Another Argument.

"Every sacrament consisteth in two things, that is, in the thing signifying, and the thing signified.

"Without the substance of bread and wine, there is nothing that signifieth in the sacrament.

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine, in the sacrament, can in no wise be transubstantiate from their natures.

"The minor is thus to be proved:

"There is no signification in any sacrament without the element.

"The substance of bread and wine is the element of this sacrament.

"Ergo, Without the substance of bread and wine, there is no similitude nor signification in this sacrament.

"And forasmuch as the adversaries ground their transubstantiation so much upon these words of Christ, This is my body, which they expound only after the literal sense, without trope or figure; now, that this their exposition is false, and that the said words are to be taken figuratively and spiritually, by three causes it is to be proved:

"First, By the words of the Scripture.

"Secondly, By the nature of a sacrament.

"Thirdly, By the testimonies of the fathers.

"I. First, by these words of the Scripture, where he saith, Do this in remembrance of me, forasmuch as remembrance properly serveth not for

things corporally present, but for things rather being absent.

"II. Secondly, where he saith, Until I come; which words were vain, if he were already come by consecration.

"III. Thirdly, where St. Paul saith, The breaking of bread, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? Which words of breaking, in no case can be verified upon the body of Christ, which, for the glory thereof, is unpassable.

"IV. Furthermore, whereas the Lord biddeth them to take and eat, it is evident that the same cannot be understood simply of the body of Christ, without a trope, forasmuch as he cannot be eaten and chewed with teeth, as we use properly, in eating other meats, to do.

"V. The words moreover of Luke and Paul, spoken of the cup, do argue likewise, that the other words spoken of the bread, must needs be taken mystically; as where it is said, This cup is the new testament, which words must needs be expounded thus, This cup doth signify the new testament.

"VI. Item, These words of St. John, My words be spirit and life. The flesh profiteth nothing, &c.

"VII. Item, Where in the same places of St. John, Christ, to refel the carnal understanding of the Capernaïtes, of eating his body, maketh mention of his ascension, &c.

"The second cause why the words of Christ, This is my body, cannot be literally expounded without a trope, is the nature of a sacrament; whose nature and property is to bear a sign or signification of a thing to be remembered, which thing, after the substantial and real presence, is absent. As touching which nature of a sacrament, sufficient hath been said before.

"The third cause why the words of consecration are figuratively to be taken, is the testimony of the ancient doctors.

"Tertullian saith, 'This is my body; that is to say, This is a figure of my body.'

"Augustine saith, 'Christ gave a figure of his body.' Also he saith, 'He did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

"Jerome saith, 'Christ represented unto us his body.'

"Augustine, in his book De Doctrina Christiana declareth expressly, that this speech, of eating the body of Christ, is a figurative speech.

"Ambrose saith, 'As thou hast received the similitude of his death; so thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'

Argument.

"The death of Christ is not present really in the sacrament, but by similitude.

"The precious blood of Christ is present in the sacrament, as his death is present.

"Ergo, The precious blood of Christ is not present really in the sacrament.

"The minor of this argument is proved before by the words of Ambrose."

The argument of Peter Martyr, upon the second conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be not carnally or corporally in the bread and wine, nor, as others use to say, under the kinds of bread and wine."

Argument.

"The true natural body of Christ is placed in heaven.

"The true natural body of man can be but in one place at once, where he is.

"Ergo, The true natural body of Christ can be in no place at once, but in heaven where he is.

"The major is plain by the Scriptures: Jesus was taken up to heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God. The poor ye have always with you, but me you shall not always have. I leave the world, and go to my Father. Many shall say in that day, Lo, here is Christ, and there is Christ; believe them not. Whom the heavens must receive for a time, until the restitution of all. Seek those things that are above, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God.

"The minor, likewise, is evident by St. Austin, who, speaking of the glorified body of Christ, affirmeth the same to be in one certain place, for the manner of a true body."

Argument.

"Every true natural body requireth one certain place.

"Augustine saith, Christ's body is a true natural body.

"Ergo, Christ's body requireth one certain place."

Argument.

"Augustine giveth not to the soul of Christ to be in more places at once but one.

"Ergo, Much less is it to be given to the body of Christ to be in more places at once but in one."

Argument.

"The nature of the angels is not to be in divers

places, but they are limited to occupy one certain place at once.

"Ergo, The body of Christ being the true natural body of a man, cannot fill divers places at one time."

Argument.

"Whatsoever is in many and divers places at once, is God.

"The body of Christ is not God, but a creature.

"Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in more places together."

Argument.

"We must not so defend the Divinity of Christ, that we destroy his humanity.

"If we assign to the body of Christ plurality of places, we destroy his humanity.

"Ergo, We must not assign to the body of Christ plurality of places."

Argument.

"Whatsoever thing is circumscribed, that is to say, contained in the limits of any peculiar place, cannot be dispersed in more places at once.

"The body of Christ is a thing circumscribed.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is not dispersed in more places at one time."

Argument.

"Every quantity (that is, every body having magnitude, length, and other dimensions) is circumscribed in one peculiar place.

"The body of Christ hath its dimensions, and is a quantity.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is circumscribed.

"The major is proved by Cyril: 'Whatsoever is understood to be a body, the same is verily in a place, and in magnitude and in quantity. And if it be in quantity, it cannot avoid circumscription; that is, to have its place.'"

Argument.

"If Christ had given his body substantially and carnally in the supper, then was that body either passible or impassible.

"But neither can you say that body to be passible or impassible, which he gave at supper.

"Ergo, He did not give his body substantially and carnally at supper.

"The minor is proved thus: For if ye say, it was passible, Augustine is against it, who saith, 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, nor drink the same blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me,' &c. And if ye say, it was im-

passible, that may not be admitted by the words of the evangelist, who saith, Eat, this is my body which shall be given for you: so that that body was passible, and not impassible, wherein Christ was given.

"Vigil saith, 'One creature cannot receive in itself two contrary or diverse things together. But these two things be diverse and far unlike, that is to say, to be contained in a place, and to be every where. For the word is every where; but the flesh is not every where.'"

Argument.

"Bodies organical, without quantity, be no bodies.

"The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be without quantity.

"Ergo, The pope's doctrine maketh the body of Christ in the sacrament to be no body."

Argument.

"All things which may be divided, have quantity.

"The body in the pope's sacrament is divided in three parts.

"Ergo, The body in the pope's sacrament hath quantity, which is against their own doctrine."

Argument.

"No natural body can receive in itself, and at one time, contrary or divers qualities.

"To be in one place local, and in another place not local; to be in one place with quantity, and in another place without quantity; in one place circumscribed, in another place incircumscribed, is for a natural body to receive contrary qualities.

"Ergo, The body of Christ cannot be in one place local, and in another not local; in one place with quantity, and in another without quantity, as our adversaries do affirm."

Argument.

"The wicked receive not the body of Christ.

"The wicked do receive the body of Christ, if transubstantiation be granted.

"Ergo, Transubstantiation is not to be granted in the sacrament."

Argument for probation of the major.

"To eat Christ, is for a man to have Christ dwelling and abiding in him.

"The wicked have not Christ dwelling in them.

"Ergo, The wicked eat not the body of the Lord.

"Cyprian saith, 'The eating of Christ is our abiding in him.'"

Argument.

"The Holy Ghost could not come, if the body of Christ were really present.

"That the Holy Ghost is come it is most certain.

"Ergo, It cannot be, that Christ himself should be here really present.

"For proof of the major: John xvi., Unless I go from you, the Holy Ghost shall not come: it is expedient for you that I go hence."

Argument of Peter Martyr on the third conclusion.

"The body and blood of Christ be united to bread and wine sacramentally."

"If the wicked, and infidels, do receive the body of Christ, they receive him either with sense, or reason, or with faith.

"But they receive him neither with sense, reason, nor with faith.

"Ergo, Wicked men and infidels receive in no wise the body of Christ.

"For declaration of the major, if ye say, they receive him with sense, that is against their own lore, for the body of Christ in the blessed sacrament (say they) is not sensible, nor to be perceived by any sense: neither with reason can they receive him, by their own learning, forasmuch as this sacrament exceedeth all reason; and if ye say, that they receive him with faith, how can that be, seeing infidels have no faith?

"What it is to eat the body of Christ, the teaching of the papists herein is strange, and differeth from the old doctors. For whereas they teach that wicked persons and infidels, albeit they receive not the effect of the sacrament, yet the matter of the sacrament, which is the very body of Christ, they receive with their mouth, and with their sense the accidents of bread, and thus imagine a certain body of Christ, such as evil men and infidels may eat; and yet, being eaten, it giveth them no nourishment nor life, nor maketh them partakers of his spirit and grace; both Scripture, and the ancient expositors of the Scripture, do teach much otherwise. For the Scripture knoweth no such kind of eating Christ's body, but only that which is fruitful, wholesome, and effectual. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him, &c. And therefore it may appear, that the Scripture meaneth, by eating Christ's flesh, to believe in Christ's passion; which none can do but only the faithful. And to the same sense sound all the old doctors.

"Cyprian [saith,] 'That we should know that eating is our dwelling in him, and our drinking is, as it were, a certain incorporation in him.'

"Item, the same Cyprian saith: 'The eating, therefore, of his flesh, is a certain desire to abide in him;' and saith moreover, 'None eateth of this lamb, but such as be true Israelites, that is, true Christian men, without colour or dissimulation.'

"And again he saith, 'As meat is to the flesh, the same is faith to the soul, the same is the word to the spirit.'

"Moreover saith he, 'And therefore doing this, we whet not our teeth to bite, but with pure faith we break the holy bread and distribute it.'

"Augustine saith, 'It may not be said, that any such do eat the body of Christ, because they are accounted amongst the members of Christ. Neither can they be both members of Christ, and members of a harlot, &c. Furthermore, when Christ saith, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him; he sheweth what it is, not sacramentally, but indeed, to eat his body and drink his blood, which is, when a man so dwelleth in Christ, that Christ dwelleth in him. For so Christ spake those words, as if he should say, He that dwelleth not in me, and in whom I dwell not, let him not say nor think, that he eateth my body, or drinketh my blood.'

"Also in other places the said Augustine affirmeth, that 'to drink, is to live;' and saith moreover, 'Why preparest thou thy belly and thy teeth? Believe, and thou hast eaten,' &c.

"All which kinds of eating cannot be said of the wicked and infidels, but only of the godly and faithful."

And thus, briefly, we have run over all the arguments and authorities of Peter Martyr, in that disputation at Oxford, with Drs. Tresham, Chedsey, and Morgan, before the king's visitors above named, A. D. 1549.

Furthermore, whoso listeth more fully to be satisfied and resolved in all the points and occurrences, touching the matter of this sacrament, let him read the books first, of the Archbishop Cranmer against Winchester; secondly, The Tractation of Peter Martyr made in Oxford, translated and extant in English; and thirdly, the book of Bishop Ridley made in prison, called A brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper.

The like disputation also, about the same time, was appointed and commenced at Cambridge, concerning the same matter of the sacrament, the king's visitors being directed down for the same purpose by the king; the names of which visitors were these, Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester, Thomas, bishop of Ely, Master John Cheke, the king's school-master, Dr. May, civilian, and Thomas Wendy; the

king's physician. The conclusions in that disputation propounded were these :—

The first disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth day of June, A. D. 1549, before the king's Majesty's commissioners, by Dr. Maden, respondent, whose first conclusion was this :

“Transubstantiation cannot be proved by the plain and manifest words of Scripture; nor can thereof be necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed, by the consents of the ancient fathers for these thousand years past.” (Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, Master Young, opponents.)

Dr. Maden's Declaration.

“First of all,” quoth he, “I am very sorry, and do not a little lament the shortness of time, to declare and discuss such weighty matters of religion in, as these be. But, that notwithstanding, if I had had more plenty of time indeed, yet you shall understand how that I have ever, both in heart and mind, (if otherwise I could have avoided it,) abhorred all scholastical disputations, and subtile sophistications. In consideration whereof, I beseech those that are to dispute, not to allege or bring forth any dismembered or curtailed sentences, or wrested, (as happeneth many times,) but the whole and full sentences either of the Scriptures, or of the ancient doctors; yea, and to avouch such authors' sayings, as are not suspected, or feigned, but such as be their own very sayings indeed; which if they do, there is no doubt, but the clear light of this our disputation shall the sooner appear, and be manifest to this auditory.

“And for a further declaration of my part, you shall understand, that this my preface, in my said former most catholic and godly conclusion, shall consist in three principal points.

“First, What thing it was that Christ gave to his disciples.

“Secondly, What season or time this transubstantiation did begin.

“Thirdly, How many devilish abominations have ensued upon that horrible and pestilent invention.

“As concerning the first, that is, what thing Christ gave to his disciples, that may very well appear even by our own natural senses, as namely, by the sight, by the touching, by the tasting, which cannot be deceived of their natural judgment. For the eye seeth nothing but bread and wine; the tasting savoureth nothing else; and the hands touch nothing else. He gave, also, to their understanding, not only his holy and sacred doctrine, but also a special gift and pledge of his love. He gave the only material bread and wine sanctified, as the first

rude and plain elements or principles to allure them withal; but he gave them the gift of his grace and heavenly doctrine, as the very things signified by the sensible elements; which thing plainly appeareth by the words of Christ our Saviour, I will not drink hereafter of the fruit of this vine, until I drink it new with you in the kingdom of God. Nor this fruit or juice of the vine, is nothing else but wine, as Chrysostom saith. And moreover, to prove the same true, if it be reserved after the consecration for a time, it becometh sour and tart; therefore it is but wine.

“And as touching the bread, St. Paul saith thus: Is not the bread which we break the communion, or participation, of Christ's body? He brake bread, therefore it was but bread which he gave them: for the body of Christ is not broken; as the Scripture saith of the same, You shall not break a bone of him. Also he said, This is my body; not that the bread was his body, and the wine his blood, but he spake those words to and of his own mortal body, there sitting amongst them at supper. Or he spake yet doubtfully, as thus: This signifieth my body, it is one thing which is seen, but it is another thing which is understood: for that which is seen hath a bodily form, but that which is understood thereby, hath a spiritual fruit. St. Augustine saith, ‘Let the word have access to the element, so is it made a sacrament.’ mark, he saith, ‘Let the word have access’—and not ‘success.’ Now the thing that hath access to another thing, doth not quench the thing that it cometh to, no more doth it here: ergo, it is bread and wine still, as before, howbeit sacred and holy. ‘What saw you yesterday,’ saith St. Augustine, ‘upon the altar? Truly bread and wine, which your own eyes can witness,’ said he. What plainer testimony can be had of so ancient a father as he was, and of so rare knowledge in the Scriptures of God? Seeing then that our eyes do behold nothing but bread and wine, it must needs follow that it is so indeed, or else our senses be deceived in their own proper object, which cannot be by any reason or natural philosophy. And yet, notwithstanding, some papists dream and fancy such a corporal, real, and gross presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, as they affirm it to be there, even as verily as it was upon the cross. Indeed the bread is changed after a certain manner into Christ's body; for Christ gave not his own natural body to his disciples at his last supper, but only a sign or figure thereof. Christ's body is there with the bread; our senses cannot be deceived about the substance of bread, but they do judge there to be but one body, that is of bread: ergo, so it is. Also the very definition of a sacrament doth plainly repugn unto transubstantiation. Bread nourisheth

the substance of Christ's body, but the accidents do not so: ergo, the substance doth remain of the bread that nourisheth. It is also called bread in the Acts, and in divers other places of the Scriptures; wherefore it is so, but indeed after a sort more holy than before. What gave he in the supper? Bread, which is the body, that is to say, a holy sign of his body; as Augustine doth witness, saying, 'He doubted not to say, This is my body, when it was but a sign of his body.' The unleavened bread was but a bare and naked sign of Christ's body; and so is this bread the same body, even as baptism is. Now, indeed, there be two manner of signs; one that signifieth only, the other that doth exhibit, the thing itself. The first is applied to the old law chiefly, the other to the law of grace. The old, ancient, and learned fathers did never use to speak of the substantial change, for because that all the mutation is but conditional, not substantial; nor do we deem the bodily substance sacramentally, but yet we say that this proposition, This is my body, is but a figurative speech, and no proper speech, as some do deem. But it is as much as to say, 'This signifieth my body;' or else thus, 'This is a sacrament of my body:' for the bodily bread and Christ's body are not contained in place locally, but mystically.

"This portentous and monstrous transubstantiation began first to enter, when the popish prelates and priests began first to understand this said proposition, This is my body, of the carnal and real presence of Christ's body; as Hugo de Sancto Victore, Gratian, Peter Lombard, and Innocent the Third, the very pestilent poison of all Christian religion, unto whom we have, of long season, yea, alas, too long, given credit: under the which Innocent the said devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation' began in the year 1315. And Boniface, after him bishop of Rome, made the said mad blind transubstantiation to be the third article of the faith, full wisely, no doubt! whereas another bishop of Rome after him affirmed plainly, against Nestor the heretic, that bread remaineth still, whose name was Gelasius the Third.

"Now, as touching the most shameful and detestable inconveniences, which must needs follow this devilish term or vocable of 'transubstantiation,' you shall understand the first is, that then such papists will have Christ's body still prostituted and received, even of the wicked and naughty people; which is clean contrary to that place of our Saviour Christ, where he saith, Whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Now it is plain, that evil persons dwell not in Christ, nor Christ in them; wherefore they receive not his ~~any~~ therein at all. For St. Augustine saith, 'It is

but bread, which is seen after the consecration:' ergo, the substance of bread is there still.

"The second inconvenience that groweth hereof, is the fond and superstitious reservation of the sacrament in pixes, boxes, and such like, with vain tabernacles over the altar, where oftentimes it did putrify, for all their foolish honour; which began in Honorius's days, the third of that name, bishop of Rome; which corruption declareth it to be but only bread—say all the papists what they list.

"The third inconvenience that must needs follow transubstantiation, is adoration, which is too plain idolatry, as the papists do know themselves, if they list: but they are so stiff-necked, that they will not know it; and so both have kept, and yet also will keep, the world in blindness still, if they might be suffered. But to be short with you, even as we are changed into Christ by receiving the sacrament, so the bread is changed into the body of Christ. But our substance is not changed into Christ's substance: ergo, the substance of the bread is not changed into Christ's body. And to be short and plain with you, most honourable audience, the whole universal world hath been, and yet is, sore deceived and deluded about the estimation of this sacrament. Therefore this is most true; when we do receive the said sacrament worthily, then are we joined by faith spiritually, to Christ our Saviour. And thus much have I said, in this first matter."

"The second matter to be disputed of is this:

"That in the Lord's supper is none other oblation or sacrifice, than one only remembrance of Christ's death, and of thanksgiving."

"In this conclusion I will be much shorter and more compendious than in the first. In consideration thereof you shall understand, that the same is a very godly and true catholic proposition; for to offer Christ, and to exhibit the same, is all one thing: for in that he is offered—he is set forth to eat—there is no difference at all between the maker of the sacrifice, or offerer, and the thing that was offered, which both were one Christ. The Lord did command, saying, Do this in remembrance of me; he made mention of the remembrance only, wherefore it can be none other sacrifice but only that. The apostle doth declare the manner of the thing doing, saying thus, He took bread in his hands, he blessed it, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples. What gave he to them? Forsooth bread, which was the sacrament, and not his body. No earthly creature, nor heavenly, did ever offer up Christ at any time, but he himself, once for all, upon the cross; ergo, he cannot, nor ought not, to be offered many times and often—though that Pighius, with all the blind

rabble of papists, say the contrary. For, truly, in this point especially, they know not what they say, being so led by the old Pharisaical blindness. But to the purpose: you shall understand, good auditors, that the pure and clean oblation and sacrifice, spoken of by the prophet Malachi, is nothing else than devout and faithful prayer and thanksgiving, as Tertullian saith in his third book 'contra Marcionem,' expounding the Psalm, where it is said thus, The sacrifice of laud and praise shall honour me. So do St. Jerome, Irenæus, and St. Austin say, also, upon Malachi; where, also, they deny that Christ is essentially in the sacrament. Yea, and St. Austin witnesseth, that the mortifying of our earthly members is our true sacrifice, that be Christians. And all the ancient fathers do call prayers by the name of sacrifices. And for this purpose, whosoever list to read that most excellent and famous clerk Zuinglius, shall find the same confirmed of him by most grounded reasons, whatsoever the papists do bark against it. Thus I have declared my mind in both matters now disputable; and, if my further declaration be required through the vehemency of arguments, I will perform the same in my answer thereunto."

(There disputed against this defendant, Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, and Master Young, students in divinity.)

Glyn.—"Notwithstanding, right worshipful Master Doctor, that you have so exquisitely declared your mind and opinion in every one of these matters now in contention, before this honourable and learned audience, and also, though just occasion be ministered to me to infringe your positions in both conclusions, yet I will not invade the same as now indirectly, with contrarious and vain words to occupy the small time which is appointed us for the trial of the same, but we will go forthwith to the thing itself, which containeth in it matter enough. It is but folly to use many words, where few will serve our purpose, as saith the Master of the Sentences. All words may signify at pleasure, and commonly there be more things than vocables. Like as, sometimes, there was variance amongst learned men, of the unity of two substances in one personage of Christ, God and man; so is there now, in our days, variance of transubstantiation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. Wherefore I do require you, first, to show me here openly, what the said transubstantiation is, that we go not from the thing itself, which is our first and chiefest ground."

Madem.—"As for that, I need not to show you; for every man knoweth it."

Glyn.—"Peradventure it is not so, good Master

Doctor. And I am perfectly assured, that every man doth not know it indeed; for it is not so light a matter as you make it to be."

Madem.—"Forsooth you know it yourself, and so do all men else."

Glyn.—"Well, yet I pray you show me, what thing Christ did demonstrate and show forth by that article of the neuter gender, where he said, This is my body? What did he point at in that article 'this?' For if he meant by that, the bread, then Christ, in the sacrament, is not only of two natures, but of three natures, as of the nature of bread, of the nature of man, and of the Divine nature; which to say, were blasphemy. The argument is good, and doth hold by that text, He spake the word, and it was done; he commanded, and they were created. Moreover, if he should mean by that article of the neuter gender, 'this,' the material bread, then he would have said, This bread is my body, so making the article of the neuter gender; or else he would have said thus, Here, with this bread, is my body; to have avoided ever after all heresies, errors, and schisms. But he said not so, but spake the article of the neuter gender, saying, This is my body, that is to say, the thing or substance contained under the form and kind of bread, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my body, according to my promise made to you before, that I would give you my very flesh to eat. In like manner when he gave the cup of his blood, he said not 'this' in the neuter gender, as he would have done, if he had meant the material creature of wine to have remained; but he said then in the masculine gender, This is my blood: that is to say, the thing contained under the form of wine, which you see not with your bodily eyes, is my blood. For truly the Holy Ghost came down to lead us into all truth and verity, and not to deceive us in so notable a point of our faith. But, out of doubt, he should have deceived in this matter, if so be he had given us only material bread and wine, instead of his body and blood, and not have fulfilled his promise made in John vi., where he promised thus, The bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Here be two givings spoken of, with two relatives, whereof the first, with his relative, must needs be referred to his gift in the last supper, and the second giving of the same flesh of his, with his relative, must be applied of necessity unto his giving of his body upon the cross: nor do we find in the whole Scripture, where Christ did fulfil his said promise made in John vi., but at those said two times. Wherefore if we be deceived in this matter of transubstantiation, we may well say, O Lord, thou hast deceived us. But God forbid that we should once

think such wickedness of him. He must also be unjust of his promise, if it be not performed at any season; as it is not indeed, if it were not at both the said times. Then, if it were performed, (as the catholic church of Christ doth hold, determine, and believe,) then must it needs be granted, that he gave, at his last supper, his own body and flesh indeed and verily, which he gave upon the cross for the life of the world, though not in so fleshly a manner and bloody, yet the very same flesh and blood really, after an unbloody sort, and spiritually. He said not, This bread is my body, nor yet, Here, with the bread, is my body; but, This is my body, which shall be given for you. Neither said he, This wine is my blood, nor, With this wine is my blood; which circumstance of plain speech he would have used, if the pure creatures should have remained: but he said, This is my blood, which is shed for you and for many, for the remission of sins; that is to say, the substance hidden under these visible forms of bread and wine, is my very proper flesh and blood. I pray you where do you find, in the whole body of the Scripture expressed, or justly understood, that Christ gave but only a bare and naked sign, figure, or sacrament? or where find you that he gave his body with bread, it remaining bread still? And if you think to find it, I pray you show me here, whether that body that he gave with material bread were his true body or not? If not, then it was fantastical; if it were his true body, (as you do grant,) then must there needs be two very true bodies in one place together. Now, that it was his very true body and blood, it is certain, by the plain words of the text, saying thus, which is betrayed or given, and, which is shed for you and for many. But I will let all this pass over, and I do require of you this one question, Whether that the sacraments of the old law and of the new law be all one?"

Madem.—"If you do consider the things themselves, they be all one; but if you respect only the signs, figures, and sacraments outwardly, then they be divers."

Glyn.—"I do perceive your answer very well. Then further to our purpose, Was Christ, then, after the same manner in the bread that came from heaven, in the paschal lamb, and in Isaac, as he is in this sacrament? which if you do grant me, then these propositions were true, for Christ to say, This manna is my body, This lamb is my body, This Isaac is my body. Moreover, if the sacraments of the old law, and of the law of grace, be all one in very deed and effect, (as you seem to grant,) then what difference is between the shewbread in Moses's law, and the bread that we do break, that St. Paul

speaketh of? They then had that bread which signifieth Christ; and so doth ours, as you say: that was bread, so is ours; and so, by your reason, there is no difference between them: yea, their manna, because it came from heaven, was better than this earthly bread, that cometh from beneath—which is contrary to the truth; for St. John saith, That the law was given by Moses, but the verity was given by Jesus Christ. Wherefore that which Christ gave, was not only a sign, but also the verity; that is to say, the living bread that came down from heaven, the true Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world, and Isaac himself, which is Christ: or else you must grant me that we Christians do receive less than the Jews did—for they received the bread, called manna, from heaven, and we only a poor morsel of bread from the earth; theirs was called angels' food, and ours is, as you hold, little better than common bread. Me seemeth that you do distrust the doctrine of the faith of Christendom for these five hundred years, even as though Christ had forsaken his catholic church after one thousand years; but that is not so; for he promised his Holy Spirit to assist his spouse the church, and to lead her continually into all truth from time to time, as need should require. As I remember, you said that adoration did follow upon transubstantiation: but the fathers, for one thousand years past, do grant adoration of the sacrament; therefore transubstantiation also. The minor I prove by the most clear testimonies of St. Austin, St. Ambrose, St. Denis, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom."

Madem.—"I deny, Master Doctor, that I said any such thing; and therewith I say, that the fathers do understand by adoration, a certain reverent manner that we should receive the Lord's supper with; which may be called a certain veneration, but no adoration."

Glyn.—"No, Master? St. Austin, De Civitate Dei, witnesseth, that the ethnics and paynims do esteem the Christians to worship and adore the god of wheat and barley, called Ceres, and the god of wine, called Bacchus. And again, St. Austin saith thus, 'Lo, no man eateth of that bread, except he first adore and worship it.'"

Madem.—"By your patience, St. Austin, in that place, speaketh of the honouring of Christ's body now sitting in heaven."

Glyn.—"Yea, Master Doctor, think you so? And why not also of his blessed body in the sacrament; seeing that he saith it is there? This is my body which is given for you, saith he. More plainly he needeth not to speak for the real presence of his blessed body, being both able and willing to verify his word. For if a cunning lapidary should say to

you or me, This is a true right diamond, a perfect carbuncle, sapphire, emerald, or any such precious stone, we would believe him, though we were ignorant of their natures. Wherefore we ought much more to believe our Saviour Christ, God and man, in that he saith, This is my body. And why then ought we not to honour it in the sacrament? or how many bodies hath Christ, seeing you do grant his body in heaven to be honoured, but not his body here in the sacrament?"

Mader.—"Forsooth he hath but one very body and no more; but the same is sacramentally in the sacrament, and substantially in heaven; here by faith, and there in deed."

Glyn.—"Well, yet once again to you thus: The very true body of Christ is to be honoured, but the same very true body is in the sacrament: ergo, the body of Christ in the sacrament is to be honoured."

Rochester.—"Well-beloved friends, and brethren in our Saviour Christ, you must understand that this disputation, with others that shall be after this, are appointed for to search for the plain truth of the Holy Scriptures in these matters of religion, which, of a long season, have been hidden from us by the false glosses of that great antichrist and his ministers of Rome, and now, in our days, must be revealed to us Englishmen, through the great mercy of God principally, and, secondarily, through the most gentle clemency of our natural sovereign lord the king's Majesty, whom the living Lord long preserve to reign over us in health, wealth, and godliness, to the maintenance of God's holy word, and to the extirpation of all blind glosses of men, that go about to subvert the truth. Because, therefore, that I am one that doth love the truth, and have professed the same amongst you, therefore, I say, because of conferring my mind with yours, I will here gladly declare what I think in this point now in controversy. Not because this worshipful doctor hath any need of my help in dissolving of arguments proposed against him, for, as me seemeth, he hath answered hitherto very well and clerkly, according to the truth of God's word. But now to the purpose, I do grant unto you, master opponent, that the old ancient fathers do record and witness a certain honour and adoration to be due unto Christ's body, but then they speak not of it in the sacrament, but of it in heaven at the right hand of the Father, as holy Chrysostom saith, 'Honour thou it, and then eat it:' but that honour may not be given to the outward sign, but to the body of Christ itself in heaven. For that body is there only in a sign virtually, by grace, in the exhibition of it in spirit, effect, and faith, to the wor-

thy receiver of it. For we receive virtually only Christ's body in the sacrament."

Glyn.—"How then, if it please your good Lordship, doth baptism differ from this sacrament? for in that, we receive Christ also by grace, and virtually."

Rochester.—"Christ is present after another sort in baptism, than in this sacrament; for in that, he purgeth and washeth the infant from all kind of sin, but here, he doth feed spiritually the receiver in faith with all the merits of his blessed death and passion. And yet he is in heaven still really and substantially, as for example: the king's Majesty, our lord and master, is but in one place, wheresoever that his royal person is abiding for the time; and yet his mighty power and authority is every where in his realms and dominions: so Christ's real person is only in heaven substantially placed, but his might is in all things created effectually; for Christ's flesh may be understood for the power or inward might of his flesh."

Glyn.—"If it please your fatherhood, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine do say, that before the consecration it is but very bread, and after the consecration it is called the very body of Christ."

Mader.—"Indeed it is the very body of Christ sacramentally, after the consecration, whereas before, it is nothing but common bread; and yet, after that, it is the Lord's bread: and thus must St. Ambrose and St. Augustine be understood."

(Here the proctors commanded the opponent to divert to the second conclusion; but he requested them that they would permit him as long, in this matter, as they would in the second; and so he still prosecuted the first matter as followeth:)

Glyn.—"The bread, after consecration, doth feed the soul: ergo, the substance of common bread doth not remain.—The argument is good, for St. Ambrose, De Sacramentis, saith thus: 'After the consecration there is not the thing that nature did form, but that which the blessing doth consecrate. And if the benediction of the prophet Elias did turn the nature of water, how much more then doth the benediction of Christ here both God and man!'"

Mader.—"That book of St. Ambrose is suspected to be none of his works."

Rochester.—"So say all the fathers."

Glyn.—"I do marvel at that, for St. Austin, in his book of *Retractations*, maketh plain, that that was his own very work."

Rochester.—"He speaketh, indeed, of such a book so entituled, to St. Ambrose, but yet we do lack the same book indeed."

Glyn.—"Well, let it then pass to other men's judgments. What then say you to holy St. Cy-

prian, one thousand two hundred years past, who saith, that the bread, which our Lord gave to his disciples, was not changed in form, or quality; but in very nature, and, by the Almighty word, was made flesh?"

Madem.—"I do answer thus: that this word 'flesh' may be taken two ways, either for the substance itself, or else for a natural property of a fleshly thing. So that Cyprian there did mean of a natural property, and not of fleshly substance. And, contrariwise, in the rod of Aaron, where both the substance and also the property was changed."

Glyn.—"Holy St. Ambrose saith, 'The body there made by the mighty power of God's word, is the body of the Virgin Mary.'"

Rochester.—"That is to say, that by the word of God the thing hath a being that it had not before, and we do consecrate the body, that we may receive the grace and power of the body of Christ in heaven by this sacramental body."

Glyn.—"By your patience, my Lord, if it be a body of the Virgin, as St. Ambrose saith, which we do consecrate, as ministers, by God's holy word, then must it needs be more than a sacramental or spiritual body; yea, a very body of Christ indeed; yea, the same that is still in heaven without all moving from place to place, unspeakably and far passing our natural reason, which is in this mystery so captivate, that it cannot conceive how it is there, without a lively faith to God's word. But let this pass. You do grant that this bread doth quicken or give life; which, if it do, then it is not a natural bread, but a supersubstantial bread."

Rochester.—"So doth the effectual and lively word of God, which for that it nourisheth the soul, it doth give life; for the Divine essence infuseth itself unspeakably into the faithful receiver of the sacrament."

Glyn.—"How then say you to holy Damascene, a Greek author, who, as one Tritenius saith, flourished one thousand years past. He saith thus: 'The body that is of the holy Virgin Mary, is joined to the Divinity, after the consecration, in verity and indeed: not so as the body, once assumed into heaven, and sitting on the Father's right hand, doth remove from thence and come down at the consecration-time, but that the same bread and wine are substantially transumpted into the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. If,' saith he, 'thou dost not know the manner how it is brought to pass, let it be enough to thee to believe, that it is done by the operation of the Holy Ghost; and we do know no more but that the living word of God is working and almighty, but the very manner how, is inscrutable to us: and no great marvel,' saith he,

'for we cannot well express how the material bread, wine, or water, are transumpted naturally into the same body and blood of the receiver, and be become another body than they were before. So,' saith this great ancient clerk, 'also this shewbread with wine and water are changed, by the coming of the Holy Ghost, into Christ's body and blood, and they be not two bodies there, but very one (of Christ) and the same.'"

Rochester.—"First, I deny, Master Doctor, that Damascene was one thousand years past. Secondly, that he is not to be holden as an ancient father, for that he maintaineth in his works evil and damnable doctrine, as the worshipping of images and such like. Thirdly, I say, that indeed God, by his Holy Spirit, is the worker of that which is done in the sacrament. Also I grant that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lord's bread and wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lord's word. But I deny that there is any mutation of the substances; for there is no other change there, indeed, than there is in us, which, when we do receive the sacrament worthily, then are we changed into Christ's body, bones, and blood; not in nature, but spiritually, and by grace. Much like as Isaiah saw the burning coal, even so we see not there the very simple bread, as it was before the consecration; for a union cannot be but of two very things. Wherefore, if we be joined to Christ receiving the sacrament, then there is no annihilation of bread, (which is, when it is reduced to nothing,) as it is in your feigned transubstantiation."

Glyn.—"So, I perceive, you would have me to grant, that the sacrament is but a figure; which Theophylact doth deny."

Rochester.—"You say truth, he denieth it indeed to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure."

Glyn.—"Whereas St. Paul saith, that we, being many, are one bread, he speaketh not, nor meaneth one material bread, as you do here: ergo, he speaketh of heavenly bread. And holy Chrysostom, upon Matthew, saith, that the paschal lamb was a figure, but the mystery is the verity. For the disciples would not have been offended to have drunk a figure of Christ's blood, being well accustomed to figures. For Christ did not institute a figure for a figure, but the clear verity instead of the figure, as St. John saith, Grace and verity was given by Christ. 'Dost thou see bread,' saith Chrysostom, 'doth it avoid or pass as other meats do which we receive? God forbid! Ergo,'" &c.

Madem.—"That ancient clerk Origen, upon Matt. xv., saith thus, As touching that which is material in the sacrament, it descendeth and issueth

out as other nutriments do; but as concerning that which is celestial, it doth not so.”

Glyn.—“Chrysostom, upon Matthew, saith, that we cannot be deceived of Christ’s word, but our natural senses may be deceived in this point very soon and easily: his said words cannot be false, but our senses be many times beguiled of their judgments. Because therefore that Christ said, This is my body, let us not at any hand doubt (saith Chrysostom); but let us believe it, and well perceive it with the eyes of our understanding. And within a little after, in that place, he saith thus: ‘It was not enough, that he was become man, and afterwards was scourged for us; but also he did reduce and bring us to be as one body with him: not through faith only, but in very deed also, he maketh us his body.’ And after that he saith, that these works are not of man’s power; but the same things that he wrought in his last supper, he now worketh also by his precept to his right ministers, and we do occupy the place of the same ministers: but he it is that doth sanctify and transumpt the creatures; he performeth still the same.”

Rochester.—“Master Doctor, you must understand, that in that place St. Chrysostom sheweth us, that Christ delivered to us no sensible thing at his last supper.”

Glyn.—“Honourable sir, by your patience I grant that he gave to his disciples no sensible thing in substance, but a thing insensible, his own precious body and blood, under the only kinds of creatures. And truly, as it seemeth, Theophylact best knew the meaning of Chrysostom, because all authors accept him as a faithful interpreter of him; and he hath these same plain words, ‘trans-elemented’ and ‘transformed.’ Also Theophylact of Alexandria, upon Mark, Cyril, and St. Augustine, saith, that before the consecration it is bread, but afterwards it is Christ’s very body. In like manner St. Augustine, upon Psalm xxxiii., saith, that in the last supper Christ did bear himself in his own hands. Now every man may bear the figure of his body in his own hands, but St. Augustine saith it there, for a miracle. Irenæus, in his fifth book, is of the same mind. And St. Augustine saith, (I do remember the words,) ‘The law and figures were by Moses; but the verity and body came by Christ.’”

Rochester.—“Well, say what you list, it is but a figurative speech, like to this: If you will receive and understand, he is Elias—for a property: but indeed he was not Elias, but John the Baptist. And so in this place Christ calleth it his body, when it was very bread. But better than the common bread, because it was sanctified by the word of Christ.”

(Here Master Langdale replied to Dr. Madew.)

Langdale.—“Right worshipful Master Doctor, by your patience I have noted two things that you affirmed in your position even now, before this honourable audience, the which, as me seemeth, are not consonant to the truth of God’s word. The first is, as touching Christ’s saying, I will not from henceforth drink any more of the fruit of the vine, until I drink it new with you, &c.; which place of the Scripture you did, as I think, understand, and interpret, as though nothing else remained after the consecration, but very wine still. Whereof I do not a little marvel, seeing that most famous clerk Erasmus, whose authority and sentence you refuse at this present only, yet, nevertheless, is very worthy, in this matter, of far better estimation amongst learned men. Wherefore I trust I shall not offend, to allege him before this learned and honourable auditory. He plainly affirmeth, that for all his great labour in searching the Scriptures, he could never find either in the evangelists, or yet in the apostolical doctrine, that it might be or was called wine, after the consecration. And therefore I cannot but marvel, if the thing be so open and plain as in your declaration you seem to make it, that such a profound clerk as he was could not find it out. For that said place he entreated of in his Paraphrases, in his annotations, and in other of his lucubrations; and yet he plainly denieth that same very thing to be found of him, which you here openly affirmed, that it is wine, or may be so called after the consecration duly performed by a right minister. I beseech you not to be offended, though I credit not your saying in this so weighty a matter of Christian religion, as I do his.”

Madew.—“No forsooth, I will not be offended one jot with you. But, for to content your mind in this point, it is most constant and sure, that Erasmus was of that mind and opinion, that it was enough for a Christian to believe Christ’s body and blood to be in the sacrament, in what manner or condition soever it were.”

Langdale.—“By your licence, good Master Doctor, these be Erasmus’s words: ‘The church of Christ hath determined, very lately, transubstantiation in the sacrament. It was of a long season enough to believe Christ’s body to be either under the bread consecrated, or else to be present after any other manner. But yet,’ saith he, ‘after that the said church had pondered and weighed the thing more pithily with greater judgment, then she made a more certain determination of the same.’ In the which place (1 Cor. vii.) Erasmus saith, that the proceeding of the Holy Ghost equally from the Father and the Son, was also determined of the same church.”

But let this pass. And as touching the second point which I noted in your so eloquent declaration, which was, that you did wrest and wring the saying of Tertullian from the verity of his mind: for you said, that he doth interpret the prophet Malachi, speaking of our daily sacrifice in the new law, to mean nothing else by that sacrifice, in that place, but prayer and thanksgiving. But the said ancient clerk Tertullian hath not those words that you do allege of him, that is to say, 'nothing else.' And yet, though that Æcolampadius doth so interpret that place, yet (as me seemeth) the judgment of the whole Christian church is to be preferred, in such a matter of religion. But I will pass over this point, and return to the matter itself: and first, I do require of your mastership, whether that this sentence, This is my body, be spoken of Christ figuratively or not."

Madern.—"After the mind of the common gloss of Cyprian and Origen, it is so taken in very deed."

Langdale.—"That cannot be, by your patience; for it is taken there substantially: ergo, not figuratively."

Madern.—"I deny your argument."

Langdale.—"I prove my argument good, thus: This word 'substance' doth plainly repugn, and is contrary to, this word 'figure': ergo, 'substantially' and 'figuratively' do also repugn. Moreover I ask of you, whether that this be a true proposition or not: 'Bread is Christ's body.'"

Madern.—"Yea forsooth, it is a true proposition."

Langdale.—"Then thus to you: Christ's body was given for us; but you say, that bread is Christ's body: ergo, bread was given for us."

Rochester.—"Not so, sir, for your former proposition is of double understanding."

Langdale.—"Well, yet you, Master Doctor, do grant that Christ is substantially in the sacrament."

Madern.—"No, I deny that I said so ever."

Langdale.—"Yea, do you so? Well, I pass not thereupon greatly, for I will prove it by another means.—Christ did suffer his most glorious passion for us, really and substantially: ergo, he is also in the sacrament substantially. The argument is good, because that it is the same here, that was there crucified for us; howbeit here invisibly, indeed spiritually and sacramentally; but there visibly, and after a mortal and most bloody manner."

Rochester.—"Master Langdale, your argument doth well conclude, in case that his body were here, in the sacrament, after such a sort as it was when he was betrayed. But that is not so, for he was

betrayed and crucified in his natural body substantially and really, in very deed; but in the sacrament he is not so, but spiritually and figuratively only."

Langdale.—"By your good Lordship's favour, that is not so; for he is there not figuratively, but verily and indeed, by the power of his mighty word; yea, even his very own natural body, under the sacrament duly performed by the lawful minister."

Madern.—"O say not so; for you speak blasphemy."

Langdale.—"No, no, Master Doctor; God forbid that either I, or any man else, should be noted of blasphemy, saying nothing but the very plain truth, as in my conscience and learning I do no less."

Rochester.—"O Master Langdale! I wis it becometh you not here to have such words."

Langdale.—"If it like your good Lordship, I gave not the first occasion of them, but only did refute that which I was unjustly burdened withal, as reason doth require; and it grieved me to hear it. He [Erasmus] saith, if it please your Lordship, that there is a mutation or change of the bread after it is consecrated; which if it be so, as I grant no less, then I would require of him, whether it be changed in the substance, or in the accidents, or else in both, or in nothing? No man can justly say, that there is a change into nothing. And all ancient fathers do agree, that the same accidents are there still after, that were before; nor doth any doctor say, that there is any mutation both of the substance and accidents also: ergo, the substance of bread is changed into some other thing that is there really present under the forms of bread and wine, which, by Christ's words, must needs be his own blessed body."

Rochester.—"Sir, you are deceived greatly, for there is no change either of the substances, or of the accidents; but in very deed there do come unto the bread other accidents, inasmuch that whereas the bread and wine were not sanctified before, nor holy, yet afterwards they be sanctified, and so do receive then another sort or kind of virtue which they had not before."*

Langdale.—"By your patience, reverend father, by such means a man may easily avoid all the mysteries of our Christian faith. As where it is said thus of God the Father, This is my beloved Son, &c., a man may also wring that, to be understood thus: This is the image of my well-beloved Son; or, This is the virtue of my well-beloved Son: yea, much more justly than your good Lordship doth the other; because St. Paul to the Hebrews doth call the Son the image of the Father, and in another wine, which, in Cambridge, by the bishop Dr. Ridley, was denied.

* Here is to be noted, that Peter Martyr, in his answer at Oxford, did grant a change in the substances of bread and

place, he calleth him the power or virtue of God, and God's wisdom. Now, though he be so called in Scripture, God forbid that we should call him only God's image or God's virtue, and not God himself."

Rochester.—"O gentle Master Langdale! you ought not to reason after such a sort as you do now, because that a trope or figurative speech is nocive some where—but not every where, nor in this matter."

Langdale.—"Yet by your licence, honourable father, it doth appear to me no trope at all in these words of Christ, This is my body which is given for you; and that for this reason: Christ did exhibit or give again the very same things at his last supper, by the which things he was joined to us; but he was joined or knit unto us, by his own natural flesh and blood: ergo, he did exhibit to us at his last supper no less again. My former proposition I prove by the testimony of St. Chrysostom, whose words in Christ's person are these: 'I would be your brother. I took upon me common flesh and blood for your sakes; and even the same things by which I am joined to you, the very same I have exhibited to you again,'" &c.

(Here the proctors commanded Langdale to give place to another.)

Rochester.—"We are not joined by natural flesh, but do receive his flesh spiritually from above."

(Here Master Segewick replied.)

Segewick.—"Right worshipful Master Doctor, I do also ask of you first of all, whether the Greek article 'this,' of the neuter gender, be referred to the word 'bread,' or to the word 'body.' If it be referred to the word 'bread,' then Christ would not have said 'this,' in the neuter gender; but rather 'this,' in the masculine gender."

Rochester.—"Forsooth that article is referred to neither of both; but may signify unto us any other kind of thing."

Segewick.—"No forsooth; but it doth note unto us some excellent great thing determinately, and not so confusedly as you say. For such a great heap of articles, in the Greek, doth notify unto us a great and weighty thing to be in the sacrament determinately, if we may credit the ancient fathers. Moreover this word 'bread,' is not always in the Scriptures taken after one sort: wherefore I desire you to show me how it is taken in this place of St. Paul, 'We that are many, are one bread,'" &c.

Madem.—"Forsooth of the very wheaten bread."

Segewick.—"Then, after your mind, we are all very wheaten bread."

Rochester.—"Forsooth we are bread, not for the nature of bread, but for the fellowship and

unity that is noted by the coagulation of many grains into one bread or loaf."

Segewick.—"Well, let that pass; then thus: It is the body; ergo, no figure; because there is a perpetual contrariety between the law of Moses and the law of grace. Therein were figures and shadows, and herein is the verity indeed."

Rochester.—"I do grant it to be Christ's true body and flesh, by a property of the nature assumed to the Godhead; yea, and we do really eat and drink his flesh and blood after a certain real property."

Segewick.—"It is not the figurative paschal lamb; it is not the figurative manna, nor yet the figurative shew-bread, &c.: ergo, it is no figure."

Madem.—"I deny your argument."

Segewick.—"I maintain my argument thus: All the shadows are wholly past: ergo, so also be the figures; for every figure is a shadow. If then it be but a figure, all the figures are not past as yet; but that is false: ergo, so is the other."

Rochester.—"It is nothing but a figure or token of the true body of Christ; as it is said of John the Baptist, he is Elias; not that he was *eo* in deed or person, but in property and virtue he represented Elias."

Segewick.—"So:—But, most learned father, when Christ said, I am the way, the truth, and the life, may it be understood as you do the other place thus: I am 'the virtue of' the way, verity, and the life? But now to the matter itself. It is verily meat: ergo, it is not figuratively."

Madem.—"This verb or word 'is,' in this place is taken for that which signifieth."

(Here he was commanded to reply in the second matter.)

Segewick.—"Now, as touching our second conclusion, this I say: Whosoever Christ is, there is a sacrifice propitiatory; but, in the Lord's supper is Christ: ergo, in the Lord's supper is a sacrifice propitiatory."

Madem.—"Christ is not offered in the Lord's supper, but is received spiritually."

Segewick.—"The priesthood and the sacrifice be correspondent together; but Christ's priesthood after the order of Melchizedek is perpetual: ergo, also so is his sacrifice."

Rochester.—"Christ is a priest for ever; that is to say, his priesthood and sacrifice, offered once for all, is available for ever, so that no other shall succeed him."

Segewick.—"Where there is no oblation, there is no sacrifice: ergo, if Christ be not perpetually offered, there is no perpetual sacrifice. Item, the same bloody sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, was

the very fine and end of all the bloody sacrifices figured in the law after the order of Aaron's priesthood. Wherefore you must needs grant, that he offered himself also, at his last supper, after the order of Melchizedek, under the forms of bread and wine; or else you must show the Scripture where he did so, which I cannot perceive to be done but at his last supper only, after an unbloody manner. Item, He is offered for the remission of sins daily: ergo, he is a sacrifice propitiatory still, in the new law, as St. Augustine saith, expounding these words of the Psalm, 'Thou hast not willed to have sacrifice and oblation, but,' " &c.

Rochester.—"St. Cyprian speaketh much like that scrt, where he saith thus, 'It is the Lord's passion which we do offer,' " &c.

Segewick.—"In the old law there were many sacrifices propitiatory: ergo, there be also in the new law, (or else you must grant that God is not so beneficial now to us, as then he was to them, seeing that we be as frail and as needy as ever were they,) which must be, especially, the most pure daily sacrifice of Christ's body and blood, that holy Malachi speaketh of."

Mader.—"As touching the place of Malachi the prophet, I answer, that it is nothing to your purpose for the offering of Christ daily in the sacrament. For that sacrifice there spoken of, is nothing else but the sincere and most pure preaching of God's holy word, and of prayer and of thanksgiving to God the Father through Jesus Christ."

(Here Master Segewick was commanded to cease to Master Young.)

Young.—"Worshipful Master Doctor, although you have learnedly and clerkly defended these your conclusions this day; yet, seeing that I am now placed to impugn them in place of a better, I do begin thus with you: It hath pleased Christ to make us partakers of his Holy Spirit, and that in very deed, by receiving of the Christian faith, hope, and charity: ergo, much more of his own blessed body and blood, spiritually and in very deed, in the Lord's supper. Item, the angels' food was altogether holy from above, and heavenly, called 'mana:' ergo, also this celestial and heavenly food can be justly esteemed to be of no less excellency than that; but without comparison better, (and so no very wheat,) after due consecration of it. Item, the words of Holy Scripture are evermore effectual and working: ergo, they must perform the thing indeed, that they do promise. For he that might create, might also change at his pleasure the natures and substances of creatures, as appeareth that Christ did, by changing water into wine at a marriage in Galilee. But Christ in the Scripture did

promise, that the bread that he would give is his flesh indeed; which promise was never fulfilled till in his last supper, when he took bread, gave thanks, blessed it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take, eat; this is my body. Which bread, then, was his flesh indeed, as doth well appear in the said place, and next promise depending upon the same, thus: which flesh I will give for the life of the world. This last promise was fulfilled by him upon the cross: ergo, the first was likewise at his last supper. So that it was but one and the same flesh, first and last, promised and performed."

Rochester.—"Indeed the words of Holy Scripture do work their effects potentially and thoroughly, by the mighty operation of the Spirit of God."

Young.—"If it please your Lordship, man is fed and nourished with Christ's blood: ergo, then, it is his blood indeed, though it do not so appear to our outward senses, which be deceived; for Christ saith, This is my blood; and also, My blood is drink indeed. And because that we should not abhor his blessed blood in his natural kind, or his flesh, if they should be so ministered unto us; of his most excellent mercy and goodness, condescending to our weak infirmities, he hath appointed them to be given us, under the sensible kinds of his convenient creatures; that is to say, of bread and wine. Also, our body is fed with Christ's body, which is meat indeed; but it cannot be nourished with that that is not there present: ergo, Christ's body that feedeth us, must needs be present, in very deed, in the sacrament. Item, the nature of bread is changed; but the nature of the bread, and the substance of it, is all one thing: ergo, the substance also is changed. My first proposition is St. Cyprian's, De Cœna Domini, saying, that the bread in figure is not changed, but in nature."

Rochester.—"Cyprian there doth take this word 'nature,' for a property of nature only, and not for the natural substance."

Young.—"That is a strange acceptance, that I have not read in any author before this time: but yet, by your leave, the communion of Christ's body cannot be there, where his body is not; but the communion of Christ's body is in the sacrament: ergo, Christ's body is there present in very deed."

Rochester.—"Grace is there communicated to us by the benefit of Christ's body sitting in heaven."

Young.—"Not so only, for we are members of his flesh, and bones of his bones."

Rochester.—"We be not consubstantial with Christ—God forbid that: but we are joined to his mystical body through his Holy Spirit; and the communion of his flesh is communicated to us spiritually, through the benefit of his flesh, in heaven."

Young.—"Well, I am contented; and do most humbly beseech your good Lordship, to pardon me of my great rudeness and imbecility, which I have here showed."

(Here ended the first disputation, holden at Cambridge the twentieth of June, 1549.)

The second disputation, holden at Cambridge the twenty-fourth day of June, 1549.

The declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his first conclusion.

"The mysteries of faith, as Augustine witnesseth, may very profitably be believed, but they cannot well be searched forth, as saith the Scripture, I believed; therefore I spake: and, He that confesseth me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven. We believe every man in his art; therefore much more Christ our Saviour in his word. Marvel not, most honourable lords and worshipful doctors, that I speak thus now; for once you yourselves spake the same. But, peradventure, some will say, Believe not every spirit. I answer, Charity believeth all things, but not in all things. If those things which I shall utter be convinced as false, I shall desire you to take them as not spoken at all. But these are the words of truth: This is my body. Christ spake them; therefore I dare not say, This bread is my body; for so Christ said not. Christ said thus, This is my body; and therefore I, but dust and ashes, yea, a worm before him, dare not say, this is a figure of his body. Heaven and earth, saith he, shall pass; but my word shall not pass. Whatsoever our old father Adam called every creature, that is his name to this day: the new Adam, Christ Jesus, said, This is my body; and is it not so? He never said, This is a figure of my body, nor, Eat you this figure or sign of my body. And therefore, when the paschal lamb was set before him, he said not, This is my body. Wherefore if, at the day of judgment, Christ should say to me, Why hast thou believed that this is my body, I would answer him, Because thou hast so called it. I believed it not to be a figure, because thou saidst not that it was a figure.

"Other reasons to avouch I know not. For the word itself I contend not, but the thing itself I defend; for we must speak regularly. Thus Christ, thus the apostles, thus all the ancient fathers have spoken. Our fathers had but only figures and shadows; but the church of God hath the truth itself with the signs. Tertullian saith, 'One figure containeth not another;' but Melchizedek was a figure: ergo, this is the body. The sacraments of the Jews were signs and tokens; but ours be both

the signs, and the thing signified also. Luther himself confessed, that the body was present with the bread; and could not deny it. Ecolampadius took it for a figure only. Chrysostom demanding wherefore Christ gave his body before his passion, rather than at any other time; answereth, that he might tie the truth to the figure, saying, Take, eat; this is my body; not a figure of my body. And the same Chrysostom saith again, 'If it were but bare bread, or but a figure, wherefore should his disciples have been offended in eating a figure.' Again, in his eighty-third homily upon Matthew: 'They are not any human works which he did work at his last supper: he it is that worketh; he maketh perfect: we are his ministers; but it is he that sanctifieth and changeth the elements of bread and wine into his body and blood.' Again, 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they pass into the draught like other meats? God forbid,' &c. Theophylact of Alexandria, upon these words of Mark the evangelist, This is my body, saith, 'This which I give, and which you receive, is not only bread, or a figure of Christ's body, but the truth itself; for if it should appear, as it is, in form of flesh and blood, we should loathe it; and therefore the Lord, condescending to our weakness, retaineth the forms of bread and wine, and yet converteth the same into the truth of his body and blood.' Theophylact saith, the bread and the wine is the very body and blood of Christ; and not a figure only. If you stand in suspense of the author, or approve him not, yet know you that he is counted and taken, amongst all the learned, for a most faithful interpreter of Chrysostom: 'The bread,' saith he, 'is trans-elementate, and transmuted into another substance than it was before.' Augustine saith, 'There was great heed taken in the primitive church, lest any part of the sacrament should fall down to the ground,' &c. Cyril saith, 'Lest we should abhor flesh and blood in the sacrament of the altar, God humbleth himself to our weakness, pouring and infusing the force of life into it, and making it the very truth of his own blessed body and blood.' Damascene calleth it, a divine body, or a body deified. Origen, Irenæus, Eusebius, Jerome, with all the rest of the ancient catholic fathers, are of the same opinion with me, all which to produce, it were too long."

The declaration of Dr. Glyn upon his second conclusion.

"The sacrifice and offering up of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, right honourable and worshipful, I will defend even to the effusion of blood, as a thing consonant to Scripture, whereof Paul speaketh to the Hebrews. But, perchance,

some will object—Christ offered up himself: ergo, you ought not to offer him. I answer, Yea, because he offered himself, therefore I offer him; for except he had offered himself I could not have offered him. But you will say, Christ's death is sufficient, and therefore you ought not to offer him again. I answer, So may we say, we need neither to fast nor pray, for Christ hath done both sufficiently for us. Again, you will object, if you offer him up again you crucify him anew. I answer, Not so, for many have offered him, that have not crucified him; as Abraham, Isaac, Moses, the Levites, Anna, Samuel. We offer Christ, but not to the death, but in commemoration of his death, there being not only a commemoration thereof, but also the very presence of Christ's body and blood. Irenæus saith, 'Christ counselled his disciples to offer the first-fruits of all their goods to God—not that he needed any of them, but for that they should not show themselves fruitless or ungrateful: and therefore Christ took the creature of bread, gave thanks, and said, This is my body; and likewise the creature of the cup, and confessed, saying, This is my blood of the new testament. Thus Christ hath taught a new kind of oblation, which the church, receiving from the apostles, offereth to God, throughout all the whole world; who only giveth unto us all kind of food, and the first-fruits of his gracious gifts in the new testament, whereof Malachi thus saith, I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts. I will not receive any sacrifices at your hands, because my name is glorified amongst the nations from the east to the west, saith the Lord, and in every place is incense and pure sacrifice offered to my name.

"But here it may be objected, Christ is the only sacrifice for sin, and without him there is no more. I answer, Notwithstanding we have this commandment, Do this in remembrance of me; and although I deny not that it is a commemoration, yet I deny that it is only a commemoration; I deny his absence, and I affirm his presence."

(Here Master Perne beginneth to dispute.)

Master Perne.—"Whereas you say, most reverend Master Doctor, in your proposition, 'I believed, and therefore I spake;' and, 'We believe, and therefore do speak, our consciences suggesting the same unto us;' and again, that mysteries are not to be searched, and the like; it seemeth you go about to restrain the searching of Holy Scriptures—whereas Christ saith, Search the Scriptures. Moreover, you have cited the fathers confusedly, and without order. You left transubstantiation, and endeavour yourself to prove the real presence in the sacrament: whereas we deny nothing less than his

corporal presence, or the absence of his substance in the bread."

Glyn.—"You inveigh wonderfully, you know not against what; for neither do I, not yet doth Augustine, deny the searching of the Scriptures: but, I said out of Augustine, mysteries are not to be searched; it is another thing to search mysteries, than it is to search the Scriptures. Whereas you require of me a regular order of citing the doctors, I had not (as all men know) the liberty of time to do; but if you desire me so earnestly to perform that, if time may be granted me, I will easily fulfil your request."

Perne.—"I pray you, let me ask you, what is a sacrament?"

Glyn.—"A sacrament is a visible sign of an invisible grace."

Perne.—"Augustine, against Maximinus the Arian bishop, maketh this definition of a sacrament: 'A sacrament is a thing signifying one thing, and showing another thing.'"

Glyn.—"I refuse not his reason."

Perne.—"What is the thing figured by the sacrament?"

Glyn.—"The thing figured is twofold; to wit, the thing contained and signified, and the thing signified and yet not contained. For there be three things contained, the true body of Christ, the mystical body, and the fruit or benefit of the sacrament."

Perne.—"The forms and signs of bread nourish not: ergo, somewhat else besides the bare sign of bread doth remain, which nourisheth; that is, the substance of bread. For, in every sacrament, there is a similitude between the sign and the thing signified: but, betwixt the body of Christ, and the form or kind of bread, there is no similitude: ergo, the nature of a sacrament is taken away."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor, Master Doctor."

Perne.—"The forms nourish not; but the body nourisheth: ergo, there is no similitude betwixt them; and so is the nature of a sacrament clean destroyed."

Glyn.—"It is sufficient to similitudes, that the bread which was, doth nourish: and yet certain doctors do affirm, that the forms do nourish miraculously."

Rochester.—"Whosoever taketh away all the similitude of substances, consequently he taketh away the sacrament; for a similitude is threefold, namely, of nutrition, of unity, and of conversion. But, by a contrary similitude, he is not changed into our substance, but we into his; for in nutrition this is the similitude, that as our blood nourisheth our bodies, so the blood of Christ doth nourish us, but

after a wonderful manner; to wit, by turning us into himself."

Glyn.—"I have answered your reason, most reverend father, in that I said, that the forms do nourish miraculously, as certain learned do affirm."

Perne.—"By what authority can you say that bread doth not remain?"

Glyn.—"By the authority of Christ, who saith, This is my body."

Perne.—"By the same reason may we say that bread still remaineth: for St. Paul calleth it bread sundry times in his Epistles."

Glyn.—"I deny not that it is bread, but that it is material bread; for Paul always addeth this article 'which,' betokening (as all men hold) some chief thing."

Perne.—"We are changed into a new creature."

Glyn.—"Not substantially, but actually."

Rochester.—"This is that bread which came down from heaven: ergo, it is not Christ's body, for his body came not from heaven."

Glyn.—"We may say that Christ, God and man, came down from heaven, for the unity of his person, or else for the mutual community of the same his two natures in one; for his human nature, I know, came not from heaven."

Rochester.—"The bread is his human nature; but that human nature of his came not from heaven: ergo, neither the bread."

Glyn.—"It is true that the bread came not from heaven as bread simply, but as celestial and heavenly bread. But I will answer to that: Whereas you hold, that the body of Christ came not from heaven, I, by the body and flesh of Christ, do understand whole Christ, neither separating his soul, nor yet his Deity; although his humanity is not turned into his Divinity by confusion of substance, but is one by unity of both. Or else thus I may reason: The God of glory is crucified, and the Son of Mary created the world," &c.

Rochester.—"So it is. But he is called a rock and a vine, and so, after your judgment, he is both a material rock and also a material vine."

Glyn.—"The circumstances there, show plainly that there is a trope or figure; for it followeth, I am the vine, you are the branches; but here is no trope. For after these words, This is my body, he addeth, which is given for you."

Rochester.—"Your judgment herein is very gross, and far discrepant from the truth."

Glyn.—"If my judgment in this be gross, most reverend father, then are all the ancient fathers as gross in judgment as I in this point, and the catholic church also."

Perne.—"Show us one place, or one doctor, who saith, that it remaineth not bread after the consecration."

Glyn.—"I wonder that you are not ashamed to ask that of me; for have you not had almost infinite places and doctors alleged to you in my former declarations, proving as much as you request at my hands?"

Perne.—"He took bread, he brake bread: ergo, it is bread."

Glyn.—"I have answered often hereunto, and I grant it is bread; but not only, or material."

Perne.—"Irenæus affirmeth, that a sacrament consisteth of a double matter, of an earthly matter, and of a heavenly: ergo, the bread remaineth."

Glyn.—"Irenæus, in that place, by the earthly matter meaneth the humanity of Christ, and by the heavenly matter the Deity of Christ."

Rochester.—"The humanity and the Divinity of Christ make not a sacrament, which consisteth of a visible and invisible nature; and I deny that Irenæus can be so understood; therefore we desire the learned auditory to search Irenæus at home, as opportunity will serve for this matter."

Glyn.—"I wish them so to do also, with all my heart."

(Here Master Grindal beginneth to dispute.)

Grindal.—"Whereas you say, worshipful Master Doctor, that we speak not now, as sometimes we thought and judged in this matter, peradventure you, also, judge not so now all things, as you have done heretofore. But what we have once been it forceth not; God respecteth no man's person. And whereas you say that you dare not, contrary to Christ, call it a sign or a figure, Augustine, notwithstanding, dareth to call it a figure, and Tertullian likewise, with many more."

Glyn.—"True it is, but they called it not a sign or a figure only; but prove you, if you can, that after the consecration remaineth any other substance than the real body of Christ."

Grindal.—"If the forms do nourish, as you contend, they nourish the natural and human body; for they be both as one, and are nourished alike."

Glyn.—"Your reason is merely physical, and therefore to be rejected in matters of faith: but I grant they nourish, but miraculously."

Grindal.—"If you grant that the forms do nourish, then you grant that bread remaineth."

Glyn.—"I said even now that it is true; but the nature of it is changed, and that miraculously."

Grindal.—"If it be the real and substantial body of Christ, because Christ said, This is my body; ergo, because the Lord said, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, and Paul calleth it

bread after the consecration, it is therefore bread and wine."

Glyn.—"Truly, sir, you must bring better arguments, or else you will prove nothing for your purpose. For to your reasons thus I answer: Chrysostom saith, Christ did drink of the blood; but whether this sentence, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, be spoken of the blood, it is not certain. And truly Erasmus denieth that it is to be found in all the whole Scripture, that it is called bread after the consecration. Or else thus I may answer you: even as it is called bread, for the form, and kind, and accidents which remain; so for the form and similitude which it hath, it may be called the fruit of the vine, after the consecration. And whereas Chrysostom calleth it wine, he speaketh of the nature whereof the sacrament necessarily is made. And I deny not but it may be called wine, but yet eucharistically."

Rochester.—"The evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke call it the fruit of the vine, and Chrysostom saith that the fruit of the vine is nothing else but wine; ergo, Christ gave them wine, and drank wine himself also, and not blood."

Glyn.—"Christ said twice, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine; once at the eating of the paschal lamb, (as Luke saith,) and then was it wine indeed. And again, after the consecration of his body and blood he said the like; and then it was not wine, which methinks I can prove by the plain words of Luke, if we compare him with Matthew. For, if it were wine, as they both affirm, then the words of Christ cannot well stand, because first, as Luke sheweth, he said at his legal supper, I will not drink of the fruit of this vine, &c. And again, in Matthew, after the consecration of his body and blood, 'he drank;' it followeth therefore, that that which he drank was not wine by nature, for then must Christ needs be a liar; which were blasphemy to say."

Rochester.—"Augustine doth thus reconcile those places, saying, it is spoken by a figure which we call ὑπόθεσιν πρότερον."

Glyn.—"I know that Augustine saith so; but methinks that which I have said, seemeth to be the true meaning of the places."

Rochester.—"Augustine seeketh no starting holes, nor yet any indirect shifts to obscure the truth."

Glyn.—"Say your fatherhood what you will of Augustine, I think not so."

Grindal.—"This cup is the new testament in my blood; but here is a trope: ergo, in these words of Christ, This is my body, is a trope also."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument; for whereas

Luke saith, this cup, Matthew saith, this is my blood: and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, places that be dark are to be expounded by others that be light."

Rochester.—"All of your side deny that Christ ever used any trope in the instituting of sacraments."

Glyn.—"For my part I hold no opinion but the truth, whereof you yourself also do pretend the like."

Rochester.—"What understand you by this word 'this,' and in what words standeth the force or strength of the sacrament?—in this pronoun 'this?' or in this verb 'is?' or else in this whole sentence, 'This is my body?'"

Glyn.—"It is not made the true body except all the words be spoken, as in baptism, I baptize thee in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. For neither doth baptism consist in this word 'I,' or in 'baptize,' or in this word, 'thee;' or in these words, 'in the name,' &c. but in all the words spoken in order."

Grindal.—"If to eat the body of Christ be a figurative speech, as Augustine saith it is; ergo, then these words, This is my body, are a figurative speech also."

Glyn.—"It is a figurative speech, because we eat not the body of Christ after the same manner that we do other meats," &c.

Grindal.—"Cyprian understandeth this of those that come unworthily, and make no difference of the Lord's body, speaking of the dijudication of the sacraments, and not of the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"Truly he speaketh of the true body of Christ."

Rochester.—"They receive unworthily, who neither judge themselves, nor yet the sacraments, taking them as other common bread."

Grindal.—"Augustine upon the thirty-third Psalm saith, Christ bare himself in his own hands after a sort; not indeed or truly," &c.

Glyn.—"You omit many other things which Augustine saith; and I confess that he carried himself in his own hands, after a sort: but Augustine delivereth this unto us as a great miracle; and you know it was no great miracle, to carry a figure of his body in his hands. And whereas you say that Christ carried himself after a sort in his own hands, it is very true, but yet diversely; for he sat after one manner at his supper, and after another manner he carried himself in his hands. For Christ in the visible figure bore himself invisibly."

Grindal.—"Tertullian calleth it a figure: ergo, it is so."

Glyn.—"It is, as I have said, a figure; but not a figure only. But hear what Tertullian saith, he

took bread and made it his body, saying, 'This is my body,' &c.

Grindal.—"Hear what Chrysostom saith upon Matthew, (Homil. ii. super cap. 5,) If vessels sanctified to holy uses," &c.

Glyn.—"That work is received not as Chrysostom's, but some man's else, as you know. Or thus I answer, 'It is not the true body in proper and visible form.'"

(Here Master Gest disputed.)

Gest.—"The bread is not changed before the consecration: ergo, not after it either."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument, Master Gest."

Gest.—"Christ gave earthly bread: ergo, there is no transubstantiation."

Glyn.—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest.—"That which Christ took he blessed; that which he blessed he brake; what he brake he gave: ergo, he, receiving earthly bread, gave the same bread."

Glyn.—"Your order in reasoning standeth not; for by the same reason may you gather, that God took a rib of man, and thereof built a rib, and brought it unto Adam: ergo, what he received he brought—but he received a rib: ergo, brought a rib."

Gest.—"How is the body of Christ in heaven, and how in the sacrament? whether circumscriptively or definitively?"

Glyn.—"The body of Christ is in heaven circumscriptively, but not so in the sacrament. The angels also are contained definitively. But I have learned that the body of Christ is in the sacrament, but not locally; nor circumscriptively, but after an unspeakable manner unknown to man."

Rochester.—"Ah, know you not?"

Glyn.—"Neither in other mysteries of faith do we know the mean how, although this may partly be proved by reason. For as my soul is wholly in my head, and wholly in my foot, and wholly in my finger, and so in other parts of my body; and as there is one voice or sound which all men hearing do understand: so the body of Christ, being one and the same, is wholly in the altar, and in many places else. For if God could do this in my soul, how much more in his own body."

Rochester.—"I beseech you show us what difference is betwixt these two: to be in place circumscriptively and definitively."

Glyn.—"Your Lordship knoweth very well: but yet if any would know the difference, let him read August. ad Volusianum, et ad Dardanum," &c.

Gest.—"If the bread be changed, it is made the body of Christ; but that is not so: ergo, it is not changed."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor."

Gest.—"It is not generate or begot: ergo, it is not the body."

Glyn.—"That followeth not; as though to be made, and to be generate or begot, were all one thing; or as though there were no other mutation than a generation: and so you impugn a thing that you know not. But what call you the generation?"

Gest.—"The generation is the production of the accidents."

Glyn.—"A new definition of a new philosopher."

Gest.—"That which he took he blessed; that which he blessed, he brake, and gave it unto them: ergo," &c.

Glyn.—"Christ took bread, brake bread, and gave his body, that is, the substance of his body: saying, This is my body."

Gest.—"The bread is not changed into the blood of Christ: ergo, not into his body either."

Glyn.—"I deny your antecedent."

Gest.—"The Master of the Sentences saith it."

Glyn.—"You understand him not; for the bread is changed into the body of Christ by the power of God's word."

Rochester.—"Ye dream of a real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, by the force of the words spoken; which the Holy Scripture doth impugn."

Glyn.—"We say, that not only by the power of the word, but also by the spirit and secret virtue in the words, it is brought to pass; for there is no power in one word alone, as before in baptism, but in all the words duly prolated, according to the custom of the ancient catholic church."

Gest.—"If there were any transubstantiation, the accidents should not remain still; for they have no matter whereto they may lean or cleave. But the accidents remain not themselves alone: ergo," &c.

Glyn.—"I confess accidents cannot stand, themselves alone, by their own nature, without a subject; but by the power of God they may, not after the opinion of philosophers, but of the Scriptures: although I could show, out of the Scriptures, the accidents to have been without the subject; as in Genesis, the light was made without a subject, whereas the subject of the light was made the fourth day after, as Basil beareth me record."

(Here Master Pilkington disputed.)

Pilkington.—"This one thing I desire of you, most worshipful Master Doctor, that you will answer me with like brevity as I shall propound. And thus I reason: The body of Christ that was broken on the cross, is a full satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament is not the satisfaction of the whole world: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"I deny your argument."

Pilkington.—"It is a syllogism."

Glyn.—"It is not so; for there be four *termines*. Touching this word sacrament, it is manifold; but thus I answer: If you take the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, that is, the body of Christ, then is your minor proposition true, and the matter of the sacrament is the satisfaction for the sins of the whole world: but, if you take the sacrament for the sign, which we call a sacrament, then is your minor proposition false."

Pilkington.—"The body of Christ hath satisfied for the sins of the whole world; but the sacrament hath not satisfied: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"I deny your minor, understanding the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament."

Pilkington.—"The sacrament only profiteth him that receiveth it; but many were saved before the institution of this sacrament was begun: ergo, the sacrament is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"If you mean of the bare sign only, it profiteth nothing; but if you mean the thing signified, then what is spoken of the body of Christ, is spoken also of the thing of the sacrament itself."

Pilkington.—"Transubstantiation is not a sacrament; but that which I mean is a sacrament: ergo, that which I mean is not transubstantiated."

Glyn.—"I mean not that transubstantiation is a sacrament, neither do I say that the sacrament is transubstantiate, but the bread."

Pilkington.—"The body of Christ is resident in heaven, and the body of Christ is in the sacrament: ergo, the sacrament is in heaven."

Glyn.—"A goodly reason, forsooth: but I answer, he is after one sort in heaven, and after another sort in the sacrament; for in heaven he is locally, in the sacrament not so; in heaven visibly and circumscriptively, but in the sacrament invisibly and sacramentally."

Rochester.—"St. Augustine saith, 'Take away the spaces from the bodies, and they shall be no where, and that which is no where' is not at all: so, whilst you take away the spaces and dimensions from the body of Christ in the sacrament, you bring to pass that it is not there at all."

Glyn.—"In that place Augustine speaketh of natural bodies, not of supernatural; otherwise I could deny that Christ had a true body, when he entered in to his disciples, the gates being shut."

Rochester.—"Of the gates being shut, a diverse and doubtful meaning may be gathered; for it may be, he entered in before the gates were shut, and afterwards opened them being shut," &c.

Glyn.—"Then it could be no miracle; but the

evangelists, and all sound interpreters, say and affirm this to be a miracle of our Saviour Christ."

Rochester.—"Whether Christ entered in miraculously, the gates being shut, or else open, the Scripture setteth not down."

Glyn.—"As Christ (the womb of the Virgin being shut) was born into the world without violation of her pure virginity, or apertion of her womb, (for so he might have been polluted,) so entered he through the doors to his disciples miraculously."

Pilkington.—"In the body of Christ which was given for us, there are no accidents of bread; but in the sacrament there be accidents of bread: ergo, in the sacrament there is not the body of Christ."

Glyn.—"In the matter of the sacrament, that is, in the body of Christ, are no accidents of bread; but accidents are the very sacrament itself."

Pilkington.—"I beseech you, what do we eat? the substance or the accidents?"

Glyn.—"Both; as when we eat wholesome and unwholesome meats together, so we eat the substance of Christ's body, and yet not without the accidents of bread."

Pilkington.—"I prove that the accidents are eaten, for whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, goeth into the privy; but the accidents go in by the mouth: ergo, into the privy."

Glyn.—"This sentence, Whatsoever entereth in by the mouth, &c., is not meant of all kind of meats, as not of that which Christ did eat after his resurrection."

Pilkington.—"You shall not eat this body which you see."

Glyn.—"That is, not after that manner as you see it now, nor after the same visible form."

Pilkington.—"Wheresoever Christ is, there be his ministers also (for so he promised): but Christ, as you hold, is in the sacrament: ergo, his ministers are there also."

Glyn.—"To be with Christ is spoken divers ways; as in heart and mind, and in place, and sometimes both: or, to be with Christ, is to minister unto him, and to do his will," &c.

The third disputation, holden at Cambridge as before.

The declaration of Master Perne upon the first conclusion.

"Christ, at his last supper, took bread, brake bread, distributed bread: ergo, not his body, but a sacrament of his body; for the bones of Christ could no man break, as witnesseth the prophet, saying, You shall not break a bone of him.—This cup is the cup of the new testament in my blood. In this

sentence there is a trope, by their own confession; wherefore there is in the other also, This is my body; for the Holy Scripture is a perfect rule not only of doing, but also of speaking. Paul calleth it bread three times: ergo, it is bread, &c. And whereas they urge so much this pronoun 'that,' is not in the Greek canon, which hath 'bread,' not 'that bread.' There was no transubstantiation in the manna: ergo, nor in the sacrament; for there is this particle, *est*, if that can prove transubstantiation, as they suppose. And if manna were a figure, say they, then this is not. This mystery or sacrament we hold to be true bread, and true meat. Manna gave life unto them, as this doth unto us; yet was it but a figure. In every sacrament there ought to be a certain analogy, both of the intern and extern thing of the sacrament, as Augustine saith, writing to Boniface; but betwixt the forms of bread and wine, and the body of Christ, there is no analogy at all: ergo, they make not a sacrament.—As of many grains, &c.: This similitude of Paul is spoken of the substance of bread, not of the form thereof, otherwise Paul should in vain compare us to bread. As in baptism there is material water; so in the sacrament of the eucharist is material bread. Dionysius called the sacrament of Christ's body no otherwise than bread. Eusebius, in Ecclesiastica Historia, doth the same. Tertullian (lib. iv. against Marcion) saith thus: 'He gave his body; that is,' saith he, 'a figure or type of his body.' Cyprian saith, 'In his last supper he gave bread and wine, and his body upon the cross.' The same Cyprian saith, Christ drank wine at his last supper, because he would root out the heresy of certain who only used water in the ministration thereof. Chrysostom saith, 'That only bread remaineth,' &c. Theodoret saith, 'Bread remaineth still in his first nature as before.' Augustine saith, 'The bread doth not lose his first nature after the consecration, but receiveth another quality, whereby it differeth from common bread.' The same Augustine saith, 'Sacraments are figures, being one thing indeed, and showing forth another thing.' He speaketh of no transubstantiation here. Again, writing to Boniface he saith, 'The sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and so is the sacrament of wine also,' &c. The sacraments of the old and new law are all one in substance of matter, notwithstanding they be divers in signs: which sacraments, why should they not be one, when they signify all one thing? The body of Christ, when it was on the earth, was not in heaven; so now it, being in heaven, is not on the earth. Whereby it may appear that transubstantiation is a most blasphemous, sacrilegious, and damnable error, and a most vain,

unsavoury, and devilish papistical invention, defended and maintained only by the papists, the professed and sworn enemies of all truth. Those who impugn this doctrine of transubstantiation are no new upstarts; as the enemies of the truth, the papists, bear the world in hand. But, contrarily, those who maintain this devilish doctrine are new-sprung-up cockatrices, as Manicheus, Eutiches, and others. Gelasius saith, that the sacraments which we receive are Divine things; yet cease they not to be bread and wine in nature. Out of this puddle of transubstantiation have sprung up adoration of the sacrament, and inducing men to believe that Christ hath many bodies."

The declaration of the Master Perne upon the second conclusion.

"Matthew, Mark, Luke, and the apostle Paul, call it a commemoration or remembrance of Christ's body and blood; and Paul to the Hebrews saith, By one only oblation once offered are we made perfect to eternal salvation, &c. By him, therefore, do we offer up the sacrifice of laud and praise to God; that is, the fruit of the lips, &c. It is called the eucharist, because we offer to God praise and thanksgiving, with devout minds; and it is called the cup of thanksgiving, because we give thanks to God thereby also. You shall preach forth the Lord's death, &c.; that is, you shall give thanks and be mindful of his death, &c. Give your bodies a quick and living sacrifice, &c. The sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving shall honour me, &c. Chrysostom saith, 'The wise men offered three kinds of sacrifices, gold, frankincense, and myrrh: so we do also, namely, virtue, prayer, and almsdeeds. These be the sacrifices wherewith Christ is pleased.' And Augustine saith, that there are no other sacrifices than prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, &c. Chrysostom (Homil. 46, upon John) saith, 'To be converted or turned into Christ, is to be made partaker of his body and blood.'"

(There disputed against him Master Parker, Master Pollard, Master Vavasor, and Master Young.)

Parker.—"Christ, whose words are to be believed, said, This is my body. He said not, This bread is my body, or with this bread, or under this bread, or by this bread; but said plainly, This is my body. And this he proved by these reasons: First, for that it was prefigured before. Secondly, for that it was promised. Thirdly, for that it was given. The transubstantiation of the bread was prefigured by the manna which came down from heaven: all that bread was heavenly, and without any earthly matter or substance annexed. Secondly, it was promised

in those words of Christ, The bread that I will give, is my flesh, &c. Thirdly, it was given by Christ, and exhibited in his last supper, saying, Take, eat, this is my body."

(Here they were forced to break off through want of time, yet Parker replied thus against Doctor Perne.)

"We give thee thanks, most holy Father, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them to babes; for pride is the root of all heresies whatsoever. And, on the other side, to acknowledge our own infirmity and imperfection is the first step to the right understanding of the truth. Nestorius the heretic affirmed, that there were two persons in Christ; one that was man, another that was God: therefore, he said, that in the eucharist was contained true flesh, but only of his pure manhood. Against him did the council of Ephesus conclude, saying, that there was the real flesh of the Son of God, &c. This he proved by the words of Christ, My flesh is meat indeed: and what flesh that is, he teacheth upon John vi.; 'That is,' quoth he, 'the flesh united to the Deity, and quickened by the Holy Ghost,' &c. Now that that flesh is in the sacrament, it is plain, by Hilary. He proved the same also out of Chrysostom: 'We are one body with him, members of his flesh, and bones of his bones,' &c. Again, in the same Homily, 'We are joined to his flesh, not only by faith and love, but also in very deed and truly.' And again, 'It pleased me to become your brother, and by the same things wherein I was joined to you, have I given myself again unto you,' &c.

Perne.—"I grant unto you that Christ is in the sacrament truly, wholly, and verily, after a certain property and manner: I deny not his presence, but his real and corporal presence I utterly deny; for doubtless his true and natural body is in heaven, and not in the sacrament: notwithstanding he dwelleth with us, and in us, after a certain unity. And also in the sixth chapter of John, he speaketh not of the flesh of Christ crucified," &c.

Parker.—"The flesh of Christ as it is in the sacrament, is quick, and giveth life: ergo, his real and substantial flesh is in the sacrament."

Perne.—"The flesh of Christ, in that it is united unto the Deity, doth vivify, and giveth life; but not otherwise."

Rochester.—"Christ dwelleth in us by faith, and by faith we receive Christ, both God and man, both in spirit and flesh; that is, this sacramental eating is the mean and way whereby we attain to the spiritual eating: and indeed, for the strengthening of us, to the eating of this spiritual food, was this sacrament ordained. And these words, This is my

body, are meant thus: By grace it is my true body, but not my fleshly body, as some of you suppose."

Parker.—"We are joined to Christ, not only by faith, but also in very deed: ergo," &c.

Rochester.—"We are joined to Christ; that is, we are made partakers of his flesh and of immortality. And so, in like case, is there a union between man and woman; yet there is no transubstantiation of either, or both," &c.

Pollard.—"The sacrament is not bare bread, and nothing else, only because it is called bread so often in the Scriptures; and that I prove by three reasons. First, it is called bread because of the similitude. Secondly, because of the mutation. Thirdly, for the matter whereof it is made and compact; as the angels are called men, the Holy Ghost a tongue, the rod of Aaron a serpent, and such like. The words of Christ do teach the same thing, as appeareth in the healing of the woman of Canaan's daughter, Jairus's son, and many others, &c.: ergo," &c.

Then he proved against Rochester, that somewhat else was in the sacrament besides power and grace, by this reason: "The evil receive the body of Christ, as is plain out of Augustine (Homil. xxi. De Verbis Domini): but the evil and wicked receive not the virtue, or grace: ergo, there is not only grace and virtue in the sacrament."

Rochester.—"The evil do not receive the Lord in the sacrament, but the sacrament of the Lord, as Judas, who indeed did not eat the true body of the Lord."

Pollard.—"In the sacrament be three things; to wit, an outward sign, the matter of the sacrament, and the fruit of the same. The evil receive the outward sign, and the subject of the sacrament, but not the fruit of the sacrament: ergo, there is somewhat else in the sacrament than only grace. Also every sacrament ought to have a certain similitude with the matter of the sacrament; but the material bread hath no such similitude with the body of Christ, which is the matter of the sacrament: ergo, material bread is not a sacrament."

Perne.—"I deny your minor: for material bread doth so nourish the body, as the flesh of Christ doth the soul."

(Here he, being requested, gave place to Master Vavasor and others.)

Master Vavasor.—"Through the shortness of time, I am so constrained, that neither I can speak without loss of my reputation, nor yet hold my peace without offence to God. For in speaking, as I do, without great premeditation before this honourable, worshipful, and learned audience, I shall but show forth my childishness herein; and if I should hold

my peace, I might be thought to betray the truth of God's cause. And therefore, while I can neither speak for the brevity of time, nor yet hold my peace, God's truth being in controversy, I have determined (although with the impairing of my good name) to render a reason of my faith; which if I cannot afford probably in words, yet will I not fault in saying nothing at all. For it seemeth better that I be esteemed altogether foolish and unlearned amongst so many grave learned fathers and doctors, than to forsake the just defence of the truth, which every good Christian man throughout the world hath ever holden inviolable: for whoso forsaketh the manifest known truth, had never any true faith therein. Which thing that I may overpass in Berengarius, Zuinglius, Ecolampadius, and many others, who are certainly known to be at no less variance amongst themselves, than uncertain of their faith what to believe, Zuinglius writeth thus of himself: 'Although this thing which I mean to entreat of, doth like me very well, yet, notwithstanding, I dare defue nothing, but only show my poor judgment abroad to others, that, if it please the Lord, others may be thereby instructed by the Spirit of God, which teacheth all good things.' In vain do I spend many words: you see plainly he dare not define any thing certainly, but doubteth whether it please God or not. Ecolampadius, writing to a certain brother of his, saith thus: 'Peace be with thee. As far as I can conjecture out of the learned fathers, the words in John vi., and, 'This is my body, be figurative locutions,' &c. You see hereby how uncertain they be of their opinions. They lean not to the Scriptures, to doctors, nor yet to the truth; but to supposals and conjectures: who, therefore, hereafter will cleave unto them? But now I come to your oration, whose beginning pleaseth me very well, and whose progress therein offended me not; but, in the end, you concluded in such sort, that you left the whole matter to me, as it were confirming my parts by the same. And herein you framed a syllogism after this manner: What Christ took, that he blessed; what he blessed, that he brake; what he brake, that he gave: ergo, what he received he gave, &c. Whereto I answer with a like syllogism out of Genesis: God took a rib out of Adam's side; what he took he built; what he built that he brought; what he brought that he gave to Adam to be his wife; but he took a rib: ergo, he gave a rib to Adam to wife, &c. Also, in your said oration you shoot much at those words of Paul, where he calleth it bread so often, &c. But the Scripture, in another place, calleth it water, when indeed it was wine; a rod, when it was a plain serpent."

Rochester.—"You have pretended great zeal

and words enough; but what pith or substance your reasons will afford, we shall see hereafter."

Vavasor.—"Christ gave the same flesh to us, which he received of the Virgin; but he took true and natural flesh of her: ergo, he gave us true and natural flesh. My major I prove by Augustine upon Psalm xcviij."

Rochester.—"Master Vavasor, you are in a wrong box: for the place maketh altogether for maintenance of adoration, if it make for any thing."

Vavasor.—"I know it very well, and therefore I allege it as the ground of my reason. These be Augustine's words, 'Christ of the earth received earth, and of the flesh of Mary he received flesh;' acknowledge his substance therefore."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge it."

Vavasor.—"And in the very same flesh he walked here upon the earth: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge it."

Vavasor.—"And the very same flesh he gave us to eat: acknowledge his substance."

Rochester.—"I acknowledge not his real substance to be there; but the property of his substance."

Vavasor.—"Then Vavasor recited the place, to the end he might prove that his real substance ought to be acknowledged as well in the last place, as in the first and second; affirming it out of St. Augustine, who saith thus: "The disciples of Christ, approaching the Lord's table, by faith drank the same blood which the tormentors most cruelly spilt," &c. "But the tormentors spilt no figure of blood: ergo, &c. This place will not permit the other so to be illuded."

Rochester.—"It is no illusion, good Master Vavasor; but surely you would move a saint with your impertinent reasons."

Vavasor.—"I beseech your fatherhood to pardon my rudeness; for surely I cannot otherwise speak, without breach of conscience."

Perne.—"That place of Augustine is to be understood of a spiritual kind of eating."

Vavasor.—"I demand whether the faithful may receive spiritually, so as they need not to receive sacramentally."

Perne.—"They may."

Vavasor.—"Then thus to you: To the spiritual eating there is no need to come to the Lord's table, for so it is the meat of the soul, not of the teeth—but the faithful come to the Lord's table: ergo, that place is to be understood of a sacramental eating. And again, Augustine saith, that he carried himself in his hands."

Rochester.—"Augustine sheweth a little after what he meaneth thereby, where he saith, he carried himself in his own hands after a certain sort of manner."

Vavasor.—"True it is, that after one manner he sat at the table, and after another manner was in the sacrament."

(Master Young here disputeth against Perne as followeth.)

Young.—"I understand the meaning of this word 'propriety' well enough; for, in Hilary and Eusebius, it signifieth not the virtue or power of any substance or being, but rather a natural being or substance."

Rochester.—"I commend your great diligence in searching of authors, but in divinity the matter standeth not so; for the propriety of essence in the Deity is the very essence, and whatsoever is in God is God."

Young.—"True it is, most reverend father, that this word 'propriety,' in Hilary, in his eighth book De Trinitate, entreating there of the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is so meant and taken; but the same Hilary, almost in the same place, speaketh of our communion and unity with Christ, &c. Tertullian also, writing of the resurrection of the flesh, affirmeth that the flesh of our Saviour is that, whereof our soul is allied to God; that is, it which causeth that our souls are joined to him: but our flesh is made clean, that the soul may be purged; our flesh is anointed, that the soul may be made holy; the flesh is sealed, that the soul may be comforted; the flesh is shadowed with the imposition of the hands, that our soul may be lightened with the glory of the spirit; our flesh is clothed with a body and blood, that the soul may be fed and nourished of God."

Rochester.—"The flesh indeed is fed with the body and the blood of the Lord, when our bodies, by mortification, are made like to his body; and our body is nourished, when the virtue and power of the body of Christ doth feed us. The same Tertullian is not afraid to call it flesh and blood, but he meaneth a figure of the same."

Young.—"Then, by your leave, it should follow by good consequence, that where any mortification is, there must needs be a sacramental communion; which cannot be: ergo," &c.

(Here ended the third and last disputation holden at Cambridge, 1549.)

This disputation continued three days. In the first, did answer Dr. Madew: against whom disputed Dr. Glyn, Master Langdale, Master Segewick, Master Young.

In the second disputation, did answer Dr. Glyn: against whom disputed Master Grindal, Master Perne, Master Gest, Master Pilkington.

In the third disputation answered Master Perne: against whom disputed one Master Parker, (not Dr.

Matthew Parker,) Master Pollard, Master Vavasor, Master Young.

At length the disputations ended, the bishop of Rochester, (Dr. Nicholas Ridley,) after the manner of schools, made this determination upon the aforesaid conclusions, as here followeth.

"There hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after disputations had in your common schools, there should be some determination made of the matter so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian religion. Because, therefore, it hath seemed good unto these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the king's Majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will, by your favourable patience, declare, both what I do think and believe myself, and what also others ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterwards ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

"The principal grounds, or rather head-springs, of this matter, are specially five.

"The first is, the authority, majesty, and verity of Holy Scripture.

"The second is, the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic fathers, who, after my judgment, do sufficiently declare this matter.

"The third is, the definition of a sacrament.

"The fourth is, the abominable heresy of Eutiches, that may ensue of transubstantiation.

"The fifth is, the most sure belief of the article of our faith, 'He ascended into heaven.'"

The First Ground.

"This transubstantiation is clean against the words of the Scripture, and consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The Scripture saith, I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of this vine is wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There be not many places of Scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material: for it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of Scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the Scripture, as in a thousand.

"Moreover, Christ took bread; he gave bread. In the Acts, Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's body; for the

Scripture saith, Ye shall not break a bone of him. Christ saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. St. Paul also saith, Do ye this in my remembrance. And again, As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me. And our Saviour Christ, (in John vi.,) speaking against the Capernaïtes, saith, Labour for the meat that perisheth not. And when they asked, What shall we do, that we may work the works of God? he answered them thus: This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. You see how he exhorteth them to faith: For faith is that work of God. Again, This is the bread which came down from heaven. But Christ's body came not down from heaven. Moreover, He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh, saith he, is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. When they heard this, they were offended. And while they were offended, he said unto them, What if ye shall see the Son of man ascend up where he was before? whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven; meaning altogether, as St. Augustine saith, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood.' These be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment."

The Second Ground.

"Now my second ground against this transubstantiation is the ancient fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of transubstantiation, that plainly they seem unto me, both to think and to teach the contrary.

"Dionysius in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain that it needeth not to recite them.

"Ignatius saith, 'I beseech you, brethren, cleave fast unto one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving; for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us: there is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church.'

"Irenæus writeth thus: 'Even as the bread that cometh of the earth, receiving God's vocation, is now no more common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly; even so our bodies, receiving the eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection.'

"Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it, 'a figure of his body,' &c.

"Chrysostom writeth to Cæsarius the monk: albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read

the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds; for it seemeth to show plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these: 'Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread; but, by the grace of God sanctifying the same through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lord's body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding do still remain therein; and now is taken, not to be two bodies, but one body of the Son,' &c.

"Cyprian saith, 'Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so indeed.'

"The book of Theodoret in Greek was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there; especially seeing it is directly against transubstantiation: for he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification.

"Gelasius also is very plain in this manner: 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a Divine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers, by the same, of the Divine nature; and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries,' &c.

(After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril which were not noted.)

"Isichus, also, confesseth that it is bread.

"Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest.—And thus much for the second ground."

The Third Ground.

"The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consisteth of three things; that is, unity, nutrition, and conversion.

"As touching unity, Cyprian thus writeth: 'Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mystical body of Christ.' Wherefore bread must still needs remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament.

"Also, they that take away nutrition, which cometh by bread, do take away likewise the nature of a sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

"Therefore they that take away the grains, or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance thereof, in my judgment are sacramentaries; for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. Fo

Verity.—"I am not partial, but indifferent to all parties: for I never go further than the truth."

Custom.—"I can scarcely believe you. But what is more true than Christ, which is truth itself? or whoever was so hardy, before this time, to charge Christ with a lie for saying these words, This is my body? The words are evident and plain: there is in them not so much as one obscure or dark letter; there is no cause for any man to cavil. And yet, that notwithstanding, whereas Christ himself affirmed it to be his body, men now-a-days are not abashed to say, Christ lied, it is not his body. The evangelists agree all in one; the old writers stand of our side; the universal and catholic church hath been in this mind these fifteen hundred years and more. And shall we think that Christ himself, his evangelists, all the whole catholic church, have been so long deceived, and the truth now at length begotten and born in these days?"

Verity.—"You have moved a matter of great force and weight, and whereto, without many words, I can make no full answer. Notwithstanding, because you provoke me thereto, if you will give me licence, I will take part with them of whom you have made false report, for none of them ever reproved Christ of any lie: but, contrariwise, they say, that many men of late days, not understanding Christ's words, have builded and set up many fond lies upon his name. Wherefore, first I will declare the meaning of these words, This is my body; and next, in what sense the church and the old fathers have evermore taken them. First, therefore, you shall understand, that Scripture is not so to be taken always as the letter soundeth, but as the intent and purpose of the Holy Ghost was, by whom the Scripture was uttered. For, if you follow the bare words, you will soon shake down and overthrow the greatest part of the Christian faith. What is plainer than these words, My Father is greater than I am? Of those plain words sprang up the heresy of the Ariana, which denied Christ to be equal with his Father. What is more evident than this saying, I and my Father are both one? Thereof arose the heresy of them that denied three distinct persons. They all had one soul and one heart, was spoken by the apostle: yet had each of them a soul and heart peculiar to himself. They are now not two, but one flesh, is spoken of the man and his wife: yet have both the man and the wife their several body. He is our very flesh, said Reuben by Joseph his brother; who, notwithstanding, was not their real flesh. I am bread, said Christ; yet was he flesh, and no bread. Christ was the stone, saith Paul; and was indeed no material stone. Melchizedek had neither father nor

mother; and yet indeed he had both. Behold the Lamb of John, saith John Baptist by Christ: notwithstanding, Christ was a man, and not a lamb. Circumcision was called the covenant, whereas it was but a token of the covenant. The lamb named the passover, and yet was it eaten in remembrance only of the passover. Jacob raised up an altar, and called it, being made but of lime and stone, The mighty God of Israel. Moses, when he had conquered the Amalekites, set up an altar, and called it by the names of God, Jehovah, and Tetragrammatum. We are all one loaf of bread, saith Paul; yet were they not thereby turned into a loaf of bread. Christ, hanging upon the cross, appointed St. John to his mother, saying, Lo! there is thy son; and yet was he not her son. So many as be baptized into Christ, saith Paul, have put on Christ; and so many as are baptized into Christ, are washed with the blood of Christ: notwithstanding no man took the font-water to be the natural blood of Christ. The cup is the new testament, saith Paul; and yet is not the cup indeed the very new testament. You see, therefore, that it is not strange, nor a thing unwont in the Scriptures, to call one thing by another's name. So that you can no more, of necessity, enforce the changing of the bread into Christ's body in the sacrament, because the words be plain, This is my body; than the wife's flesh to be the natural and real body and flesh of the husband, because it is written, They are not two but one flesh; or the altar of stone to be very God, because Moses, with evident and plain words, pronounced it to be the mighty God of Israel. Notwithstanding, if you will needs cleave to the letter, you make for me, and hinder your own cause: for thus I will reason, and use your own weapon against you. The Scripture calleth it bread. The evangelists agree in the same. Paul nameth it so five times in one place. The Holy Ghost may not be sent to school to learn to speak. Wherefore, I conclude by your own argument, that we ought not only to say, but also to believe, that in the sacrament there remaineth bread."

Custom.—"Methinketh your answer is reasonable, yet can I not be satisfied. Declare you, therefore, more at large, what moveth you to think this of the sacrament. For I think you would not withstand a doctrine so long holden and taught, unless you were enforced by some strong and likely reasons."

Verity.—"First, In examining the words of Christ, I get me to the meaning and purpose for which they were spoken. And in this behalf I see that Christ meant to have his death and passion kept in remembrance. For men, of themselves, be,

and evermore were, forgetful of the benefits of God. And therefore it was behoveful, that they should be admonished and stirred up with some visible and outward tokens; as with the passover lamb, the brazen serpent, and the like. For the brazen serpent was a token, that when the Jews were stung and wounded with serpents, God restored them and made them whole. The passover lamb was a memory of the great benefit of God, who, when he destroyed the Egyptians, saved the Jews, whose doors were sprinkled with the blood of a lamb. So likewise Christ left us a memorial and remembrance of his death and passion in outward tokens, that when the child should demand of his father, what the breaking of the bread, and drinking of the cup, meaneth, he might answer him, that like as the bread is broken, so Christ was broken and rent upon the cross, to redeem the soul of man. And likewise, as wine fostereth and comforteth the body, so doth the blood of Christ cherish and relieve the soul. And this do I gather by the words of Christ, and by the institution and order of the sacrament: for Christ charged the apostles to do this in the remembrance of him. Whereupon thus I conclude:

"No thing is done in remembrance of itself.

"But the sacrament is used in the remembrance of Christ:

"Therefore the sacrament is not Christ.

"Christ never devoured himself.

"Christ did eat the sacrament with his apostles:

"Ergo, the sacrament is not Christ himself.

"Besides this, I see that Christ ordained not his body, but a sacrament of his body. A sacrament (as St. Austin declareth) is an outward sign of an invisible grace. His words are, 'A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace.' Out of which words I gather two arguments. The first is this: the token of the body of Christ is not the thing tokened; wherefore they are not one. The second is this:

"One thing cannot be both visible and invisible.

"But the sacrament is visible, and the body of Christ invisible:

"Therefore they are not one.

"Which thing St. Augustine openeth very well by these words, 'The sacrament is one thing, the substance another. The sacrament goes into the body, the substance is the body of Christ.' Moreover, I remember that Christ ministered this sacrament not to great and deep philosophers, but to a sort of ignorant and unlearned fishers, who, notwithstanding, understood Christ's meaning right well, and delivered it even as they took it at Christ's hand, to the vulgar and lay people, and fully declared unto them the meaning thereof. But

neither the lay people, nor scarcely the apostles themselves, could understand what is meant by transubstantiation, impanation, dimensions, *qualitates*, *quantitates*, *accidens sine subjecto*, *terminus a quo, et terminus ad quem, per modum quanti*. This is no learning for the unlearned and rude people; wherefore it is likely that Christ meant some other thing than hath been taught of late days. Furthermore, Christ's body is food, not for the body, but for the soul; and therefore it must be received with the instrument of the soul, which is faith. For as ye receive sustenance for your body by your bodily mouth, so the food of your soul must be received by faith, which is the mouth of the soul. And for that St. Augustine sharply rebuketh them that think to eat Christ with their mouth, saying, 'Why makeest thou ready thy tooth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten Christ.' Likewise, speaking of eating the selfsame body, he saith to the Capernaïtes, who took him grossly as men do now-a-days: The words that I speak, are spirit and life. It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.

Custom.—"What mean you by this spirit, and by spiritual eating? I pray you utter your mind more plainly. For I know well that Christ hath a body, and therefore must be eaten (as I think) with the mouth of the body. For the spirit and the soul, as it hath no body and flesh, so it hath no mouth."

Verity.—"You must understand, that a man is shaped of two parts, of the body and of the soul; and each of them hath his life and his death, his mouth, his teeth, his food, and abstinence. For like as the body is nourished and fostered with bodily meats, or else cannot endure; so must the soul have his cherishing, otherwise it will decay and pine away. And therefore we do and may justly say, that the Turks, Jews, and heathen be dead, because they lack the lively food of the soul. But how then, or by what mean, will you feed the soul? Doubtless not by the instrument of the body, but of the soul; for that which is received into the body, hath no passage from thence into the soul. For Christ saith, Whatsoever entereth into the belly, is conveyed into the draught. And whereas you say that the spirit hath no mouth, like as it hath no body or bones, you are deceived; for the spirit hath a mouth, in his kind; or else how could a man eat and drink justice? For undoubtedly his bodily mouth is no fit instrument for it. Yet Christ saith, that he is blessed that hungereth and thirsteth for justice. If he hunger and thirst for justice, be-like he both eateth and drinketh it; for otherwise he neither abateth his hunger, nor quencheth his thirst. Now, if a man may eat and drink right

eousness with his spirit, no doubt his spirit hath a mouth. Whereof I will reason thus :

“Of whatsoever sort the mouth is, such is his food.

“But the mouth of the spirit is spiritual, not bodily :

“Therefore it receiveth Christ's body spiritually, not bodily.

“And in like manner Christ, speaking of the eating of his body, nameth himself the bread, not for the body, but of life, for the soul ; and saith, He that cometh to me, shall not hunger ; and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst. Wherefore, whosoever will be relieved by the body of Christ, must receive him as he will be received, with the instrument of faith appointed thereunto, not with his teeth or mouth. And whereas I say that Christ's body must be received and taken with faith, I mean not that you shall pluck down Christ from heaven, and put him in your faith, as in a visible place ; but that you must, with your faith, rise and spring up to him, and, leaving this world, dwell above in heaven ; putting all your trust, comfort, and consolation in him, who suffered grievous bondage to set you at liberty and to make you free ; creeping into his wounds, which were so cruelly pierced and dented for your sake. So shall you feed on the body of Christ ; so shall you suck the blood that was poured out and shed for you. This is the spiritual, the very true, the only eating of Christ's body : and therefore St. Gregory calleth it, ‘The food of the mind, and not of the belly.’ And St. Cyprian saith likewise, ‘We sharpen not our tooth, nor prepare our belly.’

“Now, to return to our former purpose : seeing it is plain that Christ's body is meat for our spirit, and hath nothing to do with our body, I will gather thereof this reason. The sacrament is bodily food, and increaseth the body : ergo, the sacrament is not the very body of Christ. That it nourisheth the body it is evident ; for Christ calleth it the fruit of the vine, whose duty is to nourish. And, for a proof, if you consecrate a whole loaf, it will feed you as well as your table-bread. And if a little mouse get a host, he will crave no more meat to his dinner.

“But you will say, these are worldly reasons. What then if the old fathers record the same ? Ire-næus saith, ‘When the mingled cup and the broken bread receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of the Lord, by which the substance of our flesh is made up and nourished.’ Bede witnesseth the same by these words, ‘Because bread supports our flesh, and wine our blood, the former is applied to the body, the latter to the blood of Christ. Wherefore,

as I said before, seeing that Christ's body is spiritual meat, and the bread of the sacrament bodily, I may conclude that the sacrament is not Christ's body. Beside this, whereas it was forbidden, in the old law, that any man should eat or drink blood, the apostles, notwithstanding, took the cup at Christ's hands, and drank of it ; and never staggered, or shrank at the matter : whereby it may be gathered, that they took it for a mystery, for a token and a remembrance, far otherwise than it hath of late been taken.

“Again, when the sacrament was dealt, none of them all crouched down, and took it for his God, forgetting him that sat there present before their eyes ; but took it, and ate it, knowing that it was a sacrament and remembrance of Christ's body. Yea, the old councils commanded that no man should kneel down at the time of the communion, fearing that it should be an occasion of idolatry. And long after the apostles' time, as Tertullian writeth, women were suffered to take it home with them, and lap it up in their chests. And the priests, many times, sent it to sick persons by a child ; who, no doubt, would have given more reverence thereto, if they had taken it for their God. But a great while after, about three hundred years ago, Honorius the Third, bishop of Rome, took him and hanged him up, and caused men to kneel and crouch down, and all to begod him. A. D. 1220.

“Furthermore, if the bread be turned and altered into the body of Christ, doubtless it is the greatest miracle that ever God wrought. But the apostles saw no miracle in it. Nazianzen, an old writer, and Augustine, entreating of all the miracles that are in the Scripture, number the sacrament for none. As for the apostles, it appeareth well that they had it for no marvel, for they never mused at it, neither demanded how it might be ; whereas, in other things, they evermore were full of questions. As touching St. Augustine, he not only overskipped it, as no wonder, but, by plain and express words, testifieth that there is no marvel in it. For speaking of the Lord's supper, and of the other sacraments, he saith these words : ‘The sacraments demand honour as religious ordinances, but not wonder as miracles.’ Moreover, a little before the institution of the sacrament, Christ spake of his ascension, saying, I leave the world : I tarry but a little while with you. Let not your hearts be troubled, because I go from you : I tell you truth, it is for your profit that I go from you, for if I go not, the Spirit of comfort cannot come to you ; with many other like warnings of his departure. St. Stephen saw him sitting at the right hand of his Father, and thought it a special revelation of God : but he never said,

that he saw him at the communion, or that he made him every day himself. And, in the Acts of the Apostles, St. Peter saith, that Christ must needs keep the heaven till all be ended. Isaiah, Solomon, and St. Stephen say, that God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hand. St. Paul wisheth that he were dissolved and dead, and were with Christ: not in the altar, doubtless, where he might be daily; but in heaven. And, to be brief, it is in our Credo, and we do constantly believe, that Christ is ascended into heaven, and sitteth at his Father's right hand; and no promise have we, that he will come jumping down at every priest's calling. Hereof I gather this reason:

"Christ's body cannot both be gone, and be here.

"But he is gone, and hath left the world:

"Therefore, it is folly to seek him in the world."

Custom.—"Fie, you be far deceived, I can in no wise brook these words. You shut up Christ too straitly, and imprison him in one corner of heaven, not suffering him to go at large. No, doubtless, he hath deserved more gentleness at your hand, than to be tied up so short."

Verity.—"I do neither lock up, nor imprison Christ in heaven; but, according to the Scriptures, declare that he hath chosen a blessed place, and most worthy to receive his Majesty; in which place whoso is enclosed, thinketh not himself (as I suppose) to be a prisoner. But, if you take it for so heinous a thing, that Christ should sit resident in heaven in the glory of his Father, what think you of them that imprison him in a little box; yea, and keep him in captivity so long, until he be mouldy and overgrown with vermin; and when he is past men's meat, be not contented to hang him till he stink, but will have him to a new execution, and burn him too? This is wonderful and extreme cruel imprisoning. But to return to the matter: we are certainly persuaded by the word of God, that Christ, the very Son of God, vouchsafed to take upon him the body and shape of man; and that he walked and was conversant amongst men in that same one, and not in many bodies; and that he suffered death, rose again, and ascended to heaven in the selfsame body; and that he sitteth at his Father's right hand in his manhood, in the nature and substance of the said one body. This is our belief, this is the very word of God. Wherefore they are far deceived, who, leaving heaven, will grope for Christ's body upon the earth."

Custom.—"Nay, sir, but I see now you are far out of the way. For Christ hath not so gross and fleshly a body as you think, but a spiritual and ghostly body; and therefore, without repugnance, it may be in many places at once."

Verity.—"You say right well, and do grant that Christ's body is spiritual. But, I pray you, answer me by the way, can any other body than that which is spiritual, be, at one time, in sundry places?"

Custom.—"No, truly."

Verity.—"Have we that selfsame sacrament, that Christ gave to his disciples at his maundy, or no?"

Custom.—"Doubtless we have the same."

Verity.—"When became Christ's body spiritual? was it so even from his birth?"

Custom.—"No: for, doubtless, before he arose from death, his body was earthly, as other men's bodies are."

Verity.—"Well, but when gave Christ the sacrament to his disciples? before he rose from death, or after?"

Custom.—"You know yourself he gave it before his resurrection, the night before he suffered his passion."

Verity.—"Why, then, methinketh he gave the sacrament at that time when his body was not spiritual."

Custom.—"Even so."

Verity.—"And was every portion of the sacrament dealt to the apostles? and received they into their mouths the very real and substantial body of Christ?"

Custom.—"Yea, doubtless."

Verity.—"Mark well what ye have said, for you have granted me great repugnance. First, you say, that no body, being not spiritual, can be in sundry places at once. Then say you, that at the maundy Christ's body was not spiritual: and yet hold you, that he was there present visibly before the apostles' eyes, and in each of their hands and mouths, all at one time—which grants of yours are not agreeable. But I will gather a better and a more formal reason of your words, in this sort:

"No body being real, natural, and organical, and not spiritual, can be in many places at once.

"Christ's body in the sacrament was in the apostles' hands and mouths at one time, which were many places:

"Ergo, Christ's body in the sacrament was not a real, natural, and organical body; but spiritual."

Custom.—"Indeed you have driven me into the straits, before I was aware of you; and I know not how I may escape your hands honestly. But the best refuge that I have is this, that I will not believe you."

Verity.—"I desire you not to give credence to me. Believe the word of God; yea, believe your own belief: for they both witness against you,

Christ's body is taken up into heaven, and there shall remain until he come to judge."

Custom.—"Tush, what speak you of the word of God? there be many dark sayings therein, which every man cannot attain to."

Verity.—"I grant you there be certain obscure places in the Scripture, yet not so obscure but that a man, with the grace of God, may perceive; for it was written not for angels, but for men. But, as I understand, Custom meddleth but little with the Scripture. How say you by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose? what if they stand on our side?"

Custom.—"No, no, I know them well enough."

Verity.—"So well as you know them, for all old acquaintance, if they be called to witness, they will give evidence against you. For St. Austin commonly, in every of his books, but chiefly in an epistle to his friend Dardanus, declareth that Christ's body is placed in one room. I marvel you be not nearer of his counsel. His words are these: 'Do not doubt the man Jesus Christ to be there, from whence he shall come. And remember well, and faithfully believe, the Christian confession, that he is risen, ascended into heaven, sitteth at the right hand of God the Father, and from thence he shall come, and from no other place, to judge the quick and the dead. And shall come in the same substance of body, to which he gave immortality, and took not the nature from it. After this form he is to be thought not to be dispersed in all places; for we must beware so to defend his Divinity that we destroy not his humanity.' And in another place of the same epistle, 'He is one person God and man, and both is one Christ. He is every where as God, but in heaven as man.' Likewise upon Psalm xiv.: 'While the world shall last, the Lord is above, and also the verity of the Lord is with us. For the body wherein he rose again must be in one place; but the verity of him is every where dispersed.' In like manner writeth Damasus, an old bishop of Rome, in his Credo, 'Having conquered the power of death, he rose and ascended into heaven with that flesh in which he was born and suffered, the same nature remaining.' St. Ambrose, writing upon Luke x., recordeth the same: 'Wherefore neither above the earth, nor upon the earth, nor according to the earth, we ought to seek the Lord, if we will find him; for he did not seek him above the earth, who did see him sitting at the right hand of God. And Mary sought upon the earth to touch Christ and could not. Stephen touched him, because he sought him in heaven.' St. Jerome, in an epistle to Marcella, proveth that the body of Christ

must needs be contained in some place, for he saith, 'The property of God is to be every where; the property of man is to be in one place.' The same Jerome, in another place, calleth it a foolish thing to seek for him in a narrow place, or in a corner, who is the light of all the world; 'Foolishness it is, in a small place or in a hid corner to seek him who is the light of the whole world.' Origen saith likewise, 'They are not to be heard, who show Christ in houses.' The same also recordeth Bede, writing upon these words of Christ, Now a little while shall you see me. He speaketh in Christ's person. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'shall you see me but a little while after my resurrection; because I will not still abide in the earth bodily; but, in the manhood which I have taken, will ascend up to heaven.' What needeth more words? All the old fathers witness the same. You may by these soon judge the rest. Now to return to the matter: Seeing that the word of God in many and sundry places, the Credo, and the Abridgement of the Faith, seeing all the old fathers do constantly agree in one, that the body of Christ is ascended into heaven, and there remaineth at the right hand of the Father, and cannot be in more than in one place, I do conclude that the sacrament is not the body of Christ; first, because it is not in heaven, neither sitteth at the Father's right hand; moreover, because it is in a hundred thousand boxes, whereas Christ's body filleth but one place. Furthermore, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ, then would it necessarily follow, that sinners and unpenitent persons receive the body of Christ."

Custom.—"Marry, and so they do. For Paul saith plainly, that they receive the body of Christ to their own confusion."

Verity.—"No, not so. These are not Paul's words, but he saith, Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own condemnation, not judging the body of the Lord.' Here he calleth it, in plain words, bread. And although the sacrament be very bread, yet doth the injury redound to the body of Christ. As if a man break the king's mace, or tread the broad seal under his foot, although he have broken and defaced nothing but silver and wax; yet is the injury the king's, and the doer shall be taken as a traitor. St. Ambrose declareth the meaning of St. Paul by these words, 'He is guilty of the body of the Lord, and shall suffer the punishment of the death of Christ, seeing he has made of none effect the death of Christ.' The cause of the ordinance thereof was the remembrance of the death of Christ, which whoso forgetteth, receiveth the sacrament to their condemnation. That same witnesseth St.

Augustine: 'For the sacrament,' saith he, 'is an outward token of love and charity. For like as many grains of corn are become one piece of bread, even so they that receive it, ought to be one.' Then saith he, *Mysterium pacis ac unitatis nobis Christus in mensa sua consecravit. Qui accepit mysterium unitatis et non servat unitatem, non mysterium accepit pro se, sed testimonium contra se.* He that readeth the gospel, wherein is declared the passion and death of Christ, and liveth contrary to the gospel, shall doubtless be the more guilty of the death of Christ, because he heareth and readeth the word of God, and regardeth it not.

"In a certain country the manner is, that when the gospel is read, the king shall stand up with a naked sword in his hand, declaring thereby that he beareth his sword in defence of the gospel. But if he himself oppresseth the gospel, he beareth the sword against himself; for the gospel shall turn to his judgment and condemnation. So will Christ so much more extremely punish a man, who, knowing himself to be wicked and without repentance, and therefore none of the flock of Christ, yet, notwithstanding, will impudently creep into the company of Christian men, and receive the sacraments with them, as though he were one of the number. And this meant St. Paul by the unworthy receiving of a sacrament of Christ's body. Wherefore a man may unworthily take the sacrament, and be guilty of the death of Christ, although he receive not Christ's body into his mouth, and chew it with his teeth.—But what if I prove that every massing priest is guilty of the body and blood of Christ?"

Custom.—"I dare say you cannot prove it."

Verity.—"But if I do prove it, will you believe me?"

Custom.—"I may well enough, for it is impossible to do it; for priests commonly are confessed before they go to mass; and how can they then take the sacrament unworthily?"

Verity.—"Indeed confession, if it be discreetly used, is a laudable custom, and to the unlearned man and feeble conscience so good as a sermon: but, notwithstanding, because it was never commanded of Christ, nor received of the apostles, nor much spoken of by the old doctors, it cannot make much for the due receiving of the sacrament. But how like ye these words of St. Ambrose? 'He taketh it unworthily, that taketh it otherwise than Christ ordained it.'"

Custom.—"This liketh me very well. But what gather you of it?"

Verity.—"This will I gather. The massing priest taketh the sacrament otherwise than Christ

either commanded or taught: ergo, he taketh it unworthily, and so consequently to his condemnation."

Custom.—"That is not so, for he doth altogether as Christ commanded him."

Verity.—"That shall appear; for Christ commanded it to be done in his remembrance: the priest doth it in remembrance of dead men. Christ took bread, and left it bread: the priest taketh bread and conjureth it away. Christ took bread and gave thanks: the priest taketh bread and breatheth upon it. Christ took bread and brake it: the priest taketh bread and hangeth it up. Christ took bread and dealt it to his apostles: the priest, because he is an apostle himself, taketh bread and eateth it every whit alone. Christ, in a sacrament, gave his own body to be eaten in faith: the priest, for lack of faith, receiveth accidents, and dimensions. Christ gave a sacrament to strengthen men's faith: the priest giveth a sacrifice to redeem men's souls. Christ gave it to be eaten: the priest giveth it to be worshipped. And to conclude, Christ gave bread: the priest saith he giveth a God. Here is difference enough between Christ and the priest. Yet moreover, Christ, at his supper, spake his words out, and in a plain tongue: the priest speaketh nothing but Latin or Greek, which tongues he oftentimes perceiveth not; and much he whispereth, lest any poor man should perhaps perceive him. So it cometh to pass, that the priest knoweth no more what he himself saith, than what he doth. Thus you may see that the massing priest receiveth the sacrament of Christ's body far otherwise than ever Christ minded; and so therefore unworthily, and to his condemnation.

"Now, if you think yourself satisfied, I will return to my former question, and prove more at large, that Christ's body cannot be eaten of the wicked, which thing must necessarily ensue, if the bread were turned into the body of Christ. Christ, in John vi., speaking of the eating of his body, saith, He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever. Whereof I gather thus: but sinful men take the sacrament to their condemnation, and live not for ever; ergo, in the sacrament they receive not the body of Christ. Again, Christ saith, He that eateth me shall live for my sake. Hereof I conclude thus: but impenitent persons cannot live for Christ's sake. Moreover Christ's body must be received, not with the mouth, as Gregory recordeth, saying, that it is eaten with the teeth of the soul, not of the body, as I have above more largely declared. But wicked and impenitent persons lack faith; wherefore they cannot eat the body of Christ. Again, Christ's body cannot be divided from his

spirit; but wicked men have not the Spirit of God: ergo, they have not Christ's body. Hereunto agree all the old writers, affirming constantly, that the unfaithful be no meet vessels to receive the body of Christ. St. Augustine saith, 'Whosoever does not remain in Christ, and in whom Christ does not remain, without doubt he neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he also eats and drinks so great a mystery to his own condemnation.' Ambrose avoweth the same by these words: 'He that departs from Christ neither eats his flesh nor drinks his blood, though he receive the sacrament of so great a thing.' And therefore St. Augustine saith, 'The wicked have the sacrament, but the substance of the sacrament they have not.' Thus by the word of God, by reason, and by the old fathers, it is plain, that sinful men eat not the body of Christ, receive they the sacrament never so oft: which thing could not be, if in the sacrament there remained nothing but the body of Christ.

"The sacrament in Holy Scripture is named, the breaking of bread; which, to say the truth, were but a cold breaking, if there remained no bread to break, but certain fantasies of white and round. Yet whereas they, with words, crossings, blessings, breathings, leapings, and much ado, can scarcely make one god, they have such virtue in their fingers, that at one cross they be able to make twenty gods; for if they break the sacrament, every portion, yea, every mite, must needs be a god. After the apostles' time there arose up heretics, who said that Christ, walking here amongst men bodily upon the earth, had no very body, but a thing like a body, and so therewith dimmed men's sight. Against whom the old fathers used these arguments: Christ increased in growing, fasted, hungered, eat, wept, sweat, was weary, and in conclusion died, and had all other properties of a very body: wherefore he had a body. I will use the same kind of reasoning: It feedeth, it tasteth like bread, it looketh like bread, the little silly mouse taketh it for bread, and, to be short, it hath all the properties and tokens of bread: ergo, it is bread. The old fathers, when there remained any part of the sacrament more than was spent at the communion, they used to burn it, and of it there came ashes. But there is nothing in the sacrament that can turn to ashes but only bread (for I think they burned not Christ's body to ashes): ergo, in the sacrament there remaineth bread. Henry the emperor, the sixth of that name, was poisoned in the host, and Victor the bishop of Rome in the chalice. But poison cannot hang in God's body and blood: wherefore there remaineth bread and wine. What needeth many words in a matter

If you demand either

God's word, or the doctors and the ancient writers, or your reason, or your eyes, or nose, or tongue, or fingers, or the cat, or the ape, or the mouse, all these agree in one, and answer together, There is bread. Wherefore, if you reject so many and so constant witnesses, and so well agreeing in their tale, specially being such as will lie for no man's pleasure, I will appeal from you, and take you as no indifferent judge. If all these witnesses suffice you not, I will call the sacrament itself to record. It crieth unto you, and plainly doth advertise you, what you should think of it. 'I am,' it saith, 'grated with the tooth; I am conveyed into the belly; I perish; I can endure no space; I canker; I suffer green mould, blue mould, red mould; I breed worms; I am kept in a box for fear of rats. If you leave me out all night, I shall be devoured before morning, for if the mouse get me, I am gone. I am bread; I am no God: believe them not.' Thus crieth the sacrament daily, and beareth witness itself."

Custom.—"The devil on such like reasons! and therefore I will never trouble my brains to make you answer: but, if it be true that you have said, why is the sacrament so well of Christ himself, as of his apostles, and the old fathers, called the body of Christ?"

Verity.—"Because it is no strange thing in Scripture so to speak; as I have declared before.—But will you stand to St. Augustine's arbitrement in the matter?"

Custom.—"To no man sooner."

Verity.—"St. Augustine, in an epistle to his friend Boniface, giveth a good cause why the sacrament, although it be not the body of Christ, is, notwithstanding, called the body of Christ. His words be these: 'If sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they be sacraments, then were they no sacraments; of the which similitude many times they take their name. Wherefore, after a certain manner the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ; and the sacrament of the blood of Christ is the blood of Christ,' &c. And upon Psalm xxiii. he writeth likewise, 'Christ after a certain manner and fashion, as it were, did bear himself in his own hand, when he said, This is my body.' 'In manner,' he saith, 'and after a fashion;' not in very deed. Again, when faithful men receive the sacrament, they think not of the bread, nor mark the wine, but they look further, and behold the very body of Christ spread upon the cross, and his very blood poured down for their sakes. So in baptism men regard not greatly the water, but account themselves washed with the blood of Christ. So saith St. Paul, Whatsoever we are that be baptized, we are washed in the blood of Christ. Where-

fore to the faithful receivers you may say, that the water of baptism is the blood of Christ, and the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ: for to them it is no less than if the natures were altered and changed. Which thing you may very well learn of Chrysostom, whose words are these: 'All mysteries must be considered with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually. But the inward eyes, when they see the bread, they pass over the creatures, neither do they think of that bread which is baked of the baker, but of him which called himself the bread of eternal life.' For these two causes the bread and wine are called the body and blood of Christ. Now I think you are satisfied concerning the meaning of these words, This is my body."

Custom.—"Yet one thing moveth me very much."

Verity.—"What is that?"

Custom.—"The doctors and old writers, men inspired with the Holy Ghost, have evermore been against your doctrine; yea, and in these days the wisest men and best learned call you heretics, and your learning heresy."

Verity.—"As touching the old writers, I remember well they speak reverently of the sacraments, like as every man ought to do; but whereas they deliver their mind with their right hand, you, Custom, receive it with the left. For whereas they say, that it is the body of Christ, and that it must be verily eaten, meaning that it doth effectually lay before the eyes Christ's body, and that it is to the faithful man no less than if it were Christ himself, and that Christ must be eaten in faith, not torn nor rent with the teeth: you say, that howsoever it be taken, it is Christ's body, and that there is none other eating but with the mouth.

"And that the fathers meant no other thing than I have said, it shall appear by their words. But as touching the learned and wise men of these days, I cannot blame them if they call my doctrine heresy; for they would condemn all ancient writers of heresy, if they were now alive. But I will answer you to them anon. In the mean while mark you how well their learning agreeth. They say, 'You must follow the letter; you must stick to the letter.' But Origen saith, 'If ye follow after the letter that which is written, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, there shall be no life in you—this letter killeth.'

"Augustine, in the third book *De Doctrina Christiana*: 'First, thou must beware that thou take not a figurative speech after the letter. For thereto pertaineth that the apostle saith, The letter killeth. For when a thing is spiritually meant, and the same is taken literally as properly spoken, that is a car-

nal taking. Neither can any other be called the killing of the soul, rather than that.' And in the same book he teacheth a man to know the plain sense from a figure, saying thus: 'If the commanding speech be such as commandeth a thing wicked and horrible to be done, or a charitable thing to be undone, then this is a figurative speech, Unless ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and shall drink his blood, there shall be no life in you. Because in this speech he seemeth to command a wicked thing, it is therefore a figurative speech, commanding that we should communicate with the passion of our Lord, and sweetly to retain it in our remembrance.'

"In like manner Chrysostom plucketh you from the plain letter and the bare words by this saying, The flesh profiteth not; that is to say, 'My words must be taken and expounded after the Spirit. For he that heareth after the flesh, gaineth nothing. Now what is it to understand carnally? To take things simply as they be spoken, and not to consider any meaning further therein. For things must not be judged as they are seen, but all mysteries must be seen with inward eyes, that is to say, spiritually.'

"What is so heinous in these days, as to call the sacrament the token or the remembrance of Christ's body? Yet did the old writers in manner never call it other. Tertullian, in the fourth book against the Marcionists: 'Christ took bread and made it his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' Ambrose, upon 1 Corinthians xi.: 'Because we are delivered by the Lord's death, in the remembrance of the same by eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood which were offered up for us.' Chrysostom, in the eighty-third Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew: 'When they object unto us, and ask, How know you that Christ was offered up? then, alleging these things, we stop their mouths. For, if Christ died not, then whose sign or token is this sacrifice?' Augustine to Adimantus: 'Christ doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave but a sign of his body.' Augustine, upon Psal. iii.: 'Christ received Judas to the supper, in which he commended and delivered a figure of his body and blood unto his disciples.' Rabanus: 'Because the bread strengtheneth the body, therefore it is aptly called Christ's body. And likewise the wine, because it increaseth blood in the flesh, it doth resemble the blood of Christ.' The monk Druthmar, on Matthew: 'Wine maketh glad the heart, and increaseth blood; and therefore the blood of Christ is not unaptly signified thereby.' Irenæus witnesseth plainly, that in the sacrament remaineth bread and wine, by these words: 'As the earthly bread, receiving the vocation of God, is

now no common bread, but the eucharist, consisting of two things, the one earthly and the other heavenly.' Here he recordeth, that there remaineth in the sacrament an earthly nature, which is either bread or nothing. Gelasius writing against Nestorius avoweth the same, saying, 'In the eucharist the substance of bread and nature of the wine cease not to be. For the image and similitude of the body and blood of the Lord is celebrated in the action of the mysteries.' Chrysostom preferreth a poor man before the sacrament, and calleth him the body of Christ, rather than the other. Whereof I may gather this reason :

"The poor man is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"Every poor member of Christ is the body of Christ, rather than the sacrament :

"Ergo, the sacrament is not the natural and real body of Christ.

"His words are : 'This altar thou dost reverence, because the body of Christ therein is set before thee. But him that is the body of Christ indeed, thou dost spitefully entreat, and dost neglect him ready to perish.' Chrysostom, in the eleventh Homily upon Matthew : 'If it be so perilous a matter to translate these sanctified vessels unto private uses, in which not the true body of Christ, but a mystery of the body of Christ is contained, how much more then these vessels of our body !' Athanasius, upon these words, Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man, saith : 'The words that Christ here speaketh, be not carnal, but spiritual. For what body might have sufficed for all that should eat, to be a nourishment of the whole world ? But therefore he maketh mention of the ascension of the Son of man into heaven, to the intent to pluck them away from that corporal cogitation.' Augustine to Marcellinus : 'In those carnal oblations the flesh of Christ was figured, which he should offer for our sins, and the blood which he should bestow for us ; but, in this sacrifice, is the giving of thanks and memorial of the flesh of Christ which he hath offered for us, and of the blood which he hath shed for us. In that sacrifice, therefore, is signified figuratively what should be given for us ; in this sacrifice what is given to us is evidently declared. In those sacrifices the Son of God was before preached to be slain ; in this sacrifice he is showed to be slain already for the wicked.'

"Origen, upon Matthew, expounding these words, This is my body, saith : 'The bread which Christ confesseth to be his body, is a word nutritive of our souls.' Augustine : 'No man ought in any wise to doubt but that every faithful man is then partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, when in baptism he is made a member of Christ. For he

shall not be deprived of the participation and benefit of that sacrament, when he findeth in himself that thing which the sacrament doth signify.' Ambrose : 'Such is the force and strength of the word, that the bread and wine remain the same as they were, and yet are changed into another thing.' For it is not any longer common bread, but it is turned into a sacrament ; yet notwithstanding there remaineth bread and wine. Tertullian, writing against a heretic named Marcion, which taught that the creatures of God, as flesh, bread, and wine, and such like, were naught and uncleanly : 'God hath not cast away his creature, but by it he hath represented his body.' Origen, upon Leviticus, speaking of the drinking of Christ's blood, saith, 'We do not desire the blood of the flesh, but the blood of the word.' Ambrose called the sacrament 'a type of the body of Christ,' and Basil, 'an antitype,' which is as much as to say, as a token, a figure, a remembrance, and example of Christ's body. Origen, upon Matthew xiv. : 'In this bread that thing which is material passeth through man's body : but that which is made by the word of God, by the means of faith doth profit.' And lest perhaps you think that he spake those words of our common table-bread, he concludeth the matter himself with these words : 'These things we have spoken of the mystical bread.' Augustine declareth, that it must needs be a figure and a remembrance of the body of Christ : 'These things are understood figuratively, according to the rule of sound and true faith. For otherwise it seemeth to be more horrible to eat man's flesh than to kill a man, and more horrible to drink man's blood than to shed it.' And therefore he saith upon Psalm xcvi. : 'Ye shall not eat this body which you see, and drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me ; I commend unto you a sacrament.' Tertullian : 'Jesus hath another body than bread : for bread was not given for us, but the very true body of Christ was given upon the cross ; which body was exhibited in the supper under the figure of bread.' This recordeth Theodoret, an ancient writer, and avoweth, that there is no turning or altering of the bread in the sacrament. His words are these : 'He hath honoured and dignified the visible signs with the name of his body and of his blood, not changing the nature, but adding grace to nature.' And in another place, where he maketh a true Christian man to reason with a heretic, he giveth to the heretic this part : to hold with the turning of bread and wine into the natural body and blood of Christ. The heretic's words are these : 'The sacraments of the Lord's body and blood before invocation are one thing ; but after, they are changed and made another.' This maketh Theodoret to be

on the heretic's part. Then he bringeth forth the true Christian man, who reproveth the heretic for so saying: 'Thou art fallen into the snares which thou thyself hast laid. For those selfsame holy signs after the consecration, do not go from their nature, for they abide still, both in their former substance and figure; and may be both with eyes seen, and felt with hands, as before.' To the same agreeth well Chrysostom, saying, 'After the bread is sanctified, it is called bread no more, although the nature of the bread still remain.' Hereby you may understand, how and in what sort the old fathers, how the primitive and beginning church, how the apostles, and how Christ himself, took these words, This is my body.

"Now, to withstand and stoutly to go, not against only ancient writers, or the congregation of Christian people, (which at that time was not overgrown, no, neither spotted with covetousness and worldly honour,) but the apostles also, and God himself, no doubt it is great fondness. But what speak I of the old fathers? It is not long since the sacrament grew out of its right understanding. For this word *transubstantiatio*, whereby they signify the turning of the bread into the body of Christ, was never either spoken or heard or thought of, among the ancient fathers, or in the old church. But about five hundred years past, Pope Nicholas II., in a council holden at Lateran in Rome, confirmed that opinion of the changing of bread, and would have made an article of faith, and placed it in the Credo. After which time ensued Corpus Christi day, masses of Corpus Christi, reservation of the sacrament with honour, with canopies, with censing, with kneeling, with worshipping and adoration, and with so much as any man could devise. For they thought they could not do too much to him, after that the bishop of Rome had allowed him for a God.

"But not fully two hundred years before that time, when this doctrine first began to bud, (and yet notwithstanding had not so prevailed, but that a great number of learned and good men could know the sacrament to be a sacrament, and not Christ himself,) Charlemagne, king of France and emperor of Germany, demanded of a great learned man, whose name was Bertram, what he thought of that strange kind of calling down Christ from heaven, and turning a little gobbet of bread into his natural body. To whom Bertram made answer in this wise: 'This we say, That there is a great difference and separation betwixt the body in the which Christ suffered, and the blood which he shed upon the cross, and this body which every day is celebrated in the mystery of the passion of Christ. For this body is a pledge and similitude, but the other is the very

truth itself. Ergo, it appeareth that these are separated asunder by no less difference than is between a pledge, and the thing whereof the pledge is given; or than is betwixt an image of a thing, and the thing itself whereof the image is; or than is between the form of a thing, and the verity itself.' This wrote Bertram, Druthmar, and many others, and yet were never in all their time once reproved of heresy. This wrote Johannes Scotus also, in whose lifetime men had not eyes to espy his heresies: but, about two hundred years after his death, he was judged and condemned for a heretic, and his books burned, in a council holden at Vercelli in Lombardy, in the year of our Lord God 1050. Since which time, even until this day, although idolatry had great increase, yet there never wanted some good men, which boldly would profess and set forth the truth; although they were well assured that their worldly reward should be spite, malice, imprisoning, sword, fire, and all kinds of torments. Thus, so shortly, and in so few words as I could, I have declared unto you what Christ meant by these words, This is my body; what the apostles taught therein, and in what sort they delivered them to their successors; in what sense and meaning the holy fathers and old writers, and the universal and catholic church, have evermore taken them."

The end and death of King Edward the Sixth.

Thus, having discoursed things done and past under the reign of King Edward, such as seemed not unfruitful to be known, we will now draw to the end and death of this blessed king, our young Josias; who, about a year and a half after the death of the duke of Somerset his uncle, A. D. 1553, entering into the seventeenth year of his age, and the seventh year of his reign, in the month of July was taken from us, for our sins no doubt; whom if it had so pleased the good will of the Lord to have spared with longer life, not unlike it was, by all conjectures probably to be esteemed by those his toward and blessed beginnings, but proceeding so as he began, he would have reformed such a commonwealth here in the realm of England, as by good cause *that* might have been said of him, which was said in the old time of the noble Emperor Augustus, in reforming and advancing the empire of Rome: "Which empire he received (as he said) of brick, but he left it of fine marble." But the condition of this realm, and the customable behaviour of English people, (whose property is commonly to abuse the light of the gospel when it is offered,) deserved no such benefit of so blessed a reformation, but rather a contrary plague of ~~de~~formation, such as happened after his reign, as you

shall hear, the Lord granting, in the next queen's days that followed.

Thus then this godly and virtuous imp, in the time and month above mentioned, was cut from us, whose worthy life and virtues have been partly before declared. Nevertheless, to have some monument of him remaining, to testify of the good nature and gentle disposition of that prince, we will add here, for a remembrance, this little epistle of his own handwriting to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather, as followeth :

An epistle of young Prince Edward to the archbishop of Canterbury, his godfather.

"Impertio te plurima salute, colendissime præsul, et charissime susceptor. Quia abes longe a me, vellem libenter audire te esse incolumem. Precor autem ut vivas diu, et promoveas verbum Dei. Vale.

Antilæ, 18. Junii. Tuus in Christo filius,
EDWARDUS PRINCEPS."

Another epistle of the young Prince Edward to the archbishop, his godfather.

"Etsi puer sum, colendissime susceptor, non tamen immemor sum vel officii erga te mei, vel humanitatis tuæ quam indies mihi exhibere studes. Non exciderunt mihi humanissimæ tuæ literæ pridie divi Petri ad me datæ. Quibus antehac respondere nolui, non quod illas neglexerim, aut non meminerim, sed ut illarum diuturna meditatione fruerer, fidelique memoria reponerem, atque demum bene ruminatis pro mea virili responderem. Proinde affectum erga me tuum vere paternum, quem in illis expressisti, amplector et veneror, optoque ut multos vivas annos, tuoque pio ac salubri consilio pergas esse mihi venerandus pater. Nam pietatem ante omnia mihi amplectendam et exosculandam esse duco, quoniam divus Paulus dicit, pietas ad omnia utilis est. Optime valeat tua paternitas in plurimos annos.

Hartefordiæ, 13. Januarii. Tui studiosissimus,
EDWARDUS PRINCEPS."

The answer of the archbishop to Prince Edward's epistle.

"Non magis poterat ipse me servare salus (fili in Christo charissime) quam salus tua. Mea vita non dicenda est vita absque tua et salute et valetudine. Quapropter cum te incolumem ac salvum intelligo, vitam etiam mihi integram esse et incolumem sentio. Neque certe absentia mea tam est injucunda tibi quam sunt literæ tuæ perjucundæ mihi. Quæ arguunt tibi juxta adesse et ingenium dignum tanto principe et præceptorem dignum tanto

ingenio. Ex quibus tuis literis te sic literas video colere, ut interim doctrinæ cœlestis tuæ nequaquam minima sit cura; quæ cuicunque sit curæ, non potest illum quævis cura frangere. Perge igitur qua via incepisti, princeps illustrissime, et Spartam quam nactus es hanc orna, ut quam ego per literas video in te virtutis lucem, eadem olim illuminet universam tuam Angliam. Non scribam prolixius, tum quidem ut me intelligas brevitate non nihil affici, tum etiam quod credam te ætate quidem adhuc parvulum parvo gaudere, et similem simili; tum etiam præterea ne impolita mea oratio in causa sit, quo generosa illa tua indoles barbari vitium contrahat."

The report of the prince's schoolmaster, in commendation of his towardness, to the archbishop.

"Right honourable and my singular good Lord, after my most hearty commendations: the opportunity of this messenger forceth me to write at this time, having little matter but only to signify unto your Grace, that my Lord's Grace your godson is merry and in health, and of such towardness in learning, godliness, gentleness, and all honest qualities, that both you and I, and all this realm, ought to think him, and take him, for a singular gift sent of God, an imp worthy of such a father; for whom we are bound without ceasing to render to God most hearty thanks, with most humble request of his long and prosperous continuance. He hath learned almost four books of Cato to construe, to parse, and to say without book. And of his own courage now, in the latter book, he will needs have at one time fourteen verses, which he conneth pleasantly and perfectly, besides things of the Bible, Satellitium Vivis, Æsop's Fables, and Latin-making, whereof he hath sent your Grace a little taste.— Dominus Jesus te diutissime servet."

hus much hitherto having declared, touching the worthy virtues and singular towardness of this godly imp, King Edward the Sixth, although I have not, neither can, insert all things

due to his commendation, but am enforced to let pass many memorable matters, well worthy to be prosecuted, if they might have come to our hands: yet this one brief note I thought not to overslip,

(something to recreate the weary reader in such a doleful story,) being notified to me by one Master Edward Underhil, who, waiting the same time with the rest of his fellow pensioners and men at arms, as Sir Henry Gates, Master Robert Hall, Master Henry Harston, and Master Stafforton, heard these words between the king and his council.

The relation and testimony of which person and persons above-named come to this effect: That King Edward the Sixth, the fourth year of his reign, being then but thirteen years old and upward, at Greenwich, upon St. George's day, when he was come from the sermon into the presence-chamber, there being his uncle the duke of Somerset, the duke of Northumberland, with other lords and knights of that order called the Order of the Garter, he said to them, "My Lords, I pray you, what saint is St. George, that we here so honour him?" At which question the other lords being all astonished, the lord treasurer that then was, perceiving this, gave answer, and said, "If it please your Majesty, I did never read in any history of St. George, but only in *Legenda Aurea*, where it is thus set down: That St. George out with his sword, and ran the dragon through with his spear." The king, when he could not a great while speak for laughing, at length said, "I pray you, my Lord, and what did he with his sword the while?" "That I cannot tell your Majesty," said he. And so an end of that question of good St. George. Now to return again from whence we have digressed, which is to signify some part of the order and manner of his godly departing. As the time approached when it pleased Almighty God to call this young king from us, which was the sixth day of July, the year above-said, about three hours before his death, this godly child, his eyes being closed, speaking to himself, and thinking none to have heard him, made this prayer which followeth:

The prayer of King Edward before his death.

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen: howbeit not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord! thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance! O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for thy Son Jesus Christ's sake!"

Then turned he his face, and seeing who was by

him, said unto them, "Are ye so nigh? I thought ye had been further off." Then Dr. Owen said, "We heard you speak to yourself, but what you said we know not." He then (after his fashion smilingly) said, "I was praying to God." The last words of his pangs were these, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." And thus he yielded up the ghost, leaving a woeful kingdom behind unto his sister. Albeit he, in his will, had excluded his sister Mary from the succession of the crown, because of her corrupt religion; yet the plague which God had destined unto this sinful realm could not so be avoided, but that she, being the elder daughter to King Henry, succeeded in possession of the crown: of whose dreadful and bloody regiment it remaineth now, consequently, to discourse.

This briefly may suffice to understand, that for all the writing, sending, and practising with the Lady Mary, by the king and his council, and also by Bishop Ridley, yet would she not be reclaimed from her own singular opinion, fixed upon custom, to give any indifferent hearing to the word and voice of verity. The which set will of the said Lady Mary, both this young king, and also his father, King Henry before him, right well perceiving and considering, they were both much displeased against her: insomuch that not only her brother did utterly sequester her in his will, but also her own father, considering her inclination, conceived such heart against her, that for a great space he did seclude her from the title of princess; yea, and seemed so eagerly incensed against her, that he was fully purposed to proceed further with her, (as it is reported,) had not the intercession of Thomas Cranmer, the archbishop, reconciled the king again to favour and pardon his own daughter. For the better understanding whereof, by these her own letters copied out of her own handwriting, which I have to show, something may be perceived, and more, peradventure, may be guessed. The words out of her own handwriting be these. And first her letter to King Henry her father here followeth:

A letter of the Lady Mary to King Henry her father.

"In my most humble wise I beseech your Grace of your daily blessing. Pleaseth it the same to be advertised, that this morning my Lord my chamberlain came and showed me, that he had received a letter from Sir W. Paulet, comptroller of your house; the effect whereof was, that I should with all diligence remove unto the castle of Hertford. Whereupon I desired him to see the same letter, which he showed me: wherein was written, that the Lady Mary, the

king's daughter, should remove to the place before-said, leaving out in the same the name of princess. Which when I heard, I could not a little marvel, trusting verily that your Grace was not privy to the same letter as concerning the leaving out of the name of princess; forasmuch as I doubt not in your goodness, but your Grace doth take me for your lawful daughter, born in true matrimony. Wherefore, if I should agree to the contrary, I should in my conscience run in the displeasure of God, which I hope assuredly your Grace would not that I so should. And in all other things your Grace shall have me always as humble and obedient a daughter and handmaid as ever was child to the father, which my duty bindeth me to; as knoweth our Lord, who have your Grace in his most holy tuition, with much honour, and long life to his pleasure.

"Written at your manor of Beaulieu, the second day of October,

By your humble daughter,

MARY, PRINCESS."

Protestation of the Lady Mary to certain lords sent by the king her father, with certain requests unto her.

"My Lords, as touching my removing to Hatfield, I will obey his Grace, as my duty is, or to any other place his Grace will appoint me. But I protest before you and all others that be here present, that my conscience will in no wise suffer me to take any other than myself for the king's lawful daughter, born in true matrimony, or princess; and that I will never willingly and wittingly say or do, whereby any person might take occasion to think that I agree to the contrary. Not of any ambition or proud mind, as God is my judge; but that, if I should say or do otherwise, I should, in my conscience, slander the deed of our mother holy church, and the pope, who is the judge in this matter, and none other; and also dishonour the king my father, the queen my mother, and falsely confess myself a bastard; which God defend that I should do, seeing the pope hath not so declared it by his sentence definitive; for to his judgment I submit me."

As you have heard some part already of the stout courage of the Lady Mary toward her father, and also by her letters no less was declared toward King Edward her brother and others of his council, as well may appear by the letters above specified between the king her brother and his council: so now let us infer somewhat, likewise, of the stout talk and demeanour of the said Lady Mary toward Doctor Ridley, bishop of London, who, gently coming to her

of mere good will, had this communication with her, and she with him, as here followeth:

About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Hertfordshire, went to visit the Lady Mary, then lying at Hunsdon, two miles off; and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton, and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock; about which time the said Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her Grace, and said, that he was come to do this duty to her Grace. Then she thanked him for his pains, and, for a quarter of an hour, talked with him very pleasantly; and said, that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before King Henry her father, at the marriage of my Lady Clinton that now is, to Sir Anthony Brown, &c.: and so dismissed him to dine with her officers.

After dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was. First the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth:

Bishop.—"Madam, I came not only to do my duty, to see your Grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me."

At this her countenance changed, and, after silence for a space, she answered thus:

Mary.—"My Lord, as for this last matter I pray you make the answer to it yourself."

Bishop.—"Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound in duty to make to your Grace this offer, to preach before you."

Mary.—"Well, I pray you make the answer (as I have said) to this matter yourself; for you know the answer well enough. But if there be no remedy but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer: the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you if you come, and ye may preach if you list; but neither I, nor any of mine, shall hear you."

Bishop.—"Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word."

Mary.—"I cannot tell what ye call God's word: that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days."

Bishop.—"God's word is all one in all times: but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in others."

Mary.—"You durst not, for your ears, have avouched that for God's word in my father's days, that now you do. And as for your new books, I

thank God I never read any of them : I never did nor ever will do."

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm and the laws made in the young years of her brother, (which, she said, she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then, she affirmed, she would obey them,) she asked the bishop whether he were one of the council. He answered, "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goeth now-a-days."

And so she concluded with these words: "My Lord, for your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you never a whit."

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they dined, and was desired to drink. And after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly; and suddenly brake out into these words: "Surely I have done amiss." "Why so?" quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. "For I have drunk," said he, "in that place

where God's word offered hath been refused: whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterwards confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house.

And thus, making an end of this ninth book, touching the story and reign of King Edward, and having also somewhat said before of the nature and disposition of the Lady Mary, whereby the way may be prepared the better to the troubles of the next book following; we intend, the grace of God assisting us therein, now further to proceed in describing the acts and proceedings of the said Lady Mary, coming now to be queen, and advanced, next after this godly King Edward, to the crown of this realm of England.

THE TENTH BOOK.

THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

ORASMUCH as we are come now to the time of Queen Mary, when so many were put to death for the cause especially of the Mass, and The Sacrament of the Altar, (as they call it,) I thought it convenient, upon the occasion given, in the ingress of this foresaid story, first, to prefix before, by the way of preface, some declaration collected out of divers writers and authors, whereby to set forth to the reader the great absurdity, wicked abuse, and perilous idolatry, of the popish mass; declaring how, and by whom, it came in, and how it is clouted and patched up of divers additions: to the intent that the reader, seeing the vain institution thereof, and weighing the true causes why it is to be exploded out of all churches, may the better thereby judge of their death, which gave their lives for the testimony and the word of truth.

First concerning the origin of this word *Missa*, whether it came of מִסָּח in Hebrew, or מִסָּח which signifieth "oblation;" or whether it came of sending away the catechumens, and persons unworthily out of place of ministration, (as certain writers suppose,) or else, "Of gifts and oblations, wont to be offered before the communion." Or whether *Missa* is derived of *Remissa*, which in the former writers was used *Pro remissione*, that is, forgiveness; or whether *Missa* is taken for sending away the congregation by the words of the

deacon, *Ite missa est*: or whether *Missa* hath its denomination of what the Grecians call ἀποκ-
ταύ λῶν, "dismissal of the people" (alluding to the story of the Hebrews, licensed of Pharaoh to depart out of captivity after the eating of the paschal lamb, as I read in an old popish book, entitled *De Sacramentis Sacerdotalibus*); or what term soever it be else, either Latin, Syrian, Dutch, or French, or howsoever else it taketh its appellation, as there is no certainty amongst themselves who most magnify the mass, so it is no matter to us that stand against it. To my judgment or conjecture, this latter exposition of the word seemeth more probable, both for that it is joined with the word *ite*, which signifieth "departing," and also the time and order in speaking the same agreeth well therewith. For, as the old Hebrews, after the supper of the lamb, and not before, were set at liberty straightway to depart out of captivity, so, belike, to declare the mystical deliverance by Christ offered and slain for us, first goeth before the action of the holy supper that done, then the priest or deacon saith *Ite missa est*, meaning, thereby, the deliverance and liberty which is spiritually wrought in us, after that the body of Christ hath been offered for us. Or else, if *Missa* otherwise should signify the celebration of the action of the supper, it would not be said *Ite*, but *Venite missa est*, &c. Moreover, besides other arguments, there be certain places in Cassianus which seem to declare that *Missa* signifieth the dismissal of the congregation: as where he writeth of him which cometh not in time to the hours of prayer, saying it not to be lawful for him to enter into the oratory, that he ought, standing without the doors, to wait for the miss of the congregation. And again in the next chapter following, he in-

ferreth the same vocable *Missa*, in like sense: "contented with so much sleep as serveth us for the miss, or breaking up of the night vigil, unto the coming of the day," &c. But, to let pass these conjectures, this by the way I give the reader to note and understand: that as this word *Missa* never yet entered into the church nor usage among the Greeks, so it is to be observed among our Latin interpreters, (such as have translated of old time the ancient Greek authors,) as Eusebius, and the Tripartite History, (and others that were the Greek writers,) have these terms, "to call the congregation," "to convent assemblies," and "to frequent together;" the old translator of Epiphanius, and others, translate upon the same *Missas facere, collectas agere, missas celebrare*, &c. Whereby it is not obscure to be seen, that this word "mass," in the old time, was not only and peculiarly applied to the action of consecration, but as well as to all Christian assemblies collected, or congregations convented, according as in the Dutch language this name *Messe* signifieth any solemn frequency, or panagery, or gathering together of the people. But of the name enough and too much.

To (express now) the absurdity of the said mass, and the irreligious application thereof, unseemly and perilous for Christians to use, I will bring two or three reasons of the worthy servant and martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may also be added out of others. First, the mass, saith he, is a most subtle and pernicious enemy against Christ; and that, double ways: namely, against his priesthood, and against his sacrifice. Which he proveth by this way: for the priesthood of Christ, saith he, is an everlasting priesthood, and such an one as cannot go to another; but the mass utterly putteth him out of place, as though he was dead for ever, and so God were a liar which said, that Christ should be "a Priest for ever;" which, briefly, cometh unto this argument.

That thing is not perpetual, nor standeth alone, which admitteth succession of others, to do the same thing that was done before:

But the mass-priests succeed after Christ, doing the same sacrifice, as they say, which he did before:

Ergo, the mass-priests make Christ's priesthood not to be perpetual.

Another Argument.

All priests either be after the order of Aaron, or after the order of Melchizedek, or after the order of the apostles, or after that spiritual sort, whereof it is written, *Vos estis spirituale sacerdotium*, &c.

But our mass-priests neither be after the order of Aaron, for that is to resume that which Christ hath

abolished; neither after the order of Melchizedek, for that is peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the apostles, for then should they be ministers, not masters; not priests, but preachers; and which of the apostles was ever named by the title of a priest? Again, neither are they after the general sort of the spiritual priesthood, for after that prerogative every true Christian is a spiritual priest, as well as they offering up spiritual, not bodily, sacrifice: as prayers, thanksgiving, obedience, mortification of the body framed to the obedience of his commandments.

Ergo, our mass-priests are no priests, unless it be after the order of the priests of Baal!

Secondly, concerning the sacrifice of Christ above mentioned, he reasoneth in like manner; which we have reduced in the way of argument as followeth:

To reiterate a thing once done, for the attaining or accomplishing of the end whereof it was begun, declareth the imperfection of the same thing before.

The mass-priests do reiterate the sacrifice of Christ, once done for the end whereof it was begun; that is, for propitiation and remission.

Ergo, mass-priests make the sacrifice of Christ to be imperfect; and so are they injurious to the sacrifice of Christ.

For confirmation of the premises, mark here, reader, I beseech thee, the Rubric here following, written before the Mass of the Five Wounds, in the mass-book.

"Boniface, bishop of Rome, lay sick and was like to die, to whom our Lord sent the archangel Raphael with the office of the Mass of the Five Wounds, saying, Rise and write this office, and say it five times, and thou shalt be restored to thy health immediately; and what priest soever shall say this office for himself, or for any other that is sick, five times, the person for whom it is said shall obtain health and grace, and in the world to come, if he continue in virtue, life everlasting. And in whatsoever tribulation a man shall be in this life, if he procure this office to be said five times for him of a priest, without doubt he shall be delivered. And if it be said for the soul of the dead, anon as it shall be said and ended five times, his soul shall be rid from pains. This hearing, the bishop did erect himself up in his bed, conjuring the angel, in the name of Almighty God, to tell him what he was, and wherefore he came, and that he should depart without doing him harm; who answered, that he was Raphael the archangel, sent unto him of God, and that all the premises were undoubtedly true. Then the said Boniface confirmed the said office of the Five Wounds by the apostolic authority."

Another argument against the mass is, for that it is a hinderance to the true service of God, and to the godly life of men; the declaration whereof is more at large by the said author set out, but, briefly, in form of argument it may be thus contracted.

Another argument.

Whatsoever causeth or occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving of God, (whose service should be all inward, in spirit and verity,) that hindereth the true service of God.

The mass occasioneth a man to rest in outward serving; as, in hearing, seeing, and saying mass, which be but outward senses of a man, and is, as they say, meritorious.

Ergo, the mass hindereth the right and true service of God.

Another argument, proving that the mass hindereth good life, is this:

Upon the mass riseth false hope; a false remedy is promised to wicked livers. For evil men, hearing mass in the morning, upon hope thereof, take more security in doing all day what they list. And such as have (in bibbing, brawling, taverning, swearing, whoring, dicing, carding) committed wickedness, to them the mass is set up; promising him sufficient propitiation, sacrifice, remedy of body and soul, for man and beast, though they never heard preaching, never used praying, never repented. Or, how wicked soever they have been, yet if they come to the church, take holy bread and holy water, and hear mass, or find a soul-priest upon the remedy thereof, then they think themselves discharged, and good catholic men.

Upon what cause soever riseth false hope, and false remedy is promised to wicked livers, which hindereth good life.

Ergo, the mass hindereth good life.

Another argument.

Where one thing is sufficient and serveth alone, there all other helps be needless thereunto, wherein it serveth.

The mass (as they say) hath all—serveth for all; for, by it cometh pardon for sins, by it cometh deliverance from hell and purgatory, by it cometh health for man and beast.

Ergo, all other helps else be needless;—hearing of God's word, faith, praying in spirit, repenting, preaching, piety, and all other helps to good life, &c.

Another argument: proving that the mass is diverse and contrary from the institution of Christ's supper.

I. Christ ordained his supper to be a memorial of his death and passion, to be preached until he came.

The mass is no memorial thing of Christ remembered in the sacrament, but rather they make the sacrament to be Christ himself offered and sacrificed for remission of sins; both for the quick and the dead.

II. Christ ordained his supper to be celebrated and received of the congregation; and therefore Paul biddeth the Corinthians to tarry one for another.

In the mass there is no such thing: choose the people to come or no, "Sir John" is kin to the tide, he will tarry for no man; if he have a boy to say "amen," it is enough.

III. Christ received not, but he distributed also the whole in every part: "Sir John," when he hath received all alone, he sheweth the people the empty chalice; and if he distribute to the people once a year, it is but in one kind alone.

IV. Christ ordained the supper to be a taking matter, an eating matter, a distributing and a remembering matter: contrary our masses-men make it a matter, not of taking, but of gazing, peeping, piking, boxing, carrying, re-carrying, worshipping, stooping, kneeling, knocking, with "stoop down before," "hold up higher," "I thank God I see my Maker to-day," &c. Christ ordained it a table-matter: we turn it to an altar-matter. He, for a memorial, we, for a sacrifice: he sat, our men stand; he in his common tongue, we in a foreign tongue: whereby it is manifest to appear, how diverse and repugnant the mass is to the institution of the Lord's supper.

Another argument: proving that the Mass is contrary to God's commandments.

Item, Whereas the first table of God's blessed and sacred commandments, teacheth men to worship and serve him, and to direct the meditations of their hearts only unto him, and that in all places, at all times, both publicly and privately;

The mass-book doth point out service for saints and for creatures by name, to be served at least three hundred days and years; as appeareth by the calendars, masses, collects, martyrologue, &c.:

Ergo, the doctrine and institution of the mass-book tendeth contrary to God's holy commandments.

Another reason against the Mass.

Item, Whereas St. Paul, in express words, will-

eth all things to be done in an edifying tongue, the mass is celebrated in a tongue foreign, strange, and unknown to the people; so that although the matter therein contained were wholesome and consonant to Scripture, (as it is much disagreeing to the same,) yet for the strangeness of the tongue it giveth but a sound, and worketh no edifying to the ignorant.

Now both the tongue being strange to the ears of the people, and the matter also in the mass contained being repugnant to God's word, what defence can the mass have, but utterly it is to be rejected?

And forasmuch therefore as the mass so long used in a foreign language hath not hitherto come to the understanding of the simple and vulgar sort, to the intent they may themselves perceive the matter, and be their own judges, I have here set forth the chiefest part thereof, which is the canon, in English, so as I found it in a certain written copy, by Master Coverdale translated, adjoining withal the rubric and circumstance of the same in every point, as it is in the mass-book contained.

The whole canon of the Mass, with the Rubric thereof, as it standeth in the Mass-book, after Salisbury Use, translated word by word out of Latin into English.

After the Sanctus, the priest immediately joining his hands together, and lifting up his eyes, beginneth these words:

Te igitur clementissime, &c.; that is to say, "Therefore, most gracious Father, through Jesus Christ thy Son our Lord, we humbly beseech thee,"

Let him bow down his body while he saith: "And we desire,"

Here the priest, standing upright, must kiss the altar on the right hand of the sacrifice, saying:

"That thou accept and bless,"

Here let the priest make three crosses upon the chalice and the bread, saying:

"These + gifts, these + presents, these + holy and unspotted sacrifices."

When the signs are made upon the chalice, let him lift up his hands, saying thus:

"Which, first of all, we offer unto thee for thy holy catholic church, that thou vouchsafe to pacify, keep, unite, and govern it throughout the whole world, with thy servant our pope *N.* and our bishop *N.*," [that is his own bishop only] "and our king *N.*" [and they are expressed by name.]

Then let there follow:

"And all true believers, and such as have the catholic and apostolic faith in due estimation."

Here let him pray for the living:

"Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids *N.* and *N.*"

In the which prayer a rule must be observed for the order of charity. Five times let the priest pray: first, for himself: secondly, for father and mother, carnal and spiritual, and for other parents: thirdly, for special friends, parishioners, and others: fourthly, for all that stand by: fifthly, for all Christian people. And here may the priest commend all his friends to God, (but my counsel is, that none make over-long tarrying there, partly for distraction of mind, partly because of immissions which may chance through evil angels,) and all that stand hereby round about, whose faith and devotion unto thee is known and manifest; for whom we offer unto thee, or which themselves offer unto thee, this sacrifice of praise for them and theirs, for the redemption of their souls, for the hope of their salvation and health, and render their vows unto Thee, the eternal living and true God.

Communicating, and worshipping the memorial, first, of the glorious and ever Virgin; bowing down a little, let him say:

"Mary, the mother of our God and Lord Jesu Christ, and also of thy blessed apostles and martyrs, Peter, Paul, Andrew, James, John, Thomas, Philip, Bartholomew, Matthew, Simon and Thaddeus, Linus, Cletus, Clement, Sixtus, Cornelius, Cyprian, Laurence, Chrysogonus, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian, and of all thy saints: by whose merits and prayers, grant thou, that in all things we may be defended with the help of thy protection, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let the priest behold the host with great veneration, saying:

"Therefore, Lord, we beseech thee, that thou, being pacified, wilt receive this oblation of our bound service, and of all thy household: and order our days in thy peace, and command us to be delivered from eternal damnation, and to be numbered in the flock of thine elect, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here again let him hold the host, saying:

"Which oblation we beseech thee, O Almighty God, in all things to make,"

Here let him make three crosses upon both when he saith:

"blessed, + appointed, + ratified, reasonable, and acceptable; that unto us it may be,"

Here let him make a cross upon the bread, saying: + "The body," here upon the chalice, "and + blood,"

Here with hands joined together, let him say, "of thy most dearly beloved Son our Lord Jesu Christ;"

Here let the priest lift up his hands and join them together, and afterward wipe his fingers, and lift up the host, saying:

"Who, the next day, afore he suffered, took bread into his holy and reverent hands, and his eyes being lift up into heaven,"

Here let him lift up his eyes,
"unto the God Almighty his Father,"

Here let him bow down, and afterward erect himself up a little, saying:

"Rendering thanks unto thee, he + blessed, he brake,"

Here let him touch the host, saying:
"and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take ye, and eat of this ye all; for this is my body."

And these words must be pronounced with one breath, and under one prolation, without making of any pause between. After these words let him bow himself to the host, and afterward lift [it] up above his forehead, that it may be seen of the people: and let him reverently lay it again before the chalice, in manner of a cross made with the same. And then let him uncover the chalice, and hold it between his hands, not putting his thumb and forefinger asunder, save only when he blesseth, saying thus:

"Likewise after they had supped, he, taking this excellent cup into his holy and reverent hands, rendering thanks also unto thee,"

Here let him bow himself, saying:
"Blessed, and gave unto his disciples, saying, Take, and drink of this ye all;"

Here let him lift up the chalice a little, saying thus:

"For this is the cup of my blood, of the new and everlasting testament, the mystery of faith, which, for you and for many, shall be shed to the remission of sins."

Here let him lift the chalice to his breast, or further than his head, saying:

"As oft as ye do these things, ye shall do them in remembrance of me."

Here let him set down the chalice again, and rub his fingers over the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms, and cover the chalice. Then let him lift up his arms crosswise, his fingers being joined together until these words:

de tuis donis; this is to say, of thine own rewards.

"Wherefore, O Lord, we also, thy servants, and thy holy people, being mindful as well of the blessed passion and resurrection, as of the glorious ascension of the same Christ thy Son, our Lord God, do offer unto thy excellent Majesty of thy own rewards and gifts."

Here let there be made five crosses, namely, the three first upon the host and cup, saying:

+ "a pure host; + a holy host; + an undefiled host."

The fourth upon the bread only, saying:

"The holy + bread of eternal life,"

The fifth upon the cup, saying:

"And + cup of eternal salvation. Vouchsafe thou also, with a merciful and pleasant countenance, to have respect hereunto, and to accept the same, as thou didst vouchsafe to accept the gifts of thy righteous servant Abel, and the sacrifice of our patriarch Abraham, and the holy sacrifice, the undefiled host, that the high priest Melchizedek did offer unto thee."

Here let the priest, with his body bowed down, and his hands holden across, say, *Supplices te rogamus*, "We humbly beseech thee," until these words, *Ex hac altaris participatione*, "of this partaking of the altar." And then let him stand up, kissing the altar on the right side of the sacrifice; and let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, and in his own face, when he saith, *Omni benedictione cœlesti*, "with all heavenly benediction."

"We humbly beseech thee, O Almighty God, command thou these to be brought by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar in the presence of thy Divine Majesty, that as many of us as,"

Here erecting up himself, let him kiss the altar on the right side of the sacrifice, saying:
"Of this participation of the altar shall receive thy Son's holy"

Here let him make a sign of the cross upon the host, saying:
"body,"

Then upon the cup, saying:
"and + blood may be replenished"

Then let him make a sign in his own face, saying:
"With all heavenly benediction and grace through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him pray for the dead.

"Remember, Lord, also, the souls of thy servants and handmaidens, *N.* and *N.* which are gone before us with the mark of faith, and rest in the sleep of peace. We beseech thee, O Lord, that unto them, and unto all such as rest in Christ, thou wilt grant a place of refreshing, of light, and of peace, through the same Christ our Lord. Amen."

Here let him smite once upon his breast, saying:

"Unto us sinners also, thy servants, hoping of the multitude of thy mercies, vouchsafe to give some portion and fellowship with thy holy apostles and martyrs; with John, Stephen, Matthias, Barnabas, Ignatius, Alexander, Marcellinus, Peter, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Cecilia, Anastasia, and with all thy saints; within whose

fellowship we beseech thee admit us, not weighing our merit, but granting us forgiveness through Christ our Lord."

Here is not said "Amen."

"By whom, O Lord, all these good things thou dost ever create."

Here let him make a sign over the chalice three times, saying :

"Thou + sanctifiest; thou + quickenest; thou + bleseest, and givest unto us."

Here let him uncover the chalice, and make a sign of the cross with the host five times: first, beyond the chalice on every side; secondly, even with the chalice; thirdly, within the chalice; fourthly, like as at the first; fifthly, before the chalice.

"Through + him, and with + him, and in him, is unto thee God, Father + almighty, in the unity of the + Holy Ghost, all honour and glory."

Here let the priest cover the chalice, and hold his hands still upon the altar till the Pater-noster be spoken, saying thus :

"World without end, Amen.—Let us pray. Being advertised by wholesome precepts, and taught by God's institution, we are bold to say,"

Here let the deacon take the paten, and hold it uncovered on the right side of the priest, his arm being stretched out on high until *da propitius*.

Here let the priest lift up his hands, saying, *Pater noster*, &c. The choir must say, *Sed libera nos*, &c.

"Deliver us, we beseech thee, O Lord, from all evil past, present, and for to come; and that, by the intercession of the blessed, glorious, and our Virgin Mary the mother of God, and thy blessed apostles Peter, and Paul, and Andrew; with all saints."

Here let the deacon commit the paten to the priest, kissing his hand; and let the priest kiss the paten. Afterward let him put it to his left eye, and then to the right. After that let him make a cross with the paten above upon his head, and so lay it down again into its place, saying :

"Give peace graciously in our days, that we, being helped through the succour of thy mercy, may both be always free from sin, and safe from all trouble,"

Here let him uncover the chalice, and take the body, doing reverence, shifting it over in the hollow room of the chalice, holding it between his thumbs and forefingers; and let him break it into three parts; the first breaking, while there is said :

"Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ thy Son,"

The second breaking :

"Who, with thee, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth God."

Here let him hold two pieces in his left hand, and the third piece in the right hand, upon the brink of the chalice, saying this with open voice :

"World without end."

Let the choir answer :

"Amen."

Here let him make three crosses within the chalice with the third part of the host, saying :

"The peace of the Lord + be always + with + you,"

Let the choir answer :

"And with thy spirit."

To say *Agnus Dei*, let the deacon and subdeacon approach near unto the priest, both being on the right hand, the deacon nearer, the subdeacon further off. And let them say privately :

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us : O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us : O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace."

In masses for the dead it is said thus :

"O Lamb of God, that takest away the sins of the world, give them rest,"

With this addition in the third repetition,

"Everlasting."

Here making a cross, let him put down the said third part of the host into the sacrament of the blood, saying :

"This holy mingling together of the body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, and to all that receive it, salvation of mind and body : a wholesome preparation both to deserve and to receive eternal life, through the same Christ our Lord."

Afore the pax be given, let the priest say :

"O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, grant me so worthily to take this holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ, that by this I may merit to receive forgiveness of all my sins, and be replenished with thy Holy Spirit, and to have thy peace : for thou art God alone, neither is there any other without thee, whose glorious kingdom and empire endureth continually world without end, Amen."

Here let the priest kiss the corporas on the right side, and the brink of the chalice, and afterward let him say to the deacon :

"Peace be unto thee, and to the church of God."

Answer :

"And with thy spirit."

On the right hand of the priest let the deacon receive the pax of him, and reach it to the subdeacon. Then to the step of the choir let the deacon himself bear the pax unto the rectors of the choir; and let

them bring it to the choir, either of them to his own side, beginning at the eldest. But in feasts and ferial days, when the choir is not governed, the pax is borne from the deacon unto the choir by two of the lowest of the second form, like as afore.

After the pax given, let the priest say the prayers following, privately, before he communicate; holding the host with both his hands:

"O God, Father, thou fountain and original of all goodness, who, being moved with mercy, hast willed thine only begotten Son, for our sake, to descend into the lower parts of the world, and to be incarnate, whom I unworthy hold in my hands;"

Here let the priest bow himself to the host, saying: "I worship thee, I glorify thee, I praise thee with whole intention of mind and heart: and I beseech thee that thou fail not us thy servants, but forgive our sins, so as with pure heart, and chaste body, we may be able to serve thee, the only living and true God, through the same Christ our Lord: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, thou Son of the living God, who, according to the will of the Father, the Holy Ghost working withal, hast quickened the world through thy death, deliver me, I beseech thee, through this thy holy body, and this thy blood, from all my iniquities, and from all evils. And make me to alway obey thy commandments, and never suffer me to be separated from thee for evermore, thou Saviour of the world, who, with God the Father, and the same Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end: Amen.

"O Lord Jesu Christ, let not the sacrament of thy body and blood which I receive, (though unworthy,) be to my judgment and damnation; but, through thy goodness, let it profit to the salvation of my body and soul: Amen."

To the body let him say with humiliation before he receive:

"Hail for evermore, thou most holy flesh of Christ; unto me, afore all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body of our Lord Jesu Christ be unto me, sinner, the way and life, in the + name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the body, a cross being first made with the same body afore his mouth, saying:

"Hail for evermore, thou heavenly drink! unto me, before all things and above all things, the highest sweetness. The body and blood of our Lord Jesu Christ profit me, sinner, for a remedy everlasting unto life eternal: Amen. In the + name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Amen."

Here let him take the blood, which when it is received, let him bow himself, and say the prayer:

"I render thanks to thee, O Lord, holy Father, almighty eternal God, which hast refreshed me out of the most holy body and blood of thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ. And I beseech thee, that this sacrament of our salvation, which I, unworthy sinner, have received, come not to my judgment nor condemnation after my merits; but to the profit of my body, and to the salvation of my soul into life everlasting: Amen."

Which prayer being said, let the priest go to the right side of the altar, with the chalice between his hands, his fingers being yet joined together as afore, and let the subdeacon approach near, and pour out wine and water into the chalice. And let the priest rinse his hands, lest any parcels of the body or blood be left behind in his fingers or in the chalice. But, when any priest must celebrate twice in one day, then, at the first mass, he must not receive any ablutio, but put it in the sacristy, or in a clean vessel, till the end of the other mass; and then let both the ablutions be received.

After the first ablutio, is said this prayer:

"That we have received with mouth, O Lord, let us take with a pure mind, and out of a temporal gift, let it be to us a remedy everlasting."

Here let him wash his fingers in the hollow room of the chalice, with wine being poured in by the subdeacon; which, when it is drunk up, let the prayer follow:

"Lord, let this communion purge us from sin, and make us to be partakers of the heavenly remedy."

After the receiving of the ablutions, let the priest lay the chalice upon the paten; that if aught remain behind, it may drop. And afterward bowing himself, let him say:

"Let us worship the sign of the cross, whereby we have received the sacrament of salvation."

Afterward let him wash his hands. In the mean season let the deacon fold up the corporas. When his hands are washen, and the priest returneth to the right end of the altar, let the deacon reach the chalice to the priest's mouth, that if aught of that which was poured in do remain behind, he may receive it. After that, let him say the communion with his ministers. Then, making a sign of the cross in his own face, let the priest turn himself to the people; and with his arms somewhat lifted up, and his hands joined together, let him say, *Dominus vobiscum*: and, turning him again to the altar, let him say, *Oremus*, "Let us pray."

Then let him say the postcommon, according to the number and order of the aforesaid prayers. Before the epistle, when the last postcommon is ended, and the priest hath made a sign of the cross in his forehead, let him turn him again to the peo-

ple, and say, *Dominus vobiscum*. Then let the deacon say, *Benedicamus Domino*. At another time is said, *Ite missa est*. As oft as *Ite missa est* is said, it is always said in turning to the people. And when *Benedicamus Domino* or *Requiescant in pace* must be said, let it be said in turning to the altar. When these things are spoken, let the priest (with his body bowed down, and his hands joined together) in the midst before the altar, say, with a still voice, this prayer:

"O holy Trinity, let the office of my bond-service please thee! and grant that this sacrifice, which I, unworthy, have offered in the eyes of thy Majesty, may be acceptable unto thee: and that unto me and all them for whom I have offered it, it may avail to obtain remission, thou being merciful, who livest and reignest God," &c.

Which prayer being ended, let the priest stand upright, crossing himself in his face, saying, *In nomine Patris*, &c. And so when obeisance is made, after the same order wherein they came afore to the altar at the beginning of the mass, so, having on their apparel, with the censer-bearer, and other ministers, let them go their way again.

THE END OF THE CANON.

Now it remaineth (as we have promised before) to treat of the parts and parcels of the Mass, declaring likewise how, and by whom, this popish, or rather apish, mass became so clamped and patched together with so many divers and sundry additions; whereby it may the better appear what hath been the continuance of the same.

First, in the beginning of this preface it was declared before, how this word "mass" was never used or known in the old primitive church among the first Christians, nor among the Grecians. Therefore they that deduce and derive the origin of the mass from St. James and Basil, are far deceived. As I think, that St. James was once bishop at Jerusalem, so I think not contrary, but sometimes he ministered at the communion there, in breaking of bread, and that not without the Lord's Prayer, and other prayers of thanksgiving, as we now in our communion use like prayers, and these prayers make not the communion to be a mass. And the like is to be said of St. Peter, who though he did celebrate the communion at Rome, yet it followeth not that he said mass at Rome, as some report him to have done.

Neither is it hard to fetch out the origin, how this error first came up among the people, that St. James said mass at Jerusalem, if a man consider well histories and authors which have written. For

in the history of Eusebius, Egesippus thus writeth of St. James, *Eum ab apostolis primum constitutum fuisse episcopum et liturgum*, &c. Upon the which word *liturgus*, it is not unlike, and divers suppose, this error to come: that St. James did first set and institute the order of mass. For so lightly the old translators, wheresoever they find *liturgia*, or *collecta*, (*κοινωνία*.) they translated it *missa*: whereupon the greatest occasion of this error riseth, to make the people believe the mass to be so ancient as to proceed from the apostles, and from St. James. Notwithstanding, that error, as it lightly came up, so it may be as lightly exploded. For how could St. James say mass then at Jerusalem, or St. Peter at Rome, when as yet neither the name of mass was heard, nor the parts thereof invented? And although Sigebert in his Chronicles reports, that in the city of Bazas, being delivered from the siege of the Huns, the pastor of that church did celebrate mass with thanksgiving, about the year 453, yet Sigebert, in so saying, is to be taken as speaking rather after the use and manner of his time when he wrote it, than of that time when it was done. For in all the works of St. Augustine, and of Chrysostom, and in all that age, the name of mass is not found, but it is called either the supper of the Lord, or the Lord's board or communion, *synaxis*, sacrifice, oblation, mystery, celebration of the sacrament, *eucharistia*, the mystical table, *mystagogia*, *cena mystica*; or with some other like term they nominate it. The name of the mass was not yet devised, nor were the patches thereof compiled. Platina testifieth, that before Pope Celestine, only the epistle and gospel were read at the communion, which being done, the communion ended. And Gregory saith, that the apostles, afore the ministration of the sacrament did use only the Lord's Prayer, that is, the Pater-noster. Let us hear what Walafridus Strabo writeth of that matter: "That which now is done in the church, with such a long circumstance of so many orisons, lessons, or readings, songs and consecrations; all that the apostles, and they that next succeeded the apostles, (as it is thought,) did accomplish simply with prayer only, and with the commemoration of the Lord's passion," &c. It followeth in the same author: "And, as the report is, like as it is in the Roman church upon Good Friday, where the communion is wont to be taken without any mass; so it was in the old time with them," &c.

Now how this mass hath grown up and increased since, let us search out, by the Lord's help, out of authors, so much as may be found.

The "Introite."

Pope Celestine gave the first *Introite*, as Platina and Sigebert write.

The Psalm. "Judica me Deus," &c.

And before the priest do prepare himself to his mass, first with the psalm, *Judica me Deus et discerne causam meam*, &c.: that was ordained by the said Celestine.

And where they ascribed to St. Ambrose the two prayers which he used in the preparation to the mass, and be added to the books of Ambrose, Erasmus judgeth the same to be none of his, and that rightly as it seemeth: for therein are contained errors, not else to be found in the books of Ambrose, both in giving adoration to the bread of the sacrament, and making invocation to saints, namely, to blessed Mary; as in the second prayer, where he saith, "And that this my prayer may be of efficacy, I desire the suffrage and intercession of blessed Mary the virgin," &c.: whereby it may appear learned Ambrose not to be the author of such an error.

Chrysostom, in the eleventh Homily upon the Gospel of Matthew, saith, that in his time, and afore his time, the use was to sing whole psalms, till they were entered and assembled together. And so be-like Celestine borrowed this custom of the Greeks, and brought it into the Latin church, as Rupertus writeth.

Gregory the Great (as some write) called a synod at Rome, about the year of our Lord 594, in which synod he appointed that the *introite* of the mass should be taken out of some psalm.

The "Confiteor."

The *Confiteor* Pope Damasus brought into the mass, as it is written: albeit peradventure not this popish *Confiteor*, which in the latter church hath been used, stuff full of idolatry and invocation of saints, against the word of God.

The "Kyrie Eleison."

The *Kyrie Eleison*, nine times to be repeated in such a tongue as few priests either understand, or do rightly pronounce, Gregory did institute about 600 years after Christ; taking it out of the Greek church, and yet transposing it otherwise than there it was used. For among the Greeks this *Kyrie Eleison*, which they called their litany, was sung of all the people; the which Gregory ordained to be sung only of the choir: adding thereto also *Christe Eleison*, which the Grecians used not; as Gregory himself, writing to the bishop of Syracuse, doth testify.

"Gloria in Excelsis."

Next followeth *Gloria in Excelsis*, &c.: which words were sung of the angels, at the birth of our Saviour. Albeit these words also were corrupted, as many other things were in the church: for where the words of the angels' hymn were "to men good will;" the mass said, "to men of good will," &c. This hymn was brought into the mass by Pope Symmachus, (and not by Telesphorus, as some not truly write, that he ordained three masses on Christmas day; for in his time there was no mass, A. D. 140,) about the year of our Lord 5th. And after, the said hymn was augmented by Hilary, of Poitiers, with those words that follow, *Laudamus te*, &c., singing it first in his own church, which was A. D. 340. And afterward it was brought into other churches by Pope Symmachus, A. D. 510, as is aforesaid.

"Dominus vobiscum," with the answer "Oramus," and the Collects.

Dominus vobiscum, with the answer of the people, although we have no certain author named by whom it came; yet this is certain, that it was deduced out of the Greek church into the Latin; as may appear by the Liturgy of Chrysostom and Basil (if the Liturgy be rightly ascribed unto them): also by Origen, and other ancient writers; by whom, it may seem that the liturgy or mass (as they call it) did first begin with *Dominus vobiscum*, and then *Sursum corda*: after that *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, and so following upon the same. *Vere dignum et justum est*, &c.: to the which beginning of the canon other additions, after, were put by others, as ye shall hear, by the Lord's grace, hereafter more at large.

Hugo de Sto. Victore writeth, that this prayer was taken out of the ancient salutation of Boaz saluting his harvest-folks. And out of the book of Paralipomena, where the prophet saluteth Asa the king, with his company about him, saying, *Dominus vobiscum*. Honorius writeth thus: "As the priest saluteth the people with the words of the Old Testament, *Dominus vobiscum*: so the bishop useth the words of the New Testament, saying, *Pax vobiscum*," &c. Concerning the collects, Walafridus writeth, that as they be divers and uncertain, so they were made of divers and sundry authors, as every of them thought it congrue. Hugo de Sto. Victore affirms, that chiefly they were made by Gelasius and Gregory.

Why they were called collects, William Durand and Micrologus show the cause: for that in the city of Rome they said them over the people col-

lected together on the station-day, therefore they were called *collectæ*.

The "Gradual," with "Alleluia," "Tract," and "Sequences."

The responsory, which is called the "gradual," (being wont to be sung at the steps going up,) with Alleluia, Honorius saith that Ambrose made them, but Pope Gregory ordained them to be received.

Upon festival days the "sequences," which were wont to be sung, were chiefly composed by an abbot called Notherus de Sto. Gallo, and by Pope Nicholas commanded to be sung in the mass.

The gradual the people were wont to sing when the bishop was about to go up to the pulpit, or some higher standing, where the word of God might be the better and more sensibly heard at his mouth, reading the epistle and the gospel.

The epistle and the gospel.

The reading of the epistle and the gospel, although it was not used in the apostles' times, yet it seemeth to be of ancient continuance, as Hugo saith: "In former time the mass began first with the epistle of St. Paul, after which epistle then followed the gospel, as also now," &c.

Walafridus saith, "It is uncertain who first ordered and disposed them so to be."

Some attribute them to Jerome, some to Damasus, some to Telesphorus aforesaid. This is certain, that Pope Anastasius ordained to stand up at the hearing of the gospel read; about the year of our Saviour 406.

Petrus Ciruelus writeth thus: "We read that about five hundred years since almost, the epistle," saith he, "was brought into the mass."

Honorius: "Alexander," saith he, "appointed the epistle and gospel to be read at mass. The translation and the disposition of them, in that order as they stand, Jerome the priest collected; but Damasus appointed them to be read in the church, so as the use is now."

Betwixt the epistle and the gospel the old canons of the Spaniards did forbid any hymn or canticle to be sung in the order of the mass, which now by the Romish order is broken.

The Creed.

The creed was made by the synod of Constantinople, but, by Damasus the pope, ordained to be sung at the mass. And whereas some affirm, that it was brought in by Pope Marcus, about the year of our Lord 340—to reconcile these two together, peradventure thus it may be taken, that the

one brought in the creed, or symbol, of the Nicene council, the other appointed the creed of Constantinople, as is said.

The Offertory.

After this, oblations were wont to be offered of the people to the priest; and the offertory to be sung of the choir.

Of these oblations speaketh Irenæus: "Instead of the sundry rites of sacrifices, let the simple oblation of bread and wine suffice the faithful."

Item, Walafridus: "Every person entering in the church must do sacrifice, as the order of ecclesiastical institution doth teach." What order this was, it is declared in *Ordine Romano* by these words: "The people give every one his oblations; that is, bread and wine, first the men, then the women. After them priests and deacons offer, but bread only," &c.

Likewise Burchardus testifieth the same: "In the synod of Mâcon it was ordained, that every Sunday and festival day, oblation should be made of all the people which came to the mass, or liturgy, both men and women, in the church; every person bringing and offering his own oblation. The liturgy being done, they should receive the oblations of the priest," &c.

Thus ye may see what were their oblations and sacrifice in the ancient time, in their liturgy. Whereof now remaineth nothing but the name only with the song.

This offertory some ascribe to Eutychianus, about the year of our Lord 280, but thereof no certain evidence appeareth.

"Orate pro me, fratres," &c.

Naclerus writeth, that Pope Leo brought in that which is said in the mass, *Orate pro me. fratres et sorores*, &c.

The preface of the canon.

The preface of the canon from *vere dignum et justum est*, &c., to *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, is given to Gelasius. *Sursum corda* seemeth to be borrowed out of the old manner of the Greek church; St. Cyprian also maketh mention of the same, and St. Augustine. And therefore Thomas Walden judgeth that this part of the preface cannot be attributed to Gelasius.

After *Christum Dominum nostrum*, in the old liturgy, then followed *Qui pridie quam pateretur*, as Rhenanus supposeth; but then came Gelasius I. about the year of our Lord 497, which inserted that which followeth, *Te igitur clementis ime*, &c. Whereby it is to be noted, that Polydore Virgil,

which ascribeth *Qui pridie* to Pope Alexander, is deceived.

The like is also to be said of Panormitane, who referreth the same clause, *Qui pridie*, &c., to the apostles.

Furthermore note, good reader, how this doth agree with the long canon of St. Ambrose (lib. iv. de Sacrament. cap. 5): *Dicit Sacerdos, Fac nobis hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationalem, acceptabilem, quod est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesus Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem, respexit ad cœlum, ad te Sancte Pater omnipotens et æterne Deus, gratias agens benedixit, fregit*, &c. If it be true either that Panormitane saith, or that Gelasius made *Qui pridie*, &c., how can this canon then be fathered upon St. Ambrose? And by the same reason also his whole book, entituled *De Sacramentis*, may be suspected; as of divers learned men it is.

Then came Pope Sixtus ten years after him, who brought into the canon *Sanctus, Sanctus*, thrice to be sung out of the book of Isaiah; and, to annex it together, joined also that which goeth before, *Per quem majestatem tuam*, &c.

He that writeth the Liturgy of Basil, ascribeth it to his name: whether he doth it truly or no, I will not here contend. This is to be noted, that seeing in the said Liturgy of Basil the same particle *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth: pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua, Osanna in Excelsis* is sung; therefore it must needs follow, that either Leo, who was about the year of our Lord 460, borrowed this out of Basil's Liturgy, or else the same is falsely attributed to Basil.

After this followeth *Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam*, till ye come to *placatus accipias*, which Leo the First did make and institute.

The words in the communion, *Hoc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei memoriam facietis*, &c., were put in by Pope Alexander, as Humbertus writeth: *Alexander martyr. et papa quintus ab apost. Petro, passionem Domini inserens canonis missæ, ait, Hoc quotiescunque feceritis*, &c.

Pope Gregory the Third, about the year of our Lord 732, put to his piece, *Et eorum quorum memoria*, &c.

This Gregory the Third called a council at Rome, wherein he decreed, that images should not only be had in temples, but also be worshipped, and that all gainsayers should be counted as heretics.

Innocent the Third affirmeth Pope Gelasius, who was about four hundred and ninety years after Christ, to have made a great piece of that canon,

as he himself did something therein, about the year of our Lord 1215.

Panormitane affirmeth that Gregory did add to the canon this clause, *Diesque nostros in par disponas*.

Briefly, Gregory saith, "that one Scholasticus made the most part of the canon, finding also he had with the same, that in composing the canon he would put in his own prayers, and leave out the Lord's Prayer," &c.

Where it is to be noted, for the reconciling these writers together, of whom some impute the canon to Gelasius, some again to Scholasticus: in my conjecture it may be said, that both these were one, and so the matter is reconciled. The reason that moveth me is this; for so I find in a certain ancient book *De Officio Missæ*, after these words *Gelasius, Papa ex Scholastico effectus, in ordine 48. fecit Tractatus et Hymnos*, &c.

The elevation and adoration.

The elevation and adoration of the sacrament we cannot find to come in by any other than by Honorius the Third, about the year of our Lord 1222: who ordained that the people then should kneel down and worship the sacrament.

The "Pater-noster."

John the deacon, writing of Gregory, saith, "that Gregory caused the Lord's Prayer to be recited immediately after the canon upon the host," &c.

Although the apostles ever used the Lord's Prayer at the supper of the Lord, as is said before: yet Gregory (belike) placed it so, in that order, after the canon, and brought it in with those words *Præceptis salutaribus*, &c.

Gregory: "The Lord's Prayer," saith he. "amongst the Grecians, was wont to be sung generally of all the people: with us it is sung only of the priest."

The "Agnus."

The *Agnus*, Pope Sergius, about the year of our Lord 700, brought into the mass, as witnesseth *Expositio Rom. Ordin. Propter officium confractionis Dominici corporis, constitutum est a papa Sergio ut Agnus Dei decantetur*, &c.

The "Pax."

Innocent ordained the *pax* to be given to the people. *Pacis, ait, osculum dandum post confecta mysteria, ut constet populum ad omnia quæ in mysteriis aguntur, præbuisse consensum*, &c.

Peter Martyr, in his commentaries on Jude, saith,

that it was brought in by Pope Leo the Second, as it is said: and yet he supposeth the same not to be so, saying, "That this was an ancient custom in the apostles' time, for Christians to salute one another with the kiss of peace," &c.

To this of Peter Martyr agreeth also Gabriel Biel, writing in these words: "In the primitive church the priest gave a kiss of peace to the minister, to be given by him to the people."

The distribution and communion.

After this followeth the communion, wherein our popish mass and ministers thereof do much alter and degenerate from ancient antiquity, two manner of ways. First, in that they make no communion thereof, receiving only to themselves, contrary both to their own words, where they say after their receiving, *Sacramenta quæ sumpsimus*, &c., and also to the ancient examples and decrees of the apostles and others; and where it is decreed in the epistle of Anacletus, "The consecration being done, let all communicate together; unless they will be thrust out of the church doors," &c.

Here note by the way, gentle reader, how Gratian, the writer of the pope's decrees, is overseen, who, in his book *De Consecrat.*, dist. 2, referreth this saying of Anacletus to Pope Calixtus. And likewise also Cochleus, writing against Musculus, followeth Gratian in the same error.

Likewise in the canons of the apostles (if the canons were theirs) we read, "All the faithful, who resort to the church, and tarry not out the end of the service, and receive not the holy communion, be such as, bringing in disorder to the church, ought to be dissevered," &c. And again, *Si quis episcopus, presbyter, aut diaconus, aut quicumque ex sacerdotali consortio, oblatione facta, non communicaverint, causam dicito*, &c.

For how can that be called a communion, which is not common, but private to one? As Micrologus writeth: "It cannot be called a communion, except more than one do participate of one sacrifice," &c.

And Durandus: "In the primitive time all that were present at the ministrations were wont every day to communicate, because that the apostles did all together drink of the cup," &c.

Secondly, They alter and degenerate therein from ancient antiquity, in that when they communicate also with the people, yet they deprive them of the holy cup: which deprivation was not in the church before the council of Constance, about the year of our Lord 1414. For before, it was so authentically received, that it was counted a sacrilege to receive the one without the other, as appeareth by the words of Pope Gelasius. The whole in

English is this: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving the one part only of the holy body, abstain from the cup of the sacred blood; who, because they be taught so to do, (by what superstition I cannot tell,) either let them receive the sacrament whole together, or let them abstain from the whole sacrament altogether; because the division of that one and whole sacrament cannot be without great sacrilege," &c.

Hitherto also pertaineth the testimony of St. Augustine in these words: "There be you at the table; and at the cup there also be you with us: for together we receive, and together we drink, because we live together."

As also out of the book of Gregory it is manifest, that not only the people received them in both kinds; but also the words were prescribed to the minister, that he should say in giving the cup: "Let the priest say, in giving the cup, 'The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ keep thee to everlasting life, Amen.'"

Further, in rendering the cause why it should so be done, Thomas Aquinas writeth: "For that serveth to represent the passion of Christ, wherein his blood was parted severally from the body, &c. Secondly, for that it is convenient to the use of the sacrament, that the body should severally be given to the faithful for meat, and the blood for drink."

And therefore served the office of the deacons, as we read: "To lay the offerings of the people upon the altar to be hallowed, and when the mysteries be consecrated, to distribute the cup of the sacred blood of the Lord to the faithful," &c.

But among all other testimonies to prove that the sacrament ought to be common to all people in both kinds, there is none more evident than that of Jerome: "The supper of the Lord ought to be indifferently common to all his disciples there present," &c.

And thus have ye heard the canon described, which otherwise is called *Secretum*: that is, "The secret of the mass," being so termed, because the priest was wont to read it in secret or in silence. The reason thereof Pope Innocent the Third declareth in his third book: "For that the holy words," saith he, "of the canon should not grow in contempt with the people, by the daily use and hearing thereof." And he bringeth in an example concerning the same of certain shepherds, which in the fields, using the same words of the canon upon their bread and wine, "the matter was turned," saith he, "into flesh and blood, and they plagued there-for from heaven:" but with such popish tales the church hath been long replenished.

The Postcommon.

After the canon and communion then followeth the postcommon, with the collects, which the mass-book requireth always to be used in an odd number, sometimes teaching to use but one, as in the Sundays in Lent; and sometimes three, as in certain masses from Low-Sunday till the Ascension; but never to pass the number of seven.

“*Ite missa est.*”

Last of all cometh *Ite missa est*, whereby the minister dimitteth and sendeth away all the congregation there present to their business: for, as you heard before, it was decreed in ancient time, that it was not lawful to depart from the congregation in the time of holy ministration, before the end of the whole communion. And therefore, all things being accomplished, the minister, turning to the assembly, pronounceth, *Ite missa est*.

Where note, that upon Sundays and festival days only, when *Gloria in excelsis* was sung, *Ite missa est* was wont to be said: on the work days *Benedicamus Domino*; sometimes *Requiescant in pace*.

Now concerning such trinkets as were to the aforesaid mass appertaining or circumstant: first, the linen albes and corporasses were brought in by Pope Mark, A. D. 340; if that be true which is thought by some. Where note again, that in the time of this pope it was nothing offensive for every honest priest to have his own proper wife. In the time also of this Mark was the council of Elvira in Spain, which condemned all kinds of images and pictures in temples.

Contrary to the which council Pope Gregory the Third, about the year of our Lord 732, calling a council at Rome, did not only stablish the images before condemned, but condemned the gainsayers for heretics, as is aforesaid.

By Sixtus the Second it was ordained, that no liturgy should be done save only upon altars hallowed, about the year of our Lord 260, as some suppose. But as I see no firm probation upon the same, so have I probable conjecture the same not to be true.

Some there be that shame not to say, that St. Clement brought in the albes and vestments to the popish mass.

Item, That the sacrament of the blood of the Lord should be consecrated in chalices of glass, and not of wood, as it was in time before, they say it was the ordinance of Pope Zephyrinus.

After this came in golden chalices, and a true

proverb withal, “That once they had wooden chalices, and golden priests; now they have golden chalices, and wooden priests.”

Sabinian ordained the ringing of bells and burning of lamps in churches.

Vitalian, the playing on the organs.

Damasus, by the instigation of Jerome, appointed *Gloria Patri* after the Psalms.

Pelagius devised the memento for the dead.

Leo brought in the incense.

Eutychian, as others say, brought in the offertory, which was then after a manner far otherwise than it is, or hath been used now a great while. For what time as many of the heathen, being greatly accustomed with offerings, were converted unto Christ, and could not be well brought from their old long use of offerings, the pope thought to bear somewhat with the weak, and permitted them to bring meats into the congregation or church, that when the bishop had blessed them, they that brought them might distribute them to the poor, or take them to their own use. But afterwards did Pope Gregory so help with this sentence, “Thou shalt not appear in the sight of thy God empty,” &c. that as he willed the people to lay their offerings upon the altar, so they did; and have not yet forgotten to do so still.

Soul-masses, and masses applied for the dead, came in partly by Gregory, partly by Pelagius, who brought in the Memento, as is said.

Wherein note, good reader, and mark, how these two stand together, that which our Saviour saith in his evangelist, Do this in remembrance of me; and that which they say, “In whose commemoration the body of Christ is taken,” &c. Christ would it to be done in his remembrance; and the pope saith, “Do it in remembrance of the dead,” &c.—What can be more contrary?

Innocent the Third ordained that the sacrament should be reserved in the church. The same brought also in auricular confession as a law, about the year of our Lord 1215. He did also constitute that no archbishop should enjoy the pall, unless he were of his own religion; and therefore no great marvel if there be such unity in popery.

Vigilius ordained that the priest should say mass having his face toward the east.

Platina writeth how the first Latin mass was sung in the sixth council of Constantinople, which was about the year of our Lord 680: so that the said mass was there and then first allowed, and not before. And yet they (I mean the Greek church) should have known as soon as the mass, if it had proceeded from James or Basil, as the Latin church did know it.

The opinion to think the mass to help souls in purgatory, was confirmed by Pope John the Seventeenth by reason of a dream, wherein he dreamed that he saw (and heard the voices of) devils lamenting and bewailing, that souls were delivered from them by the saying of masses and diriges. And therefore he did approve and ratify the feast of All Soules, brought in by Odilo. Moreover he adjoined also to the same the feast of Allhallows, about the year of our Lord 1003.

Concerning Lent fast, some think that Telesphorus, about the year of our Lord 140, was the author thereof. But that peradventure may be as true, as that which they also attribute to him, that he ordained three masses of one priest to be said on Christmas day. Or, if he did ordain that fast, yet he did ordain it but freely to be kept: for so I find among the decrees, that Lent was commanded first to be fasted but only of the clergy or churchmen.

Pope Leo commanded the sacrament to be censured.

Pope Boniface set in his foot for covering of the altar.

In St. Cyprian's time it seemeth that water was then mingled with the wine, whereof we read mention in his second book of Epistles, which mixture is referred to Alexander the First, in the Order of the Roman canon.

As concerning the breaking of the body in three parts, we read also mention to be made in the same book of Order, but no certain author thereof to be named. The words of the book be these: "Three ways is the body of the Lord understood: one which rose again from the dead, being signified by that part which is let fall to the blood in the chalice; the other is that which yet is living in the earth, which the part of the priest eaten doth signify; the third is that which now resteth in Christ, which also is figured by that particle that is reserved upon the altar."

Dedication of churches came in by Felix the Third; and that churches might not be hallowed but by a bishop, A. D. 492.

The canticle, *Gloria laus*, &c., in the procession before the mass on Palm Sunday, was instituted by Theodulphus, bishop of Orleans, as Sigebert writeth, about the year of our Lord 483.

Giving of holy bread came in by this occasion, as it is to be gathered, partly out of Honorius, partly out of Durandus, and others. The manner was in ancient time, that the ministers were wont to receive certain meal of every house or family, where-with a great loaf was made, called *Panis Domini-cus*, able to serve in the communion, and to be distributed unto the people, who then were wont every day to be present and to receive, especially they that

offered the meal: for whom it was wont therefore to be said in the canon, *Omnium circumstantium, qui tibi hoc sacrificium laudis offerunt*, &c. But afterward, the number of the people increasing, and piety decreasing, as Durandus writeth, it was then ordained to communicate but only upon Sundays.

At length followed the third constitution, that thrice a year, at least Easter, every man should communicate; it being thus provided, that instead of the daily communion before used, the *pax* did serve. And instead of receiving upon the Sunday, bread was hallowed, and suddenly given and distributed unto the people, which also was called *Eulogia*: the constitution whereof seemeth to proceed from Pope Pius. For so we read in the decrees of the said Pope Pius: "That the minister shall take of the oblations offered of the people, remaining of the consecration, or else of the bread which the faithful bring unto the church, or else to take of his own bread, and cut it conveniently in portions in a clean and a convenient vessel; so that after the solemnity of the ministration being done, they that were not prepared and ready to communicate, may receive every Sunday or festival day 'eulogies,' or benedictions, with the same."

As concerning holy water, which they used to sprinkle at the church door upon them that entered in, I will not say that it sprung from the idolatrous use of the Gentiles.

This I say as I find in *Historia Zozomeni*: "It was an old custom among the Romans, that at the entering in at the church door, the priest, after the usual manner of the ethnics, having in his hand moist branches of olive, did sprinkle with the same such as entered in," &c. To the which custom this our manner of giving of holy water is so like, that it seemeth to proceed out of the same.

In the book of the pope's Decrees, and in the Distinctions of Gratian, there is a certain decree fathered upon Alexander the First, about the year of our Lord 121; which decree may well seem to be a bastard decree, neither agreeing to such a father, nor such a time, concerning the conjuring of holy water. The words of the decree be these: "We bless water sprinkled with salt among the people, that all such as be sprinkled with the same may be sanctified and purified; which thing we charge and command all priests to do. For if the ashes of the cow, in the old law, being sprinkled among the people, did sanctify and cleanse them, much more water sprinkled with salt, and hallowed with godly prayers, sanctifieth and cleanseth the people. And if that Elisha the prophet, by the sprinkling of salt, did heal and help the barrenness of the water; how much more doth the salt, being hallowed by godly

prayers, take away the barrenness of human things, and sanctify and purge them that be defiled; also multiply other things that be good, and turn away the snares of the devil, and defend men from the deceptions of fantasy," &c.

Thus ye have heard the author and father of holy water, which some also ascribe to Pope Sixtus, who succeeded Alexander: but as the papists do not agree in the first author or institutor of this hallowing of elements, so I think the same untruly to be ascribed to either. But leaving the probation of this to further leisure, let us now hear, in our own tongue, their own words, which they use in this their conjuration.

The form and words used of the priest in conjuring salt.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of salt, by the + living God, by the + true God, by the holy God, &c.: that thou mayest be made a conjured salt, to the salvation of them that believe; and that unto all such as receive thee thou mayest be health of soul and body; and that from out of the place wherein thou shalt be sprinkled, may fly away and depart all fantasy, wickedness, or craftiness of the devil's subtlety, and every foul spirit," &c.

The form of conjuring water.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of water, in the name of + God the Father almighty, and in the name of + Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue + of the Holy Ghost, that thou become a conjured water to expel all power of the enemy," &c.

Who seeth not in these words blasphemy intolerable; how that which is only due to the blood of Christ, and promised to faith only in him, is transferred to earthly and insensate creatures, to be salvation both to body and spirit, inwardly to give remission of sins, to give health and remedy against evils and devils, against all fantasies, wickedness, and all foul spirits, and to expel the power of the enemy, &c.? If this be true, whereto serveth the blood of Christ, and the virtue of Christian faith?

Therefore judge thyself, gentle reader, whether thou think this trumpery rightly to be fathered upon those ancient fathers aforementioned; or else whether it may seem more like truth that John Sleidan writeth, whose words, in his second book *De Monarchiis*, are these: "The decrees of these aforesaid bishops and martyrs be inserted in the Book of Councils; but of these decrees many be so childish, so trifling, and so far disagreeing from the Holy Scripture, that it is very like that the same were

feigned and counterfeited of others long after their time," &c. Thus much saith Sleidan, with more words in that place; unto whose testimony if I might be so bold also to add my conjecture, I would suppose the conjuration of this aforesaid water and salt to spring out of the same fountain from whence proceeded the conjuring of flowers and branches, because I see the order and manner of them both to be so like and uniform as may appear.

The manner of hallowing flowers and branches.

"I conjure thee, thou creature of flowers and branches, in the name of + God the Father almighty, and in the name of + Jesu Christ his Son our Lord, and in the virtue of the Holy + Ghost. Therefore be thou rooted out and displanted from this creature of flowers and branches, all the strength of the adversary, all thou host of the devil, and all the power of the enemy, even every assault of the devils," &c.

And thus much concerning the antiquity of holy bread and holy water; whereby thou mayest partly conjecture the same not to be so old as Stephen Gardiner, in his letter against Master Ridley above mentioned, would have; being both deceived himself, and also going about to seduce others.

Furthermore, as touching the relics and the memorial of saints brought into the mass, Gregory the Third is the author thereof, who also added to the canon thereof this clause, *Quorum solemnitas hodie in conspectu Divinae majestatis tua celebrantur*, &c.

Finally, it were too long to recite every thing in order, devised and brought in particularly to the mass, and to the church. For after that man's brain was once set on devising, it never could make an end of heaping rite upon rite, and ceremony upon ceremony, till all religion was turned well nigh to superstition. Thereof cometh oil and cream, brought in by Pope Silvester, not wont to be hallowed but by a bishop: that the corporas should not be of silk, but only of fine linen cloth: that the psalms should be sung on sides, the one side of the choir singing one verse, the other another, with *Gloria Patri*, &c.: that baptism should be ministered at no other time in the year but only at Easter and Whitsuntide, (save only to infants, and such as were in extreme infirmity,) and that it should be required forty days before: so determined by Pope Siricius. And therefore was it that fonts were hallowed only at these two seasons, the which hallowing they keep yet still, but the ordinance they have rejected. Item, that bells also were christened. Item, no priest should wear a beard, or have long

hair: so appointed by Pope Martin the First. Item, that auricular confession should be made, that the book of decrees and decretals should be established, and transubstantiation confirmed; in which three acts Pope Innocent the Third was the chiefest doer, about the year of our Lord 1215.

And thus have ye in sum the gatherings of the mass, with the canon and all the appurtenance of the same: which, not much unlike to the crow of Æsop, being patched with the feathers of so many birds, was so long a gathering, that the temple of Solomon was not so long in building, as the pope's mass was in making. Whereby judge now thyself,

good reader, whether this mass did proceed from James and other apostles, or no. And yet this was one of the principal causes for which so much turmoil was made in the church, with the bloodshed of so many godly men, suffering in so many quarters of this realm; some consumed by fire; some pined away with hunger; some hanged; some slain; some racked; some tormented one way, some another: and that only or chiefly for the cause of this aforesaid popish mass; as by the reading of this story following, by the grace of Christ our Lord, shall appear more at large. In whom I wish thee to continue in health, and to persevere in the truth.

The first entering of Queen Mary to the crown, with the alteration of religion, and other perturbations happening the same time in this realm of England.

THAT time King Edward, by long sickness, began to appear more feeble and weak, in the mean while, during the time of this his sickness, a certain marriage was provided, the same solemn-

Guilford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the Lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother, being then alive, was daughter to Mary, King Henry's second sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterward to Charles duke of Suffolk. But to make no long tarriance hereupon, the marriage being ended, and the king waxing every day more sick than other, whereas indeed there seemed in him no hope of recovery, it was brought to pass by the consent not only of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king, by his testament, did appoint the aforesaid Lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheritrix unto the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor and city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers

ized in the month of May, between the Lord

of this realm, saving only Justice Hales of Kent, a man both favouring true religion, and also an upright judge as any hath been noted in this realm, who, giving his consent unto Lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to Lady Jane. Of this man (God willing) you shall hear more in the sequel of this story. The causes laid against Lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared she would marry with a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown; as also that she would clean alter religion, used both in King Henry her father's, and also in King Edward her brother's days, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm, which indeed afterward came to pass, as by the course and sequel of this story may well appear.

Much probable matter they had thus to conjecture of her, by reason of her great stubbornness showed and declared in her brother's days, as in the letters before mentioned, passing between her and King Edward and the council, may appear. The matter being thus concluded, and after confirmed by every man's hand, King Edward, an imp of so great hope, not long after this, departed by the vehemency of his sickness, when he was sixteen years of age; with whom also decayed in a manner the whole flourishing estate and honour of the English nation.

When King Edward was dead, this Jane was established in the kingdom by the nobles' consent, and was forthwith published queen by proclamation at London, and in other cities where was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and King Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues she was not only equal, but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned. If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joined with fineness of wit, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the house of Vespasians, Sempronians, and the mother of the Gracchi, yea, to any other women beside, that deserved high praise for their singular learning; but also to the university men, which have taken many degrees of the schools.

In the mean time, while these things were a working at London, Mary, which had knowledge of her brother's death, writeth to the lords of the council in form as followeth.

A letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the lords of the council, wherein she claimeth the crown after the decease of King Edward.

"My Lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement, that our dearest brother the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's

mercy; which news how woeful they be unto a heart, he only knoweth, to whose will and pleasure we must, and do, humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is to wit, after his Majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dear father, besides other circumstances advancing a right, you know, the realm and the whole world knoweth; the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm, that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would, pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves cared and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall care our right and title in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we his children had no knowledge from you thereof, yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that shortly after amongst you debated, pondered, and weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust with much assurance in your loyalty and service; and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst, and that ye will, like noble men, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared—by whom, and to what end, God and we know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. Be it that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else hath moved you thereto; yet doubt ye not, my Lords, but we can take all these your doings in gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely, to eschew bloodshed and vengeance, against all those that are or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly, ye will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of others our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole affiance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my Lords, we require you, and charge you and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person, only employ yourselves, and forthwith, upon receipt hereof, cause our right and title to the crown and government of

his realm to be proclaimed in our city of London and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth; not failing hereof as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Kenning-hall, the ninth of July, 1553."

tres humble et tres obeissantefil

MP

To this letter of the Lady Mary, the lords of the council make answer again, as followeth:

"Madam, we have received your letters, the ninth of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge yourself to have, to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady Queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, councillors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: we must, therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said Grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but, for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and the Lady Katharine your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliaments remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unheritable to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same, you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for the just inheritance

of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and greatest personages aforesaid, surcease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady Queen Jane's subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her Grace: assuring you, that if you will for respect show yourself quiet and obedient, (as you ought,) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and be glad, with your quietness, to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this ninth of July, 1553.

"Your Ladyship's friends, showing yourself an obedient subject,

Thomas Canterbury.	Huntingdon.
The Marquis of Winchester.	Darcy.
John Bedford.	Cheney.
William Northampton.	R. Cotton.
Thomas Ely, chancellor.	John Gates.
Northumberland.	W. Peter.
Henry Suffolk.	W. Cecil.
Henry Arundel.	John Cheke.
Shrewsbury.	John Mason.
Pembroke.	Edward North.
Cobham.	R. Bower."
R. Riche.	

After this answer received, and the minds of the lords perceived, Lady Mary speedeth herself secretly away far off from the city, hoping chiefly upon the good will of the commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret advertisements of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, and perceived her stoutness, and that all came not to pass as they supposed, they gathered speedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand, and so have the leading of the band. But afterward, altering their minds, they thought it best to send forth the duke of Northumberland, with certain other lords and gentlemen; and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the Lord Guilford and the Lady Jane the same time were lodged.

In the which expedition the guard also, albeit they were much unwilling at the first thereunto, yet notwithstanding, through the vehement persuasions of the lord treasurer, Master Chomley, and others, they were induced to assist the duke, and to set forward with him.

These things thus agreed upon, and the duke

now being set forward after the best array out of London, having notwithstanding his times prescribed, and his journey appointed by the council, to the intent he might not seem to do any thing but upon warrant, Mary, in the mean while, tossed with much travail up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew herself into the quarters of Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been done there of late under King Edward, in subduing the rebels; and there, gathering to her such aid of the commons on every side as she might, kept herself close for a space within Framlingham castle. To whom first of all resorted the Suffolk men; who, being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt the alteration of the religion, which her brother King Edward had before established by laws and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm in that behalf.

To make the matter short, unto this condition she estoons agreed, with such promise made unto them that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have misdoubted her. Which promise, if she had as constantly kept, as they did willingly preserve her with their bodies and weapons, she had done a deed both worthy her blood, and had also made her reign more stable to herself through former tranquillity. For though a man be never so puissant of power, yet breach of promise is an evil upholder of quietness; fear is worse; but cruelty is the worst of all.

Thus Mary, being guarded with the power of the gossellers, did vanquish the duke, and all those that came against her. In consideration whereof it was, methinks, a heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who did make supplication to her Grace to perform her promise: "Forasmuch," saith she, "as you, being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." And not only that, but also to cause the more terror unto others, a certain gentleman named Master Dobbe, dwelling about Wyndham side, for the same cause, (that is, for advertising her by humble request of her promise,) was punished, being three sundry times set on the pillory to be a gazing-stock unto all men. Divers others delivered her books and supplications made out of the Scripture, to exhort her to continue in the doctrine then established; and for their good will were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature, as here you see, that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship

when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit, against all this, one sheet-anchor we have, which may be a sure comfort to all miserable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above; though the same, being shut out of the doors in this world, be not to be found here among men. But, seeing our intent is to write a story, not to treat of office, let us lay Suffolk men aside for a while, whose deserts, for their readiness and diligence with the queen, I will not here stand upon. What she performed on her part, the thing itself, and the whole story of this persecution, do testify, as hereafter more plainly will appear.

On the contrary side, the duke of Northumberland, having his warrant under the broad seal, with all furniture in readiness, as he took his voyage, and was now forward in his way; what ado there was, what stirring on every side, what sending, what riding and posting, what letters, messages, and instructions went to and fro, what talking among the soldiers, what heart-burning among the people, what fair pretences outwardly, inwardly what privy practices there were, what speeding of ordnance daily and hourly out of the Tower, what rumours and coming down of soldiers from all quarters there were; a world it was to see, and a process to declare, enough to make a whole Iliad.

The greatest help that made for the Lady Mary was the short journeys of the duke, which by commission were assigned to him before, as is above mentioned. For the longer the duke lingered in his voyage, the Lady Mary the more increased in puissance, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her, which after the council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them, to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for queen the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to King Henry the Eighth, and appointed by parliament to succeed King Edward, dying without issue.

And so the duke of Northumberland, being by counsel and advice sent forth against her, was left destitute, and forsaken alone at Cambridge with some of his sons, and a few others, among whom the earl of Huntingdon was one; who there were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown, notwithstanding that he had there proclaimed her queen before.

Thus have ye Mary now made a queen, and the sword of authority put into her hand, which how she afterward did use, we may see in the sequel of this book. Therefore, (as I said,) when she had

been thus advanced by the gospellers, and saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, sending the duke captive to the Tower before, (which was the twenty-fifth of July,) she followed not long after, being brought up the third day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many men, but with a greater fear of more, and yet with flattery peradventure most great, of feigned hearts.

Thus coming up to London, her first lodging she

took at the Tower, where the aforesaid Lady Jane, with her husband the Lord Guilford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five months. But the duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded; albeit he, having a promise, and being put in hope of pardon, (yea, though his head were upon the block,) if he would

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dently declared himself both to favour and further—exhorting also the people to return to the catholic faith, as he termed it; whose recantation the papists did forthwith publish and set abroad, rejoicing not a little at his conversion, or rather subversion, as then appeared.

Thus the duke of Northumberland, with Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, (which Palmer, on

the Tower, gave a heavy show and signification hereby, but especially by the sudden delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion, as in very deed the surmise of the people was therein nothing deceived.

Besides the premises, other things also followed, which every day more and more discomforted the people, declaring the queen to bear no good will to the present state of religion; as not only the releasing of Gardiner, being then made lord chancellor of England and bishop of Winchester, Dr. Poyntet being

put out; but also that Bonner was restored to his bishopric again, and Dr. Ridley displaced. Item, Dr. Day, to the bishopric of Chichester; John Scory being put out. Item, Dr. Tonsal to the bishopric of Durham. Item, Dr. Heath to the bishopric of Worcester, and John Hooper committed to the Fleet. Item, Dr. Vesey to Exeter, and Miles Coverdale put out. These things being marked and perceived, great heaviness and discomfort grew more and more to all good men's hearts; but on the contrary, to the wicked, great rejoicing: in which discord of minds, and diversity of affections, was now to be seen a miserable face of things in the whole commonwealth of England. They that could dissemble, took no great care how the matter went: but such whose consciences were joined to truth, perceived already coals to be kindled, which after should be the destruction of many a true Christian man; as indeed it came to pass. In the mean while Queen Mary, after these beginnings, having removed from the Tower to Hampton Court, caused a parliament to be summoned against the tenth of October next ensuing, whereof more is to be said hereafter.

Ye heard before, how divers bishops were removed, and others placed in their rooms; amongst whom was Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, a worthy man both of fame and learning. This Dr. Ridley, in the time of Queen Jane, had made a sermon at Paul's Cross, so commanded by the council; declaring there his mind to the people as touching the Lady Mary, and dissuaded them, alleging there the incommodities and inconveniences which might rise by receiving her to be their queen; prophesying, as it were before, that which after came to pass, that she would bring in foreign power to reign over them, besides the subverting also of all Christian religion then already established: showing, moreover, that the same Mary being in his diocese, he, according to his duty, (being then her ordinary,) had travailed much with her to reduce her to this religion, and notwithstanding in all other points of civility she showed herself gentle and tractable, yet in matters that concerned true faith and doctrine, she showed herself so stiff and obstinate, that there was no other hope of her to be conceived, but to disturb and overturn all that, which, with so great labours, had been confirmed and planted by her brother afore. Shortly after this sermon, Queen Mary was proclaimed; whereupon he, speedily repairing to Framlingham to salute the queen, had such cold welcome there, that, being despoiled of all his dignities, he was sent back upon a lame halting horse to the Tower.

After him preached also Master Rogers the next

Sunday, entreating very learnedly upon the gospel of the same day.

This so done, Queen Mary, seeing all things yet not going so after her mind as she desired, devised with her council to bring to pass that thing by other means, which as yet, by open law, she could not well accomplish; directing forth an inhibition by proclamation, that no man should preach or read openly in churches the word of God, besides other things also in the same proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof here followeth.

An inhibition of the queen, for preaching, printing, &c.

"The queen's Highness, well remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her Highness's realm in times past, through the diversity of opinions in questions of religion, and hearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by some light and evil-disposed persons, hath thought good to do to understand, to all her Highness's most loving subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

"First, her Majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God settled in her just possession of the imperial crown of this realm, and other dominions thereunto belonging, cannot now hide that religion, which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto: which as her Majesty is minded to observe and maintain for herself by God's grace, during her time, so doth her Highness much desire, and would be glad, the same were of all her subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

"And yet she doth signify unto all her Majesty's loving subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her Highness mindeth not to compel any her said subjects thereunto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein: forbidding nevertheless all her subjects of all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or stir unquietness in her people, by interpreting the laws of this realm after their brains and fantasies, but quietly to continue for the time, till (as before is said) further order may be taken, and therefore willetth and straitly chargeth and commandeth all her said good loving subjects to live together in quiet sort and Christian charity, leaving those new-found devilish terms of papist or heretic, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travail, to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, as their

ives may indeed express that great hunger and thirst of God's glory and holy word, which, by rash talk and words, many have pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the laws, and maintain the tranquillity of the realm. Whereof as her Highness shall be most glad, so, if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any public assemblies, or otherwise, shall go about to stir the people to disorder or disquiet, she mindeth, according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her Highness's laws.

"And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that sedition and false rumours have been nourished and maintained in this realm, by the subtlety and malice of some evil-disposed persons, which take upon them, without sufficient authority, to preach and to interpret the word of God after their own brain in churches, and other places both public and private, and also by playing of interludes, and printing of false-found books, ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high points and mysteries of Christian religion; which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the printers and stationers set out to sale to her Grace's subjects, of an evil zeal, for lucre and covetousness of vile gain: her Highness, therefore, straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every of her said subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach; or, by way of reading in churches, or other public or private places, (except in schools of the university,) to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or any manner of points of doctrine concerning religion; neither also to print any books, matter, ballad, rhyme, interlude, process, or treatise, nor to play any interlude, (except they have her Grace's special licence in writing for the same,) upon pain to incur her Highness's indignation and displeasure.

"And her Highness also further chargeth and commandeth all and every her said subjects, that none of them, of their own authority, do presume to punish, or to rise against any offender in the causes above-said, or any other offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed or done by the duke of Northumberland, or his complices, or to seize any of their goods, or violently to use any such offender by striking or imprisoning or threatening the same; but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her Highness and public authority, whereof her Majesty mindeth to see due punishment, according to the order of her Highness's laws.

"Nevertheless, as her Highness mindeth not hereby to restrain and discourage any of her loving subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes abovesaid, unto her Grace or her council, for the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her Highness's laws provided in that part: so her said Highness exhorteth and straitly chargeth her said subjects, to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her said Highness's indignation and most grievous displeasure; the severity and rigour whereof, as her Highness shall be most sorry to have cause to put the same in execution, so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her subjects (whereof may ensue the danger of her royal estate) to remain unpunished, but to see her said laws touching these points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities she trusteth all her said loving subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly; her said Highness straitly charging and commanding all mayors, sheriffs, justices of peace, bailiffs, constables, and all other public officers and ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till, upon certificate made to her Highness, or her privy council, of their names and doings, and upon examination had of their offences, some further order shall be taken for their punishment, to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the laws aforesaid.

"Given at our manor of Richmond, the eighteenth day of August, in the first year of our most prosperous reign."

Master Bourn preaching at Paul's Cross.

about this time, or not long before, Bonner, bishop of London, being restored, appointed Master Bourn, a canon of Paul's, to preach at the Cross, who af-

terward was bishop of Bath. Bourn took occasion of the gospel of that day, to speak somewhat largely in justifying of Bonner, being then present: "Which Bonner," said he, "upon the same text, in that place that day four years, had preached

before : and was, upon the same, most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of King Edward." His words sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence ; and began to murmur and to stir in such sort, that the mayor and aldermen, with other estates then present, feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher ; but who it was, it could not then be proved, albeit afterward it was known.

In fine the stir was such, that the preacher plucked in his head, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of this sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of King Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide. Then Master Bradford, at the request of the preacher's brother and others, then being in the pulpit, stood forth and spake so mildly, Christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all : and afterward he and Master Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe, as further, in the story of Master Bradford, is declared. But, shortly after, they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and, last of all, with fire in Smithfield.

By reason of this tumult at Paul's Cross, an order was taken by the lords of the council with the mayor and aldermen of London to this effect :

"That they, calling the next day following a common council of the city, should thereby charge every householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep their own parish churches upon the holy days, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace : willing them also to signify to the said assembly the queen's determination, uttered unto them by her Highness the twelfth of August, in the Tower ; which was, that albeit her Grace's conscience was stayed in the matters of religion, yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other men's consciences otherwise than God should (as she trusted) put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she was in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, &c.

"Also it was then ordered, that every alderman, in his ward, should forthwith send for the curates of every parish within their liberties ; and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any others to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of Scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the queen."

After this sermon at Paul's Cross aforementioned, the next day after it followed that the queen's guard

was at the Cross with their weapons to guard the preacher. And when quiet men withdrew themselves from the sermon, order was taken by the mayor, that the ancients of all companies should be present, lest the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

August.—The fifteenth of August, A. D. 1552, was one William Rutler committed by the council to the Marshalsea, for uttering certain words against Master Bourn, preacher, for his sermon at Paul's Cross on Sunday last before.

The sixteenth of August, was Humphrey Pale committed to the Compter, for words against said Bourn's sermon at Paul's Cross.

A letter sent to the sheriffs of Buckingham and Bedford, for the apprehending of one Fisher, parson of Amersham, a preacher.

Another letter to the bishop of Norwich, not to suffer any preacher or other to preach or expose the Scripture openly, without special licence from the queen.

The same day were Master Bradford, Master Vernon, and Master Beacon, preachers, committed to the charge of the lieutenant of the Tower.

The same day, also, was Master John Rogers, preacher, commanded to keep himself prisoner in his own house at Paul's, without having any conference with any other than those of his own household.

The twenty-second of August, there were letters directed to Master Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, and Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, to their undelayed repair to the court, and there to attend the council's pleasure.

The same day, Fisher, parson of Amersham, made his appearance before the council, according to the letter the sixteenth of August, and was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his sermon.

The twenty-fourth of August, was one John Kevin, a Scot, and preacher, sent to Newgate in London by the council.

The twenty-sixth of August, there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry and his brethren for the apprehension of one Symons, of Worcester, preacher, and then vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry ; and for the sending of him up to the council with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with ; with a commission to them to punish all such as had, by means of his preaching, used any talk against the queen's proceedings.

The twenty-ninth of August, Master Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, made his personal appearance before the council, according to their letters the twenty-second of August.

The thirty-first of August, Master Coverdale

bishop of Exeter, made his appearance before the council, according to their letters the twenty-second of August.

September.—The first of September, 1553, Master Hooper and Master Coverdale appeared again before the council, whence Master Hooper was committed to the Fleet, and Master Coverdale commanded to attend the lords' pleasure.

The second of September, Master Hugh Saunders, vicar of St. Michael's in Coventry, was before the council for a sermon, and was commanded to appear again upon Monday next after.

The fourth of September, a letter was directed from the council to Master Hugh Latimer, for his appearance before them.

About the fifth day of September the same year, Peter Martyr came to London from Oxford, where for a time he had been commanded to keep his house, and found there the archbishop of Canterbury, who offered to defend the doctrine of the Book of Common Prayer, both by Scriptures and doctors, assisted by Peter Martyr and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But whilst they were in hope to come to disputations, the archbishop and others were imprisoned; but Peter Martyr was suffered to return whence he came.

The same day there was a letter sent to the mayor of Coventry to set Hugh Symons at liberty, if he would recant his sermon; or else to stay him, and to signify so much to the council.

The thirteenth of September, Master Hugh Latimer appeared before the council, according to their letter the fourth of September, and was committed to the Tower close prisoner, having his servant Austin to attend upon him.

The same day the archbishop of Canterbury, appearing before the council, was commanded to appear the next day at afternoon before them in the Star-chamber.

The fourteenth of September, the archbishop of Canterbury, according to their former day's commandment, made his appearance before the lords in the Star-chamber; where they, charging him with treason, and spreading abroad of seditious bills to the disquieting of the state, committed him from thence to the Tower of London, there to remain till further justice and order at the queen's pleasure.

The fifteenth of September, there was a letter sent to Master Horn, dean of Durham, for his appearance before them; and another was sent to him the seventh of October next after, for his speedy appearance.

The sixteenth of September, there were letters sent to the mayors of Dover and Rye, to suffer all French protestants to pass out of this realm, except

such whose names should be signified to them by the French ambassador.

October.—The first day of October Queen Mary was crowned at Westminster, and the tenth day of the same month began the parliament with the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, after the popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster; to the which mass among the other lords, according to the manner, should come the bishops which yet remained undeposed, which were the archbishop of York, Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of the bishops, Dr. Taylor and Master Harley, (presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the lords,) after they saw the mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company; for the which cause the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was, upon the same, commanded to attend; who not long after, at Ankerwyke, by sickness departed. Master Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric.

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied with the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament-house, there, according to the manner, to enter and begin the consultation: at which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth for *præmunire*, and statutes made in King Edward the Sixth's time for administration of Common Prayer and Sacrament in the English tongue; and further, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed. In the mean while many men were forward in erecting of altars and masses in churches. And such as would stick to the laws made in King Edward's time, till others should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended; among whom Sir James Hales, a knight of Kent and justice of the Common Pleas, was one; who, notwithstanding he had ventured his life in Queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the disinheriting of her by the king's will, yet for that he did, at a quarter sessions, give charge upon the statutes made in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and Edward the Sixth, for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Compter, and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear, by talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for heretics, (or for what other cause God knoweth,) that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife, and afterward was contented to say as they willed him: whereupon he was dis-

charged. But, after that, he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent: of whom more is to be seen, when you come to his story.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise, after their wonted manner, had a convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the queen's commandment, at Paul's church in London the same time, which was about the eighteenth of October; in the which convocation, first Master John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon *ad clerum*, the sixteenth of October. After the sermon done, it was assigned by the bishops, that they of the clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should choose them a prolocutor; to the which room and office, by common assent, was named Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, and presented to the bishops with an oration of Master Pie, dean of Chichester, and also of Master Wimbisley, archdeacon of London: which Dr. Weston, being chosen and brought unto the bishops, made his gratulatory oration to the house, with the answer again of Bishop Bonner.

After these things thus sped in the convocation-house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed, as is above said, by the queen's commandment, about the matter of the sacrament; which disputation continued six days: wherein Dr. Weston was chief on the pope's part, who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were driven some to flee, some to deny, and some to die; though to the most men's judgments that heard the disputation, they had the upper hand, as here may appear by the report of the said disputation, the copy whereof we thought fit here to annex as followeth:

The true report of the disputation had and begun in the convocation-house at London the eighteenth of October, A. D. 1553.

"Whereas divers and uncertain rumours be spread abroad of the disputation had in the convocation-house; to the intent that all men may know the certainty of all things therein done and said, as much as the memory of him that was present thereat can bear away, he hath thought good, at request, thoroughly to describe what was said therein on both parties of the matters argued and had in question, and of the entrance thereof."

The act of the first day.

"First, upon Wednesday, being the eighteenth of October, at afternoon, Master Weston, the prolocutor, certified the house, that it was the queen's

pleasure, that the company of the same house learned men assembled, should debate of matters of religion, and constitute laws thereof, whereunto Grace and the parliament would ratify. 'And that,' said he, 'there is a book of late set forth, called the Catechism, [which he showed first, setting the name of this honourable synod, and set forth without your consents, as I have known] being a book very pestiferous, and full of errors, and likewise a book of Common Prayer very damnable,' as it pleased him to term it. 'It is therefore best, first to begin with the articles of the Catechism, concerning the sacrament of the altar, to confirm the natural presence of Christ in the same, and also transubstantiation. Whereunto,' said he, 'it shall be lawful, on Friday next coming, for all men freely to speak their consciences in these matters, that all doubts may be removed, and all men fully satisfied therein.'"

The act of the second day.

"The Friday coming, being the twentieth of October, when men had thought they should have had entered disputations of the questions proposed, the prolocutor exhibited two several bills unto the house, the one for the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; the other concerning the Catechism, that it was not of that house's agreement to be set forth, and that they did not agree thereto: requiring all them to subscribe to the same, as he himself had done. Whereunto the whole house immediately assent, except six, which were the dean of Rochester, the dean of Exeter, the archbishop of Winchester, the archdeacon of Hereford, the archdeacon of Stow, and one other.

"And whilst the rest were about to subscribe to these two articles, John Philpot stood up, and said, first, concerning the articles of the Catechism, that he thought they were deceived in the title of the Catechism, in that it beareth the title of the articles of London last before this; although many of those which then were present were never made part thereof in setting it forth; for that this house had granted the authority to make ecclesiastical laws unto certain persons to be appointed by the King's Majesty; and whatsoever ecclesiastical laws were made, or the most part of them, did set forth, according to a statute in that behalf provided, it might be said to be done in the synod of London, although such as be of this house now, had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And in this point, he thought the setting forth thereof nothing to be slandered the house, as they, by their subscription, went about to persuade the world, since they had committed their synodical authority unto them committed, to make

such spiritual laws as they thought convenient and necessary.

"And moreover he said, as concerning the article of the natural presence in the sacrament, that it was against reason and order of learning, and also very prejudicial to the truth, that men should be moved to subscribe before the matter were thoroughly examined and discussed. But when he saw that allegation might take no place, being as a man astonished at the multitude of so many learned men, as there were of purpose gathered together to maintain old traditions more than the truth of God's holy word, he made this request unto the prolocutor: That whereas there were so many ancient learned men present on that side, as in the realm the like again were not to be found in such number; and that on the other side of them that had not subscribed, were not past five or six, both in age and learning far inferior unto them: therefore, that equality might be had in this disputation, he desired that the prolocutor would be a mean unto the lords, that some of those that were learned, and setters-forth of the same Catechism, might be brought into the house, to show their learning that moved them to set forth the same; and that Dr. Ridley and Master Rogers, with two or three more, might be licensed to be present, at this disputation, and to be associated with them.

"This request was thought reasonable, and was proposed unto the bishops, who made this answer: That it was not in them to call such persons unto our house, since some of them were prisoners. But they said, they would be petitioners in this behalf unto the council, and in case any were absent that ought to be of the house, they willed them to be taken in unto them if they listed. After this, they minding to have entered into disputation, there came a gentleman as messenger from the lord great master, signifying unto the prolocutor, that the lord great master and the earl of Devonshire would be present at the disputations, and therefore he deferred the same unto Monday, at one of the clock at afternoon."

The act of the third day.

"Upon Monday, the twenty-third of October, at the time appointed, in the presence of many earls, lords, knights, gentlemen, and divers other of the court and of the city also, the prolocutor made a protestation, that they of the house had appointed this disputation, not to call the truth into doubts, to the which they had already all subscribed, saving five or six, but that those gainsayers might be resolved of their arguments in the which they stood, 'as it shall appear unto you, not doubting but they will also condescend unto us.'

"Then he demanded of Master Haddon, whether we would reason against the questions proposed, or no. To whom he made answer, that he had certified him before, in writing, that he would not, since the request of such learned men as were demanded to be assistant with them, would not be granted. Master Elmar likewise was asked, who made the prolocutor the like answer; adding moreover this, that they had done too much prejudice already to the truth, to subscribe before the matter was discussed: and little or nothing it might avail to reason for the truth, since all they were now determined to the contrary.

"After this he demanded of Master Cheney, who, the prolocutor said, allowed the presence with them; but he denied the transubstantiation by the means of certain authorities upon the which he standeth, and desireth to be resolved, (as you shall hear,) whether he will propose his doubts concerning transubstantiation, or no. 'Yea,' quoth he, 'I would gladly my doubts to be resolved, which move me not to believe transubstantiation. The first is out of St. Paul to the Corinthians, who, speaking of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calleth it oftentimes bread, after the consecration. The second is out of Origen, who, speaking of this sacrament, saith, that the material part thereof goeth down to the excrements. The third is out of Theodoret, who making mention of the sacramental bread and wine after the consecration, saith, that they go not out of their former substance, form, and shape. These be some of my doubts, among many others, wherein I require to be answered.'

"Then the prolocutor assigned Dr. Moreman to answer him, who, to St. Paul, answered him thus: 'The sacrament is called by him bread indeed; but it is thus to be understood: that it is the sacrament of bread; that is, the form of bread.'

"Then Master Cheney inferred and alleged, that Hesychius called the sacrament both bread and flesh. 'Yea,' quoth Moreman, 'Hesychius calleth it bread, because it *was* bread, and not because it *is* so.' And passing over Origen, he came to Theodoret, and said, that men mistook his authority, by interpreting a general into a special, as Peter Martyr hath done in the place of Theodoret, interpreting *ὅμοια*, for substance, which is a special signification of the word; whereas *ὅμοια* is a general word, as well to accidents as to substance; 'and therefore I answer thus unto Theodoret; That the sacramental bread and wine do not go out of their former substance, form, and shape; that is to say, not out of their accidental substance and shape.'

"After this Master Cheney sat him down; and by and by Master Elmar stood up, as one that could

not abide to hear so fond an answer to so grave an authority, and reasoned upon the authority of Theodoret alleged before by Master Cheney, and declared, that Moreman's answer to Theodoret was no just or sufficient answer, but an illusion and subtle evasion, contrary to Theodoret's meaning. 'For,' said he, 'if *ὁυσία* should signify an accident in the place alleged, as it is answered by Master Moreman, then were it a word superfluous set in Theodoret there, where do follow two other words, which sufficiently do expound the accidents of the bread, that is *εἶδος καὶ σχημὰ*, which signify in English, shape and form.' And so he proved out of the same author, by divers allegations, that *ὁυσία*, in Greek, could not be so generally taken in that place, as Moreman for a shift would have it. But Moreman, as a man having no other salve for that sore, affirmed still, that *ὁυσία*, which signifieth substance, must needs signify an accidental substance properly. To whose importunity, since he could have no other answer, Elmar, as a man wearied with his importunity, gave place.

"After this stood up John Philpot, and said, that he could prove, that by the matter that Theodoret entreateth of in the place above alleged, and by the similitude which he maketh to prove his purpose, by no means Master Moreman's interpretation of *ὁυσία*, might be taken for an accidental substance, as he for a shift would interpret it to be; for the matter which Theodoret entreateth of in that place, is against Eutiches, a heretic, who denied two natures of substance to remain in Christ, being one person, and that his humanity, after the accomplishment of the mystery of our salvation, ascending into heaven, and being joined unto the Divinity, was absorpt, or swallowed up of the same; so that Christ should be no more but of one Divine substance only, by his opinion. Against which opinion Theodoret writeth, and by the similitude of the sacrament proveth the contrary against the heretic: that like as in the sacrament of the body of Christ, after the consecration, there is the substance of Christ's humanity, with the substance of bread remaining as it was before, not being absorpt by the humanity of Christ, but joined by the Divine operation thereunto; even so in the person of Christ, being now in heaven, of whom this sacrament is a representation, there be two several substances, that is, his Divinity and humanity, united in one hypostasis or person, which is Christ; the humanity not being absorpt by the conjunction of the Divinity, but remaining in his former substance. 'And this similitude,' quoth Philpot, 'brought in of Theodoret confound Eutiches, should prove nothing at all, a very substance of the sacramental bread did

not remain as it did before. But if Dr. Moreman's interpretation might take place for transubstantiation, then should the heretic have thereby a strong argument, by Theodoret's authority so taken, to maintain his heresy, and to prove himself a good Christian man; and he might well say thus unto Theodoret: Like as thou, Theodoret, if thou wert of Dr. Moreman's mind, dost say, that after the consecration in the sacrament, the substance of the bread is absorpt or transubstantiated into the human body of Christ coming thereunto, so that in the sacrament is now but one substance of the humanity alone, and not the substance of bread as it was before: even so likewise may I affirm, and conclude by thine own similitude, that the humanity ascending up by the power of God into heaven, and adjoined unto the Deity, was by the might thereof absorpt and turned into one substance with the Deity; so that now there remaineth but one Divine substance in Christ, no more than in the sacramental signs of the Lord's supper, after the consecration, doth remain any more than one substance, according to your belief and construction.'

"In answering to this, Dr. Moreman staggered, whose defect Philpot perceiving, spake on this wise, 'Well, Master Moreman, if you have no answer at this present ready, I pray you devise one, if you can conveniently, against our next meeting here again.'

"With that his saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, telling him that he should not brag there, but that he should be fully answered. Then said Philpot, 'It is the only thing that I desire, to be answered directly in this behalf; and I desire of you, and of all the house at this present, that I may be sufficiently answered, which I am sure you are not able to do, saving Theodoret's authority and similitude upright, as he ought to be taken. None other answer, then, was made to Philpot's reason, but that he was commanded to silence.'

"Then stood up the dean of Rochester, offering himself to reason in the first question against the natural presence, wishing that the Scripture and the ancient doctors, in this point, might be weighed believed, and followed. And against this natural presence, he thought the saying of Christ in St Matthew to make sufficiently enough, if men would credit and follow Scripture; who said there of himself, that poor men we should have alway with us but Him we should not have always: 'which was spoken,' quoth he, 'concerning the natural presence of Christ's body. Therefore we ought to believe as he hath taught—that Christ is not *naturally* present on earth in the sacrament of the altar.'

To this was answered by the prolocutor, that we

should not have Christ present always to exercise alms-deeds upon him, but upon the poor.

"But the dean prosecuted his argument, and showed it out of St. Augustine further, that the same interpretation of the Scripture alleged, was no sufficient answer; who writeth on this wise, on the same sentence: 'When he said, (saith St. Augustine,) Me shall ye not have always with you; he spake of the presence of his body. For by his majesty, by his providence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which is said of him, Behold, I am with you until the consummation of the world. But in the flesh, which the Word took upon him, in that which was born of the Virgin, in that which was apprehended of the Jews, which was crucified on the cross, which was let down from the cross, which was wrapped in clouts, which was hid in the sepulchre, which was manifested in the resurrection, You shall not have me always with you. And why? For after a bodily presence he was conversant with his disciples forty days; and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, he ascended and is not here; for there he sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his majesty. After another manner we have Christ always, by the presence of his majesty; but, after the presence of his flesh, it is rightly said, You shall not verily have me always with you. For the church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now by faith it apprehendeth him, and seeth him not with eyes.'

"To this authority Dr. Watson took upon him to answer, and said, he would answer St. Augustine by St. Augustine. And having a certain book in his hand of notes, he alleged out of the seventieth treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth, as he was heretofore before his passion.

"Against whose answer John Philpot replied, and said, that Master Watson had not fully answered St. Augustine by St. Augustine, as he would seem to have done; for that in the place above mentioned by master dean of Rochester, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ's body before his passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his resurrection: in the which mortal body St. Augustine seemeth plainly to affirm, that Christ is not present upon the earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alleged, St. Augustine doth more plainly declare by these words, saying, 'Now these two manners of Christ's presence declared, who is, by his majesty, providence, and grace, now present in the world, who before his

ascension was present in flesh; and being now placed at the right hand of the Father, is absent in the same from the world, I think (saith St. Augustine) that there remaineth no other question in this matter.'

"'Now,' quoth Philpot, 'if St. Augustine acknowledged no more presence of Christ to be now on earth, but only his Divine presence, and touching his humanity, to be in heaven, we ought to confess and believe the same. But if we put a third presence of Christ, that is, corporally to be present always in the sacrament of the altar invisibly, according to your suppositions, whereof St. Augustine maketh no mention at all in all his works; you shall seem to judge that, which St. Augustine did never comprehend.'

"'Why,' quoth Watson, 'St. Augustine, in the place by me alleged—maketh he no mention how St. Stephen, being in this world, saw Christ after his ascension?'

"'It is true,' said Philpot: 'but he saw Christ, as the Scripture telleth, in the heavens, being open, standing at the right hand of God the Father.' Further to this Watson answered not.

"Then the prolocutor went about to furnish up an answer to St. Augustine, saying, that he is not now in the world after the manner of bodily presence, but yet present, for all that, in his body.

"To whom Philpot answered, that the prolocutor did grate much upon this word *secundum* in St. Augustine; which signifieth, after the manner, or in form: but he doth not answer to *id quod*, which is that thing or substance of Christ, in the which Christ suffered, arose, and ascended into heaven, in the which thing and substance he is in heaven, and not in earth; as St. Augustine, in the place specified, most clearly doth define.

"To this nothing else being answered, the dean of Rochester proceeded in the maintenance of his argument, and read out of a book of annotations sundry authorities for the confirmation thereof; to the which Moreman, who was appointed to answer him, made no direct answer, but bade him make an argument, saying, that master dean had recited many words of doctors, but he made not one argument. Then said the dean, 'The authorities of the doctors by me rehearsed, be sufficient arguments to prove mine intent, to the which my desire is to be answered of you.' But still Moreman cried, 'Make an argument,' to shift off the authority which he could not answer unto.

"After this the dean made this argument out of the institution of the sacrament: Do this in remembrance of me; and, Thus ye shall show forth the Lord's death until he come.—The sacrament is the

remembrance of Christ: ergo, the sacrament is not very Christ; for yet he is not come. For these words, 'until he come,' do plainly signify the absence of Christ's body. Then the prolocutor went about to show that these words, 'until he come,' did not import any absence of Christ on the earth, by other places of Scripture, where *donec*, 'until,' was used in like sense; but directly to the purpose he answered nothing. In conclusion the dean fell to questioning with Moreman, whether Christ did eat the paschal lamb with his disciples, or not? He answered, 'Yea.' Further, he demanded whether he did eat likewise the sacrament with them, as he did institute it? Moreman answered, 'Yea.' Then he asked, what he did eat, and whether he did eat his own natural body, as they imagine it to be, or no? which when Moreman had affirmed; then said the dean, 'It is a great absurdity by you granted;' and so he sat down.

"Against this absurdity Philpot stood up and argued, saying, he could prove it by good reason deduced out of the Scripture, that Christ ate not his own natural body at the institution of the sacrament; and the reason is this:

"Receiving of Christ's body hath a promise of remission of sins with it annexed.

"Christ, eating the sacrament, had no promise of remission of sin.

"Ergo, Christ, in the sacrament, did not eat his own body.

"To this reason Moreman answered, denying the former part of the argument, that the sacrament had a promise of remission of sins annexed unto it.

"Then Philpot showed this to be the promise in the sacrament: Which is given for you, which is shed for you, for the remission of sins. But Moreman would not acknowledge that to be any promise, so that he drave Philpot to John vi., to vouch his saying with these words; The bread which I will give, is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.

"Moreman answering nothing directly to this argument, Harpsfield started up to supply that which was wanted in his behalf; and thinking to have answered Philpot, confirmed more strongly his argument, saying, 'Ye mistake the promise which is annexed to the body of Christ in the sacrament: for it pertained not to Christ, but to his disciples, to whom Christ said, This is my body which is given for you; and not for Christ himself.'

"'You have said well for me,' quoth Philpot, 'for that is mine argument. The promise of the body of Christ took no effect in Christ: ergo, Christ ate not his own body.'

"Then the prolocutor, to shoulder out the matter,

said, the argument was nought; for by the like argument he might go about to prove, that Christ was not baptized, because the remission of sin, which is annexed unto baptism, took no effect in Christ. To the which Philpot replied, that like as Christ was baptized, so he ate the sacrament: but he took on him baptism, not that he had any need thereof, or that it took any effect in him; but as our Master, to give the church an example to follow him in the ministration of the sacrament, and thereby to exhibit unto us himself; and not to give himself to himself.

"No more was said in this; but afterward the prolocutor demanded of Philpot, whether he would argue against the natural presence, or no? To whom he answered, Yea, if he would hear his argument without interruption, and assign one to answer him, and not many; which is a confusion to the opponent, and especially for him that was of an ill memory.

"By this time the night was come on; wherefore the prolocutor brake up the disputation for that time, and appointed Philpot to be the first that should begin the disputation the next day after, concerning the presence of Christ in the sacrament."

The act of the fourth day.

"On Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of October, John Philpot, as it was before appointed, was ready to have entered the disputation, minding first to have made a certain oration, and a true declaration in Latin of the matter of Christ's presence, which was then in question. Which thing the prolocutor perceiving, by and by he forbade Philpot to make any oration or declaration of any matter; commanding him, also, that he should make no argument in Latin, but to conclude on his arguments in English.

"Then said Philpot, 'This is contrary to your order taken at the beginning of this disputation. For then you appointed that all the arguments should be made in Latin, and thereupon I have drawn and devised all my arguments in Latin. And because you, master prolocutor, have said heretofore openly in this house, that I had no learning, I had thought to have showed such learning as I have, in a brief oration, and a short declaration of the questions now in controversy; thinking it so most convenient also, that in case I should speak otherwise in my declaration than should stand with learning, or than I were able to warrant and justify by God's word, it might the better be reformed by such as were learned of the house, so that the unlearned sort, being present, might take the less offence thereat.'

"But this allegation prevailed nothing with the

prolocutor, who bade him still form an argument in English, or else to hold his peace. Then said Philpot, 'You have sore disappointed me, thus suddenly to go from your former order: but I will accomplish your commandment, leaving mine oration apart; and I will come to my arguments, the which, as well as so sudden a warning will serve, I will make in English. But before I bring forth any argument, I will, in one word, declare what manner of presence I disallow in the sacrament, to the intent the hearers may the better understand to what end and effect mine arguments shall tend; not to deny utterly the presence of Christ in his sacraments, truly ministered according to his institution; but only to deny that gross and carnal presence, which you of this house have already subscribed unto, to be in the sacrament of the altar, contrary to the truth and manifest meaning of the Scriptures: That by transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine, Christ's natural body should, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, be contained and included under the forms or accidents of bread and wine. This kind of presence, imagined by men, I do deny,' quoth Philpot, 'and against this I will reason.'

"But before he could make an end of that he would have said, he was interrupted of the prolocutor, and commanded to descend to his argument. At whose unjust importunity Philpot being offended, and thinking to purchase him a remedy therefor, he fell down upon his knees before the earls and lords which were there present, being a great number, whereof some were of the queen's council, beseeching them that he might have liberty to prosecute his arguments, without interruption of any man; the which was gently granted him of the lords. But the prolocutor, putting in use a point of the practice of prelates, would not condescend thereunto, but still cried, 'Hold your peace, or else make a short argument.' 'I am about it,' quoth Philpot, 'if you will let me alone. But first, I must needs ask a question of my respondent (who was Dr. Chedsey) concerning a word or twain of your supposition; that is, of the sacrament of the altar: What he meaneth thereby, and whether he taketh it as some of the ancient writers do, terming the Lord's supper the sacrament of the altar—partly because it is a sacrament of that lively sacrifice which Christ offered for our sins upon the altar of the cross,—and partly because that Christ's body, crucified for us, was that bloody sacrifice, which the blood-shedding of all the beasts offered upon the altar in the old law, did prefigure and signify unto us, in signification whereof the old writers sometimes do call the sacrament of the body

and blood of Christ, among other names which they ascribe thereunto, the sacrament of the altar? Or whether you take it otherwise; as for the sacrament of the altar which is made of lime and stone, over the which the sacrament hangeth, and to be all one with the sacrament of the mass, as it is at this present in many places? This done, I will direct mine arguments according as your answer shall give me occasion.'

"Then made Dr. Chedsey this answer, that in their supposition they took the sacrament of the altar, and the sacrament of the mass, to be all one.

"'Then,' quoth Philpot, 'I will speak plain English as master prolocutor willeth me, and make a short resolution thereof: That that sacrament of the altar, which ye reckon to be all one with the mass, once justly abolished, and now put in full use again, is no sacrament at all, neither is Christ in any wise present in it.' And this his saying he offered to prove before the whole house, if they listed to call him thereunto; and likewise he offered to vouch the same before the queen's Grace, and her most honourable council, [or] before the face of six of the best learned men of the house, of the contrary opinion, and refused none. 'And if I shall not be able,' quoth he, 'to maintain by God's word that I have said, and confound those six which shall take upon them to withstand me in this point, let me be burned with as many faggots as be in London, before the court gates.' This he uttered with great vehemency of spirit.

"At this the prolocutor, with divers others, was very much offended, demanding of him, whether he wist what he said, or no? 'Yea,' quoth Philpot, 'I wot well what I say;' desiring no man to be offended with his saying, for that he spake no more than by God's word he was able to prove. 'And praised be God,' quoth he, 'that the queen's Grace hath granted us of this house, (as our prolocutor hath informed us,) that we may freely utter our consciences in these matters of controversy in religion: and therefore I will speak here my conscience freely, grounded upon God's holy word, for the truth; albeit some of you here present mislike the same.'

"Then divers of the house, besides the prolocutor, taunted and reprehended him for speaking so unfearingly against the sacrament of the mass, and the prolocutor said, he was mad; and threatened him, that he would send him to prison, if he would not cease his speaking.

"Philpot, seeing himself thus abused, and permitted with free liberty to declare his mind into an exclamation, casting his eyes up towa

heaven, and said, 'O Lord, what a world is this, that the truth of thy holy word may not be spoken and abiden by !' And for very sorrow and heaviness the tears trickled out of his eyes.

"After this the prolocutor, being moved by some that were about him, was content that he should make an argument, so that he would be brief therein.

"*'I will be as brief,'* quoth Philpot, *'as I may conveniently be, in uttering all that I have to say. And first, I will begin to ground my arguments upon the authority of Scriptures, whereupon all the building of our faith ought to be grounded; and after, I shall confirm the same by ancient doctors of the church. And I take the occasion of my first argument out of Matthew xxviii., of the saying of the angel to the three Marys, seeking Christ at the sepulchre, saying, He is risen, he is not here: and Luke xxiii., the angel asketh them, Why they sought him that liveth among the dead. Likewise the Scripture testifieth, that Christ is risen, ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father: all the which is spoken of his natural body: ergo, it is not on earth included in the sacrament.*

"I will confirm this yet more effectually, by the saying of Christ in John xvi.; I came, saith Christ, from my Father into the world, and now I leave the world and go away to my Father: the which coming and going he meant of his natural body. Therefore we may affirm thereby, that it is not now in the world.

"But I look here,' quoth he, *'to be answered with a blind distinction of visibly and invisibly, that he is visibly departed in his humanity, but invisibly he remaineth notwithstanding in the sacrament. But that answer I prevent myself, that with more expedition I may descend to the pith of mine arguments, whereof I have a dozen to propose; and will prove that no such distinction ought to take away the force of that argument, by the answer which Christ's disciples gave unto him, speaking these words: Now thou speakest plainly, and utterest forth no proverb; which words St. Cyril, interpreting, saith, 'That Christ spake without any manner of ambiguity and obscure speech.' And therefore I conclude hereby thus, that if Christ spake plainly, and without parable, saying, I leave the world now and go away to my Father, then that obscure, dark, and imperceptible presence of Christ's natural body, to remain in the sacrament upon earth invisibly, contrary to the plain words of Christ, ought not to be allowed. For nothing can be more uncertain, or more parabolical and insensible, than so to say. Here now will I attend what you will answer, and*

so descend to the confirmation of all that I have said by ancient writers.'

"Then Dr. Chedsey, reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every part thereof on this wise. First, to the saying of the angel, That Christ is not here; and, Why seek ye the living among the dead? he answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the sacrament; but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the sepulchre, when the three Marys thought him to have been in the grave still. And therefore the angel said, Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead? And to the authority of John xvi., where Christ saith, Now I leave the world and go to my Father, he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did Cyril, interpreting the saying of the disciples, that knew plainly that Christ would visibly ascend into heaven. But that doth not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the sacrament; for St. Chrysostom, writing to the people of Antioch, doth affirm the same, comparing Elijah and Christ together, and Elijah's cloak unto Christ's flesh: *'Elijah,'* quoth he, *'when he was taken up in the fiery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Elisha. But Christ, ascending into heaven, took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him.'* Whereby we may right well gather, that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the sacrament of the altar.

"To this Philpot replied, and said, 'You have not directly answered to the saying of the angel. Christ is risen, and is not here, because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of all. For,' said he, 'I proceeded further, as thus: He is risen, ascended, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: ergo, he is not remaining on the earth. Neither is your answer to Cyril, by me alleged, sufficient; but by and by I will return to your interpretation of Cyril, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refuted the authority of Chrysostom, which is one of your chief principles that you alleged, to make for your gross carnal presence in the sacrament; which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereto.'

"At that the prolocutor startled, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overthrowed; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of Chrysostom, which he thought invincible on their side. 'But I shall make it appear,' quoth Philpot, 'by and by, that it doth make little for your purpose.' And as

he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually; wherewith Philpot, not being content, said, 'Master prolocutor thinketh that he is in a sophistry school, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the respondent perceiveth that he is like to be enforced with an argument, to the which he is not able to answer, then he doth what he can, with cavillation and interruption, to drive him from the same.'

"This saying of Philpot was ill taken of the prolocutor and his adherents; and the prolocutor said, that Philpot could bring nothing to avoid that authority, but his own vain imagination. 'Hear,' quoth Philpot, 'and afterward judge. For I will do in this, as in all other authorities wherewith you shall charge me in refelling any of my arguments that I have to prosecute, answering either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, and not of mine own imagination; the which if I do, I will it to be of no great credit. And concerning the saying of Chrysostom, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose; the one out of Scripture, the other out of Chrysostom himself, in the place here by you alleged. First, where he seemeth to say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left also his flesh behind him, truth it is: for we all do confess and believe, that Christ took on him our human nature in the Virgin Mary's womb, and, through his passion in the same, hath united us to his flesh; and thereby are we become one flesh with him: so that Chrysostom might therefore right well say, that Christ, ascending, took his flesh, which he received of the Virgin Mary, away with him; and also left his flesh behind him, which are we that be his elect in this world, which are the members of Christ, and flesh of his flesh; as very aptly St. Paul to the Ephesians, in the fifth chapter, doth testify, saying, We are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. And if percase any man will reply, that he entreateth there of the sacrament, so that this interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him in that place, then will I yet interpret Chrysostom another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now lately read, are these words; that Christ, after he ascended into heaven, left unto us, endued with his sacraments, his flesh in mysteries; that is, sacramentally. And that mystical flesh Christ leaveth as well to his church in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacramental bread and wine. And that St. Paul justly doth witness, saying, As many of us as are baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ: and thus you may understand that St. Chrysostom maketh nothing for

your carnal and gross presence in the sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.'

"Now in this mean while Master Pie rounded the prolocutor in the ear, to put Philpot to silence, and to appoint some other, mistrusting lest he would shrewdly shake their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on long, seeing in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations such a pluck. Then the prolocutor said to Philpot, that he had reasoned sufficiently enough, and that some other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: 'Why, sir, I have a dozen arguments concerning this matter to be proposed, and I have yet scarce overgone my first argument; for I have not brought in any confirmation thereof out of any ancient writer, (whereof I have for the same purpose many,) being hitherto still letted by your oft interrupting of me.'

"'Well,' quoth the prolocutor, 'you shall speak no more now, and I command you to hold your peace.' 'You perceive,' quoth Philpot, 'that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand your false supposition, and therefore you command me to silence.' 'If you will not give place,' quoth the prolocutor, 'I will send you to prison.' 'This is not,' quoth Philpot, 'according to your promise made in this house, nor yet according to your brag made at Paul's Cross, that men should be answered in this disputation to whatsoever they can say; since you will not suffer me, of a dozen arguments, to prosecute one.'

"Then Master Pie took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. Philpot seeing he might not proceed in his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: 'A sort of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the world, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of God's holy word, and to set forth every false device, which, by the catholic doctrine of the Scripture, ye are not able to maintain.'

"Then stepped forth Master Elmar, chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, whom Master Moreman took upon him to answer; against whom Master Elmar objected divers and sundry authorities for the confirming of the argument he took the day before in hand, to prove that *ovsia* in the sentence of Theodoret, brought in by Master Cheney, must needs signify substance, and not accidents: whose reasons and probations, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their grace in English, and also their proper understanding. But his allegations so encumbered Master Moreman, that he desired overview them, for at that instant he was convenient answer.

"Then did the prolocutor call Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, and chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, who prosecuted Theodoret's authority in confirming Master Elmar's argument: to whom Dr. Watson took upon him to give answer; who, after long talk, was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word *mysterium*: but, forasmuch as he seemed to doubt therein, Master Haddon took out of his bosom a Latin author to confirm his saying, and showed the same to Master Watson, asking him whether he thought the translation to be true, or that the printer were in any fault. 'There may be a fault in the printer,' quoth Watson, 'for I am not remembered of this word.' Then did Master Haddon take out of his bosom a Greek book, wherein he showed forth with his finger the same words; which Master Watson could not deny. His arguments further I omit to declare at large, because they were for the most part in Greek, about the bolting of the true signification of *οὐσία*.

"Then stept forth Master Pern, and in argument made declaration of his mind against transubstantiation, and confirmed the sayings and authorities alleged by Master Elmar and Master Haddon; to whom the prolocutor answered, saying, 'I much marvel, Master Pern, that you will say thus; forasmuch as, on Friday last, you subscribed to the contrary.' Which his saying Master Elmar did mislike, saying to the prolocutor, that he was to blame, so to reprehend any man, 'partly for that this house,' quoth he, 'is a house of free liberty for every man to speak his conscience, and partly for that you promised yesterday, that, notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet he should have free liberty to speak his mind.' And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the prolocutor, giving them praises for their learning, did yet notwithstanding conclude, that, all reasoning set apart, the order of the holy church must be received, and all things must be ordered thereby."

The act of the fifth day.

"On Friday, the twenty-seventh of October, Dr. Weston the prolocutor did first propound the matter, showing that the convocation hath spent two days in disputation already about one only doctor, who was Theodoret, and about one only word, which was *οὐσία*: yet were they come, the third day, to answer all things that could be objected, so that they would shortly put their arguments. So Master Haddon, dean of Exeter, desired leave to oppose Master Watson, which, with two other more, that is, Morgan and Harpsfield, was appointed to answer.

"Master Haddon demanded this of him, 'Whether any substance of bread or wine did remain af-

ter the consecration.' Then Master Watson asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a real presence of Christ's body or no? Master Haddon said, It was not meet nor order-like, that he who was appointed to be respondent, should be opponent; and he whose duty it was to object, should answer.—Yet Master Watson, a long while, would not agree to answer; but, that thing first being granted him, at last an order was set, and Master Haddon had leave to go forward with his argument.

"Then he proved, by Theodoret's words, a substance of bread and wine to remain. For these are his words: 'The same they were before the sanctification, which they are after.' Master Watson said, that Theodoret meant not the same substance, but the same essence.

"Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word *οὐσία*; and Master Haddon proved it to mean a substance, both by the etymology of the word, and by the words of the doctor. 'For *οὐσία*,' quoth he, 'cometh of the particle *ὄν*, which descendeth of the verb *εἶμι*; and so cometh the noun *οὐσία*, which signifieth substance.' Then Master Watson answered, that it had not that signification only: but Master Haddon proved that it must needs so signify in that place.

"Then Haddon asked Watson, When the bread and wine became symbols? Whereunto he answered, 'After the consecration, and not before.' Then gathered Master Haddon this reason out of his author:

"The same thing, saith Theodoret, that the bread and wine were before they were symbols, the same they remain still in nature and substance, after they are symbols.

"Bread and wine they were before:

"Therefore bread and wine they are after.

"Then Master Watson fell to the denial of the author, and said he was a Nestorian; and he desired that he might answer to Master Cheney who stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the real presence.

"Master Cheney desired patience of the honourable men to hear him, trusting that he should so open the matter, that the verity should appear: protesting furthermore, that he was no obstinate or stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if they, by their learning, (which he acknowledged to be much more than his,) could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them, and say as they said; for he would be no author of schism, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy mother the church, which is Christ's spouse.

"Dr. Weston liked this well, and commended

in highly, saying that he was a well-learned and sober man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the doctors; and finally, a man meet, for his knowledge, to dispute in that place: 'I pray you hear him,' quoth he.

"Then Master Cheney desired such as there were present, to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincat veritas*: 'Let the verity take place, and have the victory;' and all that were present cried with a loud voice, *Vincat veritas, Vincat veritas*.

"Then said Dr. Weston to him, that it was hypocritical. 'Men may better say,' quoth he, *Vicit veritas*, Truth hath gotten the victory.' Master Cheney said again, if he would give him leave, he would bring it to that point, that he might well say so.

"Then he began with Master Watson after this sort: 'You said, that Master Haddon was unmeet to dispute, because he granteth not the natural and real presence; but I say, you are much more unmeet to answer, because you take away the substance of the sacrament.'

"Master Watson said, he [Cheney] had subscribed to the real presence, and should not go away from that: so said Weston also, and the rest of the priests; insomuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

"Then Master Cheney told them what he meant by his subscribing to the real presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So then he went forward, and prosecuted Master Haddon's argument, in proving that *οὐσία* was a substance; using the same reason that Master Haddon did before him. And when he had received the same answer also that was made to Master Haddon, he said, it was but a lewd refuge, when they could not answer, to deny the author: and proved the author to be a catholic doctor; and, that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the nature and substance further. 'The similitude of Theodoret is this,' quoth he: 'As the tokens of Christ's body and blood, after the invocation of the priests, do change their names, and yet continue the same substance; so the body of Christ, after his ascension, changed its name, and was called immortal, yet had it its former fashion, figure, and circumscription; and, to speak at one word, the same substance of his body. Therefore,' said Master Cheney, 'if, in the former part of the similitude, you deny the same substance to continue, then, in the latter part of the similitude, which agreeth with it, I will deny the body of Christ, after his ascension, to have the former nature and substance. But that were a great

heresy; therefore it is also a great heresy to take away the substance of blood and wine after the sanctification.'

"Then was Master Watson enforced to say, that the substance of the body, in the former part of the similitude brought in by him, did signify quantity, and other accidents of the sacramental tokens which be seen, and not the very substance of the same; and therefore Theodoret saith, 'those things which be seen.' For, according to philosophy, the accidents of things be seen, and not the substances.

"Then Master Cheney appealed to the honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should so think as they would teach, after their Lordships had ridden forty miles on horseback, (as their business doth sometimes require,) they should not be able to say at night, that they saw their horses all the day, but only the colour of their horses. And, by his reason, Christ must go to school, and learn of Aristotle to speak: for when he saw Nathanael under the fig-tree, if Aristotle had stood by, he would have said, 'No, Christ; thou sawest not him, but the colour of him.'

"After this, Watson said, 'What if it were granted that Theodoret was on the other side? Where they had one of that opinion, there were a hundred on the other.'

"Then the prolocutor called for Master Morgan to help, and said, that Theodoret did no more than he might lawfully do. For first, he granted the truth; and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the faith, he spake *αἰνυμακῶς*; that is, covertly, and in a mystery; and this was lawful for him to do: for first he granted the truth, and called them the body of Christ, and the blood of Christ. Then, afterwards, he seemed to give somewhat to the senses, and to reason: 'but, that Theodoret is of the same mind that they were of, the words following,' quoth he, 'do declare; for that which followeth is a cause of that which went before. And therefore he saith, 'The immortality,' &c., whereby it doth appear, that he meant the Divine nature, and not the human.'

"Then was Morgan taken with misalleging of the text: for the book had not this word 'for;' for the Greek word did rather signify 'truly' and not 'for;' so that it might manifestly appear, that it was the beginning of a new matter, and not a sentence rendering a cause of that he had said before.

"Then it was said by Watson again, 'Suppose that Theodoret be with you, who is one that we never heard of printed, but two or three years ago: yet is he but one, and what is one again: consent of the church?' After this, Ma

inferred, that not only Theodoret was of that mind, that the substance of bread and wine do remain, but divers others also, and especially Irenæus, who, making mention of this sacrament, saith thus : 'When the cup which is mingled with wine, and the bread that is broken, do receive the word of God, it is made the eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by the which the substance of our flesh is nourished, and doth consist.' If the thanksgiving do nourish our body, then there is some substance besides Christ's body.

"To the which reason both Watson and Morgan answered, that *ex quibus*, 'by the which,' in the sentence of Irenæus, was referred to the next antecedent, that is, to the body and blood of Christ; and not to the wine which is in the cup, and the bread that is broken.

"Master Cheney replied, that it was not the body of Christ which nourished our bodies. 'And let it be that Christ's flesh nourisheth to immortality, yet it doth not answer to that argument, although it be true, no more than that answer which was made to my allegation out of St. Paul, The bread which we break, &c., with certain other like : whereunto you answered, That bread was not taken there in its proper signification, but for that it had been; no more than the rod of Aaron was taken for the serpent, because it had been a serpent.'

"After this, Master Cheney brought in Hesychius, and used the same reason that he did, of burning of symbols; and he asked them, What was burnt. Master Watson said, we must not inquire nor ask, but if there were any fault, impute it to Christ. Then said Master Cheney, Whereof came those ashes—not of substance? or can any substance arise of accidents?

"Then was Master Harpsfield called in to see what he could say in the matter; who told a fair tale of the omnipotency of God, and of the imbecility and weakness of man's reason, not able to attain to godly things. And he said, that it was convenient, whatsoever we saw, felt, or tasted, not to trust our senses. And he told a tale out of St. Cyprian, how a woman saw the sacrament burning in her coffer; 'and that which burned there,' quoth Harpsfield, 'burneth here, and becometh ashes.' But what that was that burnt, he could not tell. But Master Cheney continued still, and forced them with this question, What it was that was burnt? 'It was either,' said he, 'the substance of bread, or else the substance of the body of Christ, which were too much absurdity to grant.' At length they answered, that it was a miracle; whereat Master Cheney smiled, and said, that he could then say no more.

"Then Dr. Weston asked of the company there, whether those men were sufficiently answered, or no. Certain priests cried, 'Yea,' but they were not heard at all for the great multitude which cried, 'No, No;' which cry was heard and noised almost to the end of Paul's. Whereat Dr. Weston, being much moved, answered bitterly, that he asked of the judgment of the rude multitude and unlearned people, but of them which were of the house. Then asked he of Master Haddon and his fellow, whether they would answer them other three days: Haddon, Cheney, and Elmar said, 'No.' But the archdeacon of Winchester stood up and said, that they should not say, but they should be answered; and though all others did refuse to answer, yet he would not, but offered to answer them all one after another. With his proffer the prolocutor was not contented, but railed on him, and said, that he should go to Bedlam: to whom the archdeacon soberly made this answer, that he was more worthy to be sent thither, who used himself so ragingly in that disputation, without any indifferent equality. Then rose Dr. Weston up, and said :

"All the company have subscribed to our article, saving only these men which you see. What their reasons are, you have heard. We have answered them three days, upon promise (as it pleased him to descant without truth, for no such promise was made) that they should answer us again as long as the order of disputation doth require; and if they be able to defend their doctrine, let them so do.'

"Then Master Elmar stood up, and proved how vain a man Weston was; for he affirmed that they never promised to dispute, but only to open and testify to the world their consciences. For when they were required to subscribe, they refused, and said that they would show good reasons which moved them, that they could not with their consciences subscribe; as they had partly already done, and were able to do more sufficiently: 'Therefore,' quoth he, 'it hath been ill called a disputation, and they were worthy to be blamed that were the authors of that name. For we meant not to dispute, nor now mean to answer, before our arguments,' quoth he, 'which we have to propound, be solved, according as it was appointed. For by answering we should but encumber ourselves, and profit nothing; since the matter is already decreed upon and determined, whatsoever we shall prove, or dispute to the contrary.'

The act of the sixth day.

"On Monday following, being the thirtieth of October, the prolocutor demanded of John Philpot,

archdeacon of Winchester, whether he would answer in the questions before propounded to their objections, or no? To whom he made this answer, That he would willingly so do, if, according to their former determination, they would first answer sufficiently to some of his arguments, as they had promised to do, whereof he had a dozen, not half of the first being yet decided: and if they would answer fully and sufficiently but to one of his arguments, he promised that he would answer to all the objections that they should bring. Then the prolocutor bade him propound his argument, and it should be resolutely answered by one of them; whereunto Master Morgan was appointed.

“‘Upon Wednesday last,’ quoth Philpot, ‘I was enforced to silence before I had prosecuted half mine argument; the sum whereof was this (as was gathered by the just context of the Scripture)—That the human body of Christ was ascended into heaven, and placed on the right hand of God the Father: wherefore it could not be situate upon earth in the sacrament of the altar, invisible after the imagination of man.’ The argument was denied by Morgan: for the proof whereof, Philpot snid, that this was it wherewith he had to confirm his first argument, if they would have suffered him the other day, as now he trusted they would.

“‘One self and same nature,’ quoth he, ‘receiveth not in itself any thing that is contrary to itself.

“‘But the body of Christ is a human nature, distinct from the Deity, and is a proper nature of itself:

“‘Ergo, it cannot receive any thing that is contrary to that nature, and that varieth from itself.

“‘But bodily to be present, and bodily to be absent; to be on earth, and to be in heaven, and all at one present time; be things contrary to the nature of a human body: ergo, it cannot be said of the human body of Christ, that the selfsame body is both in heaven, and also in earth, at one instant, either visibly or invisibly.’

“Morgan denied the major, that is, the first part of the argument; the which Philpot vouched out of Vigilus, an ancient writer. But Morgan cavilled that it was no Scripture, and bade him prove the same out of Scripture.

“Philpot said, he could also so do, and right well deduce the same out of St. Paul, who saith, that Christ is like unto us in all points, except sin: and therefore, like as one of our bodies cannot receive in itself any thing contrary to the nature of the body, as to be in Paul’s church and at Westminster at one instant, or to be at London visibly and at Lincoln invisibly at one time, (for that is contrary to the nature of a body, and of all creatures, as Didimus and Basil affirm, that an invisible creature, as an angel,

cannot be at one time in divers places,) wherefore he concluded that the body of Christ might not be in more places than in one, which is in heaven; and so consequently not to be contained in the sacrament of the altar.

“To this the prolocutor took upon him to answer, saying, that it was not true that Christ was like unto us in all points, as Philpot took it, except sin. For that Christ was not conceived by the seed of man, as we be.

“Whereunto Philpot again replied, that Christ’s conception was prophesied before, by the angel, to be supernatural; but after he had received our nature by the operation of the Holy Ghost in the Virgin’s womb, he became in all points like unto us, except sin.

“Then Morgan inferred that this saying of Paul did not plainly prove his purpose.

“‘Well,’ quoth Philpot, ‘I perceive that you do answer but by cavillation, yet am I not destitute of other Scriptures to confirm my first argument, although you refuse the probation of so ancient and catholic a doctor as Vigilus is. St. Peter, in the sermon that he made in Acts iii., making mention of Christ, saith these words, Whom heaven must receive, until the consummation of all things, &c.: which words are spoken of his humanity. If heaven must hold Christ, then can he not be here on earth, in the sacrament, as is pretended.’

“Then Morgan, laughing at this, and giving no direct answer at all, Harpsfield stood up, being one of the bishop of London’s chaplains, and took upon him to answer to the saying of St. Peter, and demanded of Philpot, whether he would, *ex necessitate*, that is, of necessity, force Christ to any place, or no.

“Philpot said, that he would no otherwise force Christ of necessity to any place, than he is taught by the words of the Holy Ghost, which sound thus: That Christ’s human body must abide in heaven until the day of judgment,—as he rehearsed out of the chapter before mentioned.

“‘Why,’ quoth Harpsfield, ‘do ye not know that God is God omnipotent?’ ‘Yes,’ said Philpot, ‘I know that right well; neither doubt I any thing at all of his omnipotency. But of Christ’s omnipotency, what he may do, is not our question, but rather what he doth. I know he may make a stone in the wall a man, if he list, and also that he may make more worlds: but doth he therefore so? It were no good consequent so to conclude, He may do this or that, therefore he doth it.

“Only so much is to be believed of God’s omnipotency, as is in the word expressed.

“That Christ’s body is both in heaven, a

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the questions in controversy, he would wish no worse matched than with Moreman.

the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken that would compare with such a worshipful man as Moreman was, being himself a man of, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to prison, than to be among such a sort of learned men as were there; and a man that never answered, and one that troubled the whole and therefore he did command him that he come no more into the house, demanding of whether they would agree thereupon, or whom a great company answered 'Yea.' Philpot again, that he might think himself that was out of that company.

this Morgan rose off, and rounded the in the ear. And then again the prolocutor to Philpot, and said, 'Lest thou shouldst leave the house, and say that we will not suffer to trouble your mind, we are content you shall leave the house as you have done before; so as apparelled with a long gown and a tipple, and that you shall not speak, but command you.' 'Then,' quoth Philpot, 'I be absent altogether.' "

by reasoning to and fro, at length, about the 10th of December, Queen Mary, to take care, sendeth her commandment to Bonner, London, that he should dissolve and the convocation.

In the time of this disputation, the twentieth of December, the mayor of Coventry sent up the names of the council Baldwin Clarke, John Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, in favour upon Allhallows-day last before: Bareless and Wilcocks were committed to prison, and Clarke and Estelin to the

day there was a letter directed to Sir Heydon, and Sir William Farmer, in the apprehension of John Huntingdon, making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes' commandment: who, appearing before the 13th of December next after, was, upon submission and promise to amend as he was in living, again suffered to depart. In the 15th of King Henry, and also King Edward, following after him, divers noblemen, bishops, were cast into the Tower, some for treason, as Lord Courtney, and the Duke of Norfolk—whose son, Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, was the same time beheaded, a worthy gentleman, for what cause, or by

whom, I have not here to deal: this is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord Seymours, and at last of the duke of Northumberland also—some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, (as Tonsal, bishop of Durham,) and others for other things, all which continued there prisoners till Queen Mary's coming-in: unto whom the said queen afterwards granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities; amongst whom, also, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the Lord Courtney she showed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many, that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

The same time Bonner, also, had been prisoner in the Marshalsea; whom likewise Queen Mary delivered, and restored to the bishopric of London again, displacing Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops more, as is above mentioned: as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbishop of York likewise, Poynt from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Ferrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scorry from Chichester, &c., with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly, all such beneficed men, who either were married, or would constantly adhere to their profession. All which were removed from their livings, and others of the contrary sect set in the same, as Cardinal Pole, (who was then sent for,) Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Tuberville, etc.

And as touching Cranmer, of whom mention was made before, forasmuch as there was rumour spread of him the same time in London, that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury, for purging of himself he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do: adding moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain others whom he would choose, would, in open disputation, sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of King Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he, with other bishops, was laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart the realm; and so went he to Strasburg.

After this, in the month of November, the Archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had refused to subscribe to the king's will in marrying his sister Mary, alleging many grave

also really in the sacrament, is not expressed in the word :

“ Ergo, it is not to be believed, that the body of Christ, being in heaven, is here also really in the sacrament.”

“ ‘ Why,’ quoth the prolocutor, ‘ then you will put Christ in prison in heaven.’ To the which Philpot answered, ‘ Do you reckon heaven to be a prison? God grant us all to come to that prison.’ ”

“ After this Harpsfield inferred that this word *oportet* in St. Peter, which signifieth in English ‘ must,’ did not import so much as I would infer, of necessity, as by other places of Scripture it may appear, as in 1 Tim. iii., where Paul saith, A bishop must be the husband of one wife. ‘ Here,’ quoth he, ‘ *oportet* doth not import such a necessity; but that he that never was married, may be a bishop.’ ”

“ To this Philpot said again, that the places were not alike which he went about to compare; and that in comparing of the Scriptures we must not consider the naked words, but the meaning rather of the Scriptures, for that, in the place by him alleged, St. Paul doth declare of what quality a bishop ought to be. But in the other, St. Peter teacheth us the place where Christ must necessarily be until the end of the world: which we ought to believe to be true. ‘ And this comparison of this word *oportet* doth no more answer mine argument, than if I should say of you now being here, *Oportet te hic esse*, You must needs be here; which importeth such a necessity for the time, that you can no otherwise be but here: and yet you would go about in words to avoid this necessity with another *oportet* in another sense, as this; *Oportet te esse virum bonum*, You must be a good man; where *oportet* doth not in very deed conclude any such necessity, but that you *may* be an evil man. Thus you may see that your answer is not sufficient, and as it were no answer to my argument.’ ”

“ Then the prolocutor brought in another *oportet*, to help this matter, (if it might be,) saying, ‘ What say you to this, *Oportet hæreses esse*: must heresies needs be therefore, because of this word *oportet*? ’ ”

“ ‘ Yea, truly,’ quoth Philpot, ‘ it cannot otherwise be, if you will add that which followeth immediately upon these words of Paul, that is, That such as be the elect of God may be manifested and known.’ ”

“ ‘ Why,’ quoth the prolocutor, ‘ the time hath been, that no heresies were.’ ‘ I know no such time,’ quoth Philpot; ‘ for since the time of Abel and Cain heresies have been, and then began they.’ ”

“ Then said the prolocutor, ‘ Will you now answer Morgan an argument or two?’ ‘ I will,’ quoth Philpot, ‘ if I may first be answered to my argu-

ment any thing according to truth and learning.’ ‘ What!’ quoth the prolocutor, ‘ you will never be answered.’ ”

“ ‘ How I am answered,’ quoth Philpot, ‘ let all men that are here present judge, and especially such as be learned; and with what cavillations you have dallied with me. First, to the ancient authority of Vigilius you have answered nothing at all, but only denying it to be Scripture, that he saith. Secondly, to the saying of St. Peter in the Acts, ye have answered thus—demanding of me whether I would keep Christ in prison, or no. Let men now judge, if this be a sufficient answer or no.’ ”

“ Then stood Morgan up again, and asked Philpot whether he would be ruled by the universal church, or no?

“ ‘ Yes,’ quoth he, ‘ if it be the true catholic church. And since you speak so much of the church, I would fain that you would declare what the church is.’ ”

“ ‘ The church,’ quoth Morgan, ‘ is diffused and dispersed throughout the whole world.’ ”

“ ‘ That is a diffuse definition,’ quoth Philpot, ‘ for I am yet as uncertain as I was before, what you mean by the church: but I acknowledge no church but that which is grounded and founded on God’s word; as St. Paul saith, Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, and upon the Scriptures of God.’ ”

“ ‘ What!’ quoth Moreman, ‘ was the Scripture before the church?’ ‘ Yea,’ quoth Philpot.

“ ‘ But I will prove nay,’ quoth Moreman, ‘ and I will begin at Christ’s time. The church of Christ was before any Scripture written; for Matthew was the first that wrote the gospel, about a dozen years after Christ: ergo, the church was before the Scripture.’ ”

“ To whom Philpot answering, denied his argument; which when Moreman could not prove, Philpot showed that his argument was *elenchus*, or a fallacy, that is, a deceivable argument. For he took the Scripture only to be that which is written by men in letters; whereas in very deed, all prophecy uttered by the Spirit of God, was counted to be Scripture before it was written in paper and ink, for that it was written in the hearts, and graven in the minds, yea, and inspired in the mouths, of good men and of Christ’s apostles, by the Spirit of Christ; as the salutation of the angel was the Scripture of Christ, and the word of God, before it was written.

“ At that Moreman cried, ‘ Fie! fie!’ wondering that the Scripture of God should be counted Scripture before it was written; and affirmed, that he had no knowledge that said so.

“ To whom Philpot answered, that concerning knowledge in this behalf, for the trial of the truth

about the questions in controversy, he would wish himself no worse matched than with Moreman.

“At the which saying the prolocutor was grievously offended, saying, that it was arrogantly spoken of him, that would compare with such a worshipful learned man as Moreman was, being himself a man unlearned, yea, a madman; meeter to be sent to Bethlehem, than to be among such a sort of learned and grave men as were there; and a man that never would be answered, and one that troubled the whole house: and therefore he did command him that he should come no more into the house, demanding of the house whether they would agree thereupon, or no. To whom a great company answered ‘Yea.’ Then said Philpot again, that he might think himself happy that was out of that company.

“After this Morgan rose off, and rounded the prolocutor in the ear. And then again the prolocutor spake to Philpot, and said, ‘Lest thou shouldst slander the house, and say that we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you shall come into the house as you have done before; so that you be apparelled with a long gown and a tip-pet, as we be, and that you shall not speak, but when I command you.’ ‘Then,’ quoth Philpot, ‘I had rather be absent altogether.’”

Thus they reasoning to and fro, at length, about the thirteenth of December, Queen Mary, to take up the matter, sendeth her commandment to Bonner, bishop of London, that he should dissolve and break up the convocation.

During the time of this disputation, the twentieth day of November, the mayor of Coventry sent up unto the lords of the council Baldwin Clarke, John Careless, Thomas Wilcocks, and Richard Estelin, for their behaviour upon Allhallows-day last before: whereupon Careless and Wilcocks were committed to the Gatehouse, and Clarke and Estelin to the Marshalsea.

The same day there was a letter directed to Sir Christopher Heydon, and Sir William Farmer, knights, for the apprehension of John Huntingdon, preacher, for making a rhyme against Dr. Stokes and the sacrament: who, appearing before the council the third of December next after, was, upon his humble submission and promise to amend as well in doctrine as in living, again suffered to depart.

In the days of King Henry, and also King Edward reigning after him, divers noblemen, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason, as Lord Courtney, and the duke of Norfolk—whose son, Lord Henry, earl of Surrey, had been the same time beheaded, a worthy and ingenuous gentleman, for what cause, or by

whom, I have not here to deal: this is certain, that not many years after his death followed the beheading of both the Lord Seymours, and at last of the duke of Northumberland also—some for the pope’s supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, (as Tonsal, bishop of Durham,) and others for other things, all which continued there prisoners till Queen Mary’s coming-in: unto whom the said queen eftsoons granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities; amongst whom, also, was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the Lord Courtney she showed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many, that she would marry him; but that proved otherwise.

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After this, in the month of November, the Archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king’s will in disinheriting his sister Mary, alleging many grave and pith

reasons for her legitimation, was, in Guildhall of London, arraigned and attainted of treason, with the Lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons, who, at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithstanding, Cranmer, being pardoned of treason, stood only in the action and case of doctrine, which they called heresy, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise, for their parts, to show themselves no less forward to serve the queen's appetite, (as the manner is, of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the prince and time present,) began in their choirs to set up the pageant of St. Katharine, and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions in Latin, after all their old solemnity, with their gay gardeviance, and grey amices.

And when the month of December was come, the parliament brake up; but first of all such statutes were repealed, which were made either of *præmunire*, or touched any alteration of religion and administration of sacraments under King Edward: in the which parliament, also, communication was moved of the queen's marriage with King Philip, the emperor's son.

In this mean while Cardinal Pole, being sent for by Queen Mary, was by the emperor requested to stay with him, to the intent (as some think) that his presence in England should not be a let to the marriage which he intended between Philip his son, and Queen Mary. For the making whereof he sent a most ample ambassade, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the knot.

The thirteenth of January, 1554, Dr. Crome, for his preaching upon Christmas day without licence, was committed to the Fleet.

The twenty-first of January, Master Thomas Wootton, esquire, was, for matters of religion, committed to the Fleet close prisoner.

This mention of marriage was about the beginning of January, and was very evil taken of the people, and of many of the nobility, who, for this and for religion, conspiring among themselves, made a rebellion, whereof Sir Thomas Wyatt, knight, was one of the chief beginners; who, being in Kent, said, (as many else perceived,) that the queen and the council would, by foreign marriage, bring upon this realm most miserable servitude, and establish popish religion. About the twenty-fifth of January news came to London of this stir in Kent, and

shortly after of the duke of Suffolk, who was fled into Warwickshire and Leicestershire, there to gather a power. The queen therefore caused them both, with the Carews of Devonshire, to be proclaimed traitors; and sent into Kent against Wyatt, Thomas, duke of Norfolk, who, being about Rochester bridge forsaken of them that went with him, returned safe to London without any more harm done to him, and without bloodshed on either part.

Furthermore, to apprehend the Duke of Suffolk, being fled into Warwickshire, was sent the earl of Huntingdon in post, who, entering the city of Coventry before the duke, disappointed him of his purpose. Wherefore the duke, in great distress, committed himself to the keeping of a servant of his, named Underwood, in Astley Park, who, like a false traitor, betrayed him. And so he was brought up to the Tower of London.

In the mean while Sir Peter Carew, hearing of that was done, fled into France; but the others were taken, and Wyatt came towards London in the beginning of February. The queen, hearing of Wyatt's coming, came into the city to the Guildhall, where she made a vehement oration against Wyatt; the contents (at least the effect) whereof here followeth, as near as out of her own mouth could be penned.

"I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that, which already you see and know; that is, how traitorously and rebelliously a number of Kentishmen have assembled themselves against both us and you. Their pretence (as they said at the first) was for a marriage determined for us: to the which, and to all the articles thereof, ye have been made privy. But since, we have caused certain of our privy council to go again unto them, and to demand the cause of this their rebellion; and it appeared then unto our said council, that the matter of the marriage seemed to be but a Spanish cloak to cover their pretended purpose against our religion; for that they arrogantly and traitorously demanded to have the governance of our person, the keeping of the Tower, and the placing of our counsellors.

"Now, loving subjects, what I am ye right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation, when I was wedded to the realm and laws of the same, (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be, left off,) you promised your allegiance and obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor of the crown of this realm of England, I take all Christendom to witness. My father, as ye all know, possessed the same regal state, which now

rightly is descended unto me: and to him always ye showed yourselves most faithful and loving subjects; and therefore I doubt not, but ye will show yourselves [such] likewise to me, and that ye will not suffer a vile traitor to have the order and governance of our person, and to occupy our estate, especially being so vile a traitor as Wyat is; who most certainly, as he hath abused mine ignorant subjects which be on his side, so doth he intend and purpose the destruction of you, and spoil of your goods. And I say to you, on the word of a prince, I cannot tell how naturally the mother loveth the child, for I was never the mother of any; but certainly, if a prince and governor may as naturally and earnestly love her subjects, as the mother doth love the child, then assure yourselves, that I, being your lady and mistress, do as earnestly and tenderly love and favour you. And I, thus loving you, cannot but think that ye as heartily and faithfully love me; and then I doubt not but we shall give these rebels a short and speedy overthrow.

"As concerning the marriage, ye shall understand that I enterprised not the doing thereof without advice, and that by the advice of all our privy council, who so considered and weighed the great commodities that might ensue thereof, that they not only thought it very honourable, but also expedient, both for the wealth of the realm, and also of you our subjects. And as touching myself, I assure you, I am not so bent to my will, neither so precise nor affectionate, that either for mine own pleasure I would choose where I lust, or that I am so desirous, as needs I would have one. For God, I thank him, to whom be the praise therefore, I have hitherto lived a virgin, and doubt nothing, but with God's grace, I am able so to live still. But if, as my progenitors have done before, it may please God that I might leave some fruit of my body behind me, to be your governor, I trust you would not only rejoice thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort. And certainly, if I either did think or know, that this marriage were to the hurt of any of you my commons, or to the impeachment of any part or parcel of the royal state of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And on the word of a queen, I promise you, that

if it shall not probably appear to all the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the high benefit and commodity of the whole realm, then will I abstain from marriage while I live.

"And now, good subjects, pluck up your hearts, and, like true men, stand fast against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not; for I assure you, I fear them nothing at all. And I will leave with you my Lord Howard, and my lord treasurer, who shall be assistants with the mayor for your defence."

Here is to be noted, that at the coming of Queen Mary to the Guildhall, it being bruited before, that she was coming with harnessed men, such a fear came among them, that a number of the Londoners, fearing lest they should be there entrapped and put to death, made out of the gate before her entering in. Furthermore note, that when she had ended her oration, (which she seemed to have perfectly conned without book,) Winchester, standing by her, when the oration was done, with great admiration cried to the people, "Oh how happy are we, to whom God hath given such a wise and learned prince!" &c.

Two days after, which was the third of February, the Lord Cobham was committed to the Tower, and Master Wyat entered into Southwark, who, forasmuch as he could not enter that way into London, returning another way by Kingston with his army, came up through the streets into Ludgate, and returning thence was resisted at Temple-bar, and there yielded himself to Sir Clement Parson, and so was brought by him to the court, and with him the residue of his army (for before, Sir George Harpar and almost half of his men ran away from him at Kingston bridge) were also taken, and about a hundred killed, and they that were taken were had to prison, and a great many of them were hanged, and he himself afterward executed at the Tower Hill, and then quartered; whose head, after being set up upon Hay Hill, was thence stolen away, and great search made for the same: of which story ye shall hear more hereafter.

whom was
sent Master
Fecknam,
alias How-
man, from the
queen, two

days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to Queen Mary's religion: the effect of which communication here followeth:

Fecknam.—"Madam, I lament your heavy case; and yet I doubt not, but that you bear out this sorrow of yours with a constant and patient mind."

Jane.—"You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he showed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or others which bear me good will, should lament or be grieved

I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travail with you need therein."

Jane.—"Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's Highness, which is not unmindful of her humble subject: and I hope, likewise, that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for."

Fecknam.—"What is then required of a Christian man?"

Jane.—"That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God."

Fecknam.—"What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him?"

Jane.—"Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself."

Fecknam.—"Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not."

Jane.—"Yes verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth."

Fecknam.—"Why? St. Paul saith, If I have all faith without love, it is nothing."

Jane.—"True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith."

Fecknam.—"How shall we love our neighbour?"

Jane.—"To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves."

Fecknam.—"Why? then it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe."

Jane.—"I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a Christian, in token that he followeth his Master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation. For when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us."

Fecknam.—"How many sacraments are there?"

Jane.—"Two: the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper."

Fecknam.—"No, there are seven."

Jane.—"By what Scripture find you that?"

Fecknam.—"Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?"

Jane.—"By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am the child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper, offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ, which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom."

Fecknam.—"Why? what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?"

Jane.—"No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, put me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken, and his blood shed on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the cross."

Fecknam.—"Why, doth not Christ speak these words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say, it is his body?"

Jane.—"I grant he saith so; and so he saith, I am the vine, I am the door; but he is never the

more for that the door or the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, He calleth things that are not, as though they were? God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples."

Fecknam.—"Why, is it not as possible that Christ, by his power, could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body, and other suchlike miracles as he wrought by his power only?"

Jane.—"Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body and shed his blood on the cross for our sins. But I pray you to answer me to this one question: Where was Christ when he said, Take, eat, this is my body? Was he not at the table, when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he, but bread? what brake he, but bread? and what gave he, but bread? Look, what he took, he brake: and look, what he brake, he gave: and look, what he gave, they did eat: and yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived."

Fecknam.—"You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath; and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit."

Jane.—"No, I ground my faith on God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word; and not God's word by the church, neither yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity, or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it, and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues; and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid!"

Fecknam.—"That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid a heresy that sprang on it."

Jane.—"Why, shall the church alter God's w?"

and ordinance, for good intent? How did King Saul? The Lord God defend!"

With these and such-like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church, but it would not be. There were many more things whereof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: "For I am sure," quoth he, "that we two shall never meet."

Jane.—"True it is," said she, "that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart; for I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case. And I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his Holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it pleased him also to open the eyes of your heart."

A letter of the Lady Jane, sent unto her father.

"Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father, (if I may without offence rejoice in my own mis-haps,) meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent! And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, (in that being in so royal estate as I was,) mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand; whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose stedfast faith, (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father,) the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

At what time her father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of King Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man,

student and graduate of the university of Oxford; who, then, being chaplain to the said duke, and a sincere preacher (as he appeared) of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the state of religion began to alter by Queen Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a protestant became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and inconstant mutability, this Christian lady being not a little aggrieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous state of his soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement letter: which, as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous heart, so would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own soul. The copy of the letter is this as followeth.

Another letter of the Lady Jane, to Master Harding, late chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, her father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most holy word.

"So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, That he which layeth hold upon the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven; and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him; I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed sometime to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; sometime the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; sometime the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshamefaced parmour of antichrist; sometime my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; sometime a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? when thou thyself preachest not to steal, yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and, committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul; and choosest rather to

live miserably with shame to the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life? Why dost thou now show thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldest thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou, but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake Him, that called thee from the custom gathering among the Romish antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge, (I cannot say of grace,) shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou, neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ, with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites, (which, for their idolatry, they so oft received,) nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard him, that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols, which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not; which shall perish with them that made them?

“What saith the prophet Baruch, where he cited the epistle of Jeremy, written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone borne upon men's shoulders, to cast fear before the heathen? But be not ye afraid of them, saith Jeremy, nor do as other do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped; for, as for those gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them: yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot

speak. He showeth, moreover, the abuse of their deckings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal: how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle, or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, or any other evil thing. These, and such-like words, speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus: Confounded be all they that worship them. They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many Scriptures in many places. God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship given to him only. And Christ saith, in Luke iv., to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Beelzebub, the same devil, which hath prevailed against thee: It is written, saith he, Thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

“These, and such like, do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other god than that which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol, invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure?—But thou wilt say, thou doest it for a good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul? who for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom. Shalt thou, then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou, for a good intent, dishonour God, offend thy brother, and endanger thy soul, where-for Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou, for a good intent, pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can (as his will is) either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not then remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee. a miserable wretch, in his hundred and fortieth Psalm, where he saith thus: When thou tr

away thy Spirit, O Lord, from men, they die and are turned again to their dust; but when thou lettest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth. Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel: Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it. And in the same place, Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself and take up his cross, and follow me. What cross? the cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name's sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word shear asunder the sinews of worldly respects, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself and embrace Christ. And, like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all, in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief Captain Christ hath set thee in array of this life. Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

"But thou wilt say, 'I will not break unity.' What? not the unity of Satan and his members? not the unity of darkness, the agreement of antichrist and his adherents? Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such a unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in a unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in a unity? Were not the heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites, and Jebusites, in a unity? Were not the scribes and Pharisees in a unity? Doth not King David testify, *Convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum*? Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Tully saith of amity, *Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos*. But mark, my friend, (yea, friend, if thou be not God's enemy,) there is no unity but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified what he himself saith, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium*, &c., but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother-in-law. Deceive not thyself, therefore, with the glittering and glorious name of Unity; for antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name. The agreement of ill men is not a unity, but a conspiracy.

"Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the Scrip-

ture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard, also, the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life. Saith he not, He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven? And to the same effect writeth Paul: It is impossible, saith he, that they which were one lightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should be renewed again by repentance. And again, saith he, If we shall willingly sin, after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries. Thus St. Paul writeth, and this thou readeest; and dost thou not quake and tremble?

"Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the Scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, [and of] holy martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Harken what he saith: Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you. Hear what Isaiah the prophet saith: Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool: but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then, saith he, that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that made the sea to rage, and be still, whose name is the Lord of hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of a hand. And our Saviour Christ saith to his disciples, They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers, for my name's sake; and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not, saith he, nor care you what you shall say: for it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasure for yourselves, saith he, where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world,

but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.

“Let these and such-like consolations, taken out of the Scriptures, strengthen you to God-ward: let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets; of the three children; of Eleazar, that constant father; of the seven of the Maccabees’ children; of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the church, as of good Simeo, archbishop of Solyma, and Zetrophone, with infinite others under Sapor, the king of the Persians and Indians, who contemned all torments devised by the tyrants, for their Saviour’s sake. Return, return again into Christ’s war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And, above all things, take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ’s own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

“Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatened vengeance, for this so great and heinous an offence of apostacy: and comfort yourself, on the other part, with the mercy, blood, and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you, whensoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you: against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling-block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter, not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart—to wash away, out of the sight of God, the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, Lord be merciful unto me a sinner. Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case, methinks, should be yet so green in your remembrance, that, being a thing of our time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

“Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the

runagates and fugitives from Christ, which, setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea, did clean fall away, from him that forsook not them: and, contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through their most redoubted Captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and, last of all, to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood: which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again, rather than you should be lost. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

“Be constant, be constant; fear not for any pain:
Christ hath redeemed thee, and heaven is thy gain.”

A letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament in Greek, the which she sent unto her sister the Lady Katharine, the night before she suffered.

“I have here sent you, good sister Katharine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will, which he bequeathed unto us wretches; which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy: and, if you with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woeful father’s lands. For as, if God had prospered him, you should have inherited his lands; so, if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moths corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old: and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and with St. Paul, to be dissolved and to be with whom even in death there is life. B

good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest, when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be, with the evil servant, found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women; and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your Master Christ, and take up your cross: lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life, the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from the which, (in God's name,) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days. And if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days, to your comfort and his glory: to the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you."

Here followeth a certain effectual prayer, made by the Lady Jane in the time of her trouble.

A prayer of the Lady Jane.

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only, in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee: and therefore I, being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that, seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited sometime with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou, that saidst thou wouldst not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; who, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down

with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny thee my God, or being too low brought, should despair, and blaspheme thee my Lord and Saviour.

"O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace, patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand, that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore, likewise, seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, (for whom thy Son Christ shed his precious blood on the cross,) out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? Far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus. Give me grace, therefore, to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt, deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only, in the mean time, arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace: above all things taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word: praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me; seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well, all that thou dost. Hear me, O merciful Father! for his sake, whom thou wouldst should be a sacrifice for my sins: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen."

After these things thus declared, it remaineth now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, next

to infer the manner of her execution, with the words and behaviour of her at the time of her death.

The words and behaviour of the Lady Jane upon the scaffold.

These are the words that the Lady Jane spake upon the scaffold, at the hour of her death. First, when she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's Highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but, touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day:" and therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book. Then said she, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God, in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world; and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins; and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given

me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then, kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, "Yea." Then said she the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus* in English, in most devout manner, throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden, Mistress Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Master Bruges. And then she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it; but she, desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled down and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then she said, "I pray you despatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off, before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, "No, madam." Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers-by guiding her thereunto she laid her head down

upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the twelfth day of February.

Certain verses, written by the said Lady Jane with a pin.

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt :
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

Do never think it strange,
Though now I have misfortune,
For if that fortune change,
The same to thee may happen.

JANE DUDLEY.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus :
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.
Post tenebras spero lucem.

If God do help thee,
Hate shall not hurt thee;
If God do fail thee,
Then shall not labour prevail thee.

Thus, the twelfth day of February, as I said, was beheaded the Lady Jane, and with her, also, the Lord Guildford her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons; two innocents in comparison of them that sat upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that, which the others had willingly devised, and, by open proclamation, consented to take from others, and give to them.

Touching the condemnation of this Lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the judge, Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell mad, and in his raving cried out continually to have Lady Jane taken away from him; and so ended his life.

And not long after the death of the Lady Jane, upon the twenty-first of the same month, was Henry, duke of Suffolk, also beheaded at the Tower Hill, the fourth day after his condemnation: about which time, also, were condemned for this conspiracy many gentlemen and yeomen, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the country. In the number of whom also was the Lord Thomas Gray, brother to the said duke, being apprehended not long after in North Wales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

The twenty-fourth of the same month, the year of our Lord 1554, Bonner, bishop of London, sent down a commission, directed to all the curates and pastors of his diocese, for the taking of the names of such as would not come the Lent following to auricular confession, and to the receiving at Easter; the copy of which monition here followeth.

A monition of Bonner, bishop of London, sent down to all and singular curates of his diocese, for the certifying of the names of such as would not come in Lent to confession, and receiving at Easter.

"Edmund, by the permission of God bishop of London, to all parsons, vicars, curates, and ministers of the church within the city and diocese of London, sendeth grace, peace, and mercy, in our Lord everlasting: Forasmuch as by the order of the ecclesiastical laws and constitutions of this realm, and the laudable usage and custom of the whole catholic church, by many hundred years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all faithful people, being of lawful age and discretion, are bound once in the year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper curate, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, with due preparation and devotion: And forasmuch, also, as we be credibly informed, that sundry evil disposed and undevout persons, given to sensual pleasures and carnal appetites, following the lusts of their body, and neglecting utterly the health of their souls, do forbear to come to confession according to the said usage, and to receive the sacrament of the altar accordingly, giving thereby pernicious and evil example to the younger sort, to neglect and contemn the same: We, minding the reformation hereof for our own discharge, and desirous of good order to be kept, and good example to be given; do will and command you, by virtue hereof, that immediately upon the receipt of this our commandment, ye, each and every of you, within your cure and charge, do use all your diligence and dexterity to declare the same, straitly charging and commanding all your parishioners, being of lawful age and discretion, to come, before Easter next coming, to confession, according to the said ordinance and usage, with due preparation and devotion to receive the said sacrament of the altar; and that ye do note the names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said sacrament, certifying us or our chancellor or commissary thereof, before the sixth day of April next ensuing the date hereof: that so we, knowing thereby who did not come to confession, and receiving the sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and transgressors of the said ecclesiastical law and usage. Further, also, certifying us, our said chancellor or commissary, before the day aforesaid, whether you have your altar set up, chalice-book, vestments, and all things necessary for mass, and the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, with procession, and all

other divine service prepared and in readiness, according to the order of the catholic church, and the virtuous and godly example of the queen's Majesty: and, if ye so have not, ye then, with the churchwardens, cause the same to be provided for, signifying by whose fault and negligence the same want or fault hath proceeded; and generally, of the not coming of your parishioners to church, undue walking, talking, or using of themselves there unreverently in the time of divine service, and of all other open faults and misdemeanours; not omitting thus to do, and certify as before, as you will answer upon your peril for the contrary.

"Given at London the twenty-third of February, in the year of our Lord 1554."

The next month following, which was the month of March, and the fourth day of the said month, there was a letter sent from the queen to Bonner, bishop of London, with certain articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, containing as here followeth.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: And whereas heretofore in the time of the late reign of our most dearest brother King Edward the Sixth, (whose soul God pardon,) divers notable crimes, excesses, and faults, with sundry kinds of heresies, simony, adultery, and other enormities, have been committed within this our realm, and other our dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our reign, without any correction or reformation at all; and the people both of the laity and also of the clergy, and chiefly of the clergy, have been given to much insolency, and ungodly rule, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to no little slander of other Christian realms, and in a manner to the subversion and clean defacing of this our realm: and remembering our duty to Almighty God to be, to foresee (as much as in us may be) that all virtue and godly living should be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also, that all vice and ungodly behaviour should be banished and put away, or at leastwise (so nigh as might be) so bridled and kept under, that godliness and honesty might have the upper hand; understanding by very credible report and public fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your diocese, as well in not exempted as exempted places, the like disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly, in very deed, we do mind and intend to the uttermost, all the ways we can possi-

ble, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf: For these causes, and other most just considerations us moving, we send unto you certain articles of such special matters, as, among other things, be most necessary now to be put in execution by you and your officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the reformation aforesaid: wherein ye shall be charged with our special commandment, by these our letters, to the intent you and your officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed thereunto, without fear of any presumption to be noted on your part, or danger to be incurred of any such our laws, as, by our doing of that is in the said articles contained, might any wise grieve you, whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we straitly charge and command you and your said officers, to proceed to the execution of the said articles, without all tract and delay, as ye will answer to the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the third day of March, the first year of our reign."

Articles sent from the queen unto the ordinary, and by him and his officers, by her commandment, to be put in execution in the whole diocese.

"First, that every bishop and his officers, with all others having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall, with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in execution all such canons and ecclesiastical laws, time of King Henry the Eighth realm of England, and the dominion not being directly and expressly laws and statutes of this realm.

"Item, That no bishop, or any other person aforesaid, hereafter tical writings, in process, or other do use to put in this clause or *authoritate fulcitus*.

"Item, That no bishop, or any other person aforesaid, do hereafter in the admission of any person to promotion, order, or office, any primacy or succession, as of late passed, hath been accustomed and

"Item, That every bishop and all other persons aforesaid, have to use special diligence and foresight be admitted or received to any promotion, benefice, or office, being a slandered or defamed with any notable or other great crime, and that the same and cause to be stayed, as much

that benefices and ecclesiastical promotions do not notably decay or take hinderance by passing or confirming of unreasonable leases.

“Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travail for the repressing of heresies and notable crimes, especially in the clergy, duly correcting and punishing the same.

“Item, That every bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travail for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty opinions, unlawful books, ballads, and other pernicious and hurtful devices, engendering hatred amongst the people, and discord among the same. And that schoolmasters, preachers, and teachers, do exercise and use their offices and duties without teaching, preaching, or setting forth any evil and corrupt doctrine; and that, doing the contrary, they may be, by the bishop and his said officers, punished and removed.

“Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceeding summarily, and with all celerity and speed, may and shall deprive, or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons from their benefices and ecclesiastical promotions, who, contrary to the state of their order, and the laudable custom of the church, have married and used women as their wives, or otherwise notably and slanderously disordered or abused themselves: sequestering also, during the said process, the fruits and profits of the said benefices and ecclesiastical promotions.

“Item, that the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do use more lenity and clemency with such as have married, whose wives be dead, than with others, whose women do yet remain alive; and likewise such priests, as (with the consent of their wives or women) openly in the presence of the bishop do profess to abstain, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the penance effectually done, the bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may, upon just consideration, receive and admit them again to their former administration, so it be not in the same place; appointing them such a portion to live upon, to be paid out of their benefice whereof they be deprived, by discretion of the said bishop or his officer, as he shall think may be spared of the said benefice.

“Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any religious man, having solemnly professed chastity, to continue with his woman or wife; but that all such persons, after deprivation of their benefice or ecclesiastical promotion, be also divorced every one from his said woman, and due punishment otherwise taken for the offence therein.

“Item, That every bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order and direction with the parishioners of every benefice where priests do want, to repair to the next parish for divine service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better provision may be made, one curate to serve, *alienis vicibus*, in divers parishes, and to allot to the curate, for his labour, some portion of the benefice that he so serveth.

“Item, That all and all manner of processions of the church be used; and frequented and continued, after the old order of the church, in the Latin tongue.

“Item, That all such holy days and fasting days be observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter time of King Henry the Eighth.

“Item, That the laudable and honest ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

“Item, That children be christened by the priest, and confirmed by the bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

“Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any orders, after the new sort and fashion of orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the bishop of the diocese finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in those men, may supply that thing which wanted in them before: and then, according to his discretion, admit them to minister.

“Item, That by the bishop of the diocese a uniform doctrine be set forth by homilies, or otherwise for the good instruction and teaching of all people: and that the said bishop, and other persons aforesaid, do compel the parishioners to come to their several churches, and there devoutly to hear divine service, as of reason they ought.

“Item, That they examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children; and, finding them suspected in any wise, to remove them, and place catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their children, so as they may be able to answer the priest at the mass, and so help the priest to mass, as hath been accustomed.

“Item, That the said bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, have such regard, respect, and consideration of and for the setting-forth of the premises, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with repressing also and keeping under of vice and unthriftiness, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the restitution of true religion; and also to make a honest account and reckoning of their office and cure, to the honour of God, our good contentation

and profit of this our realm, and the dominions of the same."

A like prescript also, with articles, was sent from the said Queen Mary to the lord mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the year abovesaid; which lord mayor, upon the same, directed his commandment to the aldermen, every one severally in his ward, containing as followeth:

"On the queen our most gracious and most benign sovereign lady's behalf, we most straitly charge and command you, that ye (the said aldermen) fail not personally to call before your own person, in such place within your said ward, as to you shall seem most convenient and meet, upon Wednesday next coming, which shall be the seventh day of this present month, at seven of the clock in the morning of the same day, all and every the householders both poor and rich of your said ward, and then and there openly and plainly, for your own discharge, and for the eschewing the perils that to you might otherwise be justly imputed and laid, do not only straitly admonish, charge, and command, in the queen our said sovereign lady's name and behalf, all and every the said householders, that both in their own persons, and also their wives, children, and servants, being of the age of twelve years and upwards, [all] and every of them, do, at all and every time and times from henceforth, and namely at the holy time of Easter, now approaching, honestly, quietly, obediently, and catholically, use and behave themselves like good and faithful Christian people, in all and every thing and things touching and concerning the true faith, profession, and religion of his catholic church, both according to the laws and precepts of Almighty God, and also their bounden duty of obedience towards our sovereign lady the queen, her laws and statutes, and her Highness's most good example and gracious proceeding according to the same, and according also to the right wholesome, charitable, and godly admonition, charge, and exhortation, lately set forth and given by the right reverend father in God the bishop of London, our diocesan and ordinary, to all the parsons, vicars, and curates, within his diocese: but, also, that they and every of them do truly, without delay, advertise you of the names and surnames of all and every person and persons, that they or any of them can or may at any time hereafter know, perceive, or understand, to transgress or offend in any point or article concerning the premises, at their utmost perils; [and] that ye, immediately after such notice thereof to you given, do forthwith advertise us thereof. Fail ye not thus to do with all circumspection and diligence, as ye will answer to our said most dread

sovereign lady the queen for the contrary, at your like peril.

"Given at the Guildhall of the city of London, the fifth day of March, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady the queen.
Blackwell.

"And likewise do you give to every of the said householders straitly in commandment, that they or their wives depart not out of the said city, until this holy time of Easter be past."

About the same year and time, when Dr. Bonner set forth this prescript or monitory, there came from the queen another proclamation, against strangers and foreigners within this realm: the purpose and intent of which proclamation, because it chiefly and most specially concerned religion and doctrine, and the true professors thereof, I thought here to annex the tenor and manner of the same.

A copy of the queen's proclamation for the driving out of the realm strangers and foreigners.

"The queen our sovereign lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her Highness's dominions in other sundry nations, flying from the obeisance of the princes and rulers under whom they be born, (some for heresy; some for murder, treason, robbery; and some for other horrible crimes,) be resorted into this her Majesty's realm, and here have made their demurrer, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to eschew such condign punishment as their said horrible crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious doctrine and lewd conversation among the good subjects of this her said realm, on purpose to infect her good subjects with the like, insomuch as (besides innumerable heresies, which divers of the same, being heretics, have preached and taught within her Highness's said realm) it is assuredly known unto her Majesty, that not only their secret practices have not failed to stir, comfort, and aid, divers her Highness's subjects to this most unnatural rebellion against God and her Grace, but also some others of them desist not still to practise with her people eftsoons to rebel: her Majesty therefore, having (as afore is said) knowledge and intelligence hereof, hath for remedy herein determined, and most straitly chargeth and commandeth, that all and every such person or persons born out of her Highness's dominions, now commorant or resident within this realm, of whatsoever nation or country, being either preacher, printer, bookseller, or other artificer, or of whatsoever kind else, not being denizen or merchant kn

using the trade of merchandise, or servant to such ambassadors as be liegers here from the princes and states joined in league with her Grace, shall within twenty-four days of this proclamation, avoid the realm, upon pain of most grievous punishment by imprisonment, and forfeiture and confiscation of all their goods and movables; and also to be delivered unto their natural princes or rulers, against whose persons or laws they have offended. Giving to all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other her ministers, officers, and good subjects, straitly also in charge, if they know any such person, not born in the queen's Highness's dominions, (except before excepted,) that shall, after the time and day limited in the proclamation, tarry within this realm, that they shall apprehend the same person or persons, and commit him or them to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till her Grace's pleasure or her council's be signified unto them, for the further ordering of the said person or persons. And that if any of her said officers, after the said twenty-four days, apprehend, take, or know of any such, they shall, with all diligence, immediately certify her said council thereof, to the intent order may be forthwith given for their punishment accordingly."

In the mean while, upon the proclamation before mentioned, not only the strangers in King Edward's time received into the realm for religion, (among whom was Peter Martyr, and John Alasco, uncle to the king of Poland,) but many Englishmen, fled, some to Friesland, some to Cleveland, some to High Germany, where they were diversely scattered into divers companies and congregations, at Wesel, at Frankfort, Embden, Marburg, Transborough, Basil, Arow, Zurich, Geneva, and other places; where, by the providence of God, they were all sustained, and there entertained with greater favour amongst strangers abroad, than they could be in their own country at home, well near to the number of eight hundred persons, students and others together.

In the said month of March, the Lord Courtney, earl of Devonshire, whom the queen, at her first entering, delivered out of the Tower, and Lady Elizabeth also, the queen's sister, were both in suspicion to have consented to Wyat's conspiracy, and for the same, this March, were apprehended and committed to the Tower.

Touching the imprisonment of which Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, thou shalt note here for thy learning, good reader! a politic point of practice in Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not unworthy to be considered. This Gardiner being always a capital enemy to the Lady Elizabeth, and thinking now, by the occasion of Master Wyat,

to pick out some matter against the Lord Courtney, and so in the end to entangle the Lady Elizabeth, devised a pestilent practice of conveyance, as in the story here following may appear.

The story is this. The same day that Sir Thomas Wyat died, he desired the lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtney; who there, before the lieutenant and the sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, besought the Lord Courtney to forgive him, for that he had falsely accused both the Lady Elizabeth and him: and so, being brought from thence unto the scaffold to suffer there, openly (in the hearing of all the people) cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that commotion. At which confession Dr. Weston, there standing by, cried to the people, saying, "Believe him not, good people! for he confessed otherwise before, unto the council."

After the execution done of Sir Thomas Wyat, which was the eleventh day of April, word was brought immediately unto the lord mayor, Sir Thomas White, a little before dinner, how Master Wyat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and Lord Courtney, and the words also which Dr. Weston spake unto the people; whereunto the lord mayor answering, "Is this true?" quoth he;—"said Weston so? In sooth, I never took him otherwise but for a knave." Upon this the lord mayor sitting down to dinner, (who dined the same day at the Bridgehouse,) cometh in Sir Martin Bowes with the recorder, newly come from the parliament house, who, hearing of the mayor and sheriffs this report of Wyat's confession, both upon the scaffold and also in the Tower, marvelled thereat, declaring how there was another tale, contrary to this, told the same day in the parliament house, which was, that Sir Thomas Wyat should desire the Lord Courtney to confess the truth, so as he had done before.

Upon this it followed not long after, that a certain prentice, dwelling in St. Laurence Lane, named Cut, as he was drinking with one Denham a plasterer, being one of Queen Mary's servants, amongst other talk made mention how Sir Thomas Wyat had cleared the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney to be no consenters to his rising. These words being brought to Gardiner, (by what means I know not,) incontinent upon the same, Sir Andrew Judd was sent by the said bishop unto the lord mayor, commanding him to bring the said prentice to the Star-chamber, which was accused of these words, that he should say, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney. Which fellow, when he was come to the Star-chamber, the aforesaid Gardiner, letting pass other matters that were in hand, be-

gan to declare to the whole multitude, how miraculously Almighty God had brought the queen's Majesty to the crown, the whole realm in a manner being against her; and that he had brought this to pass for this singular intent and purpose, that this realm being overwhelmed with heresies, she might reduce again the same unto the true catholic faith. And whereas she took the Lady Elizabeth into her favour, and loved her so tenderly, and also the Lord Courtney, who had long time been detained in prison, and by her was set at liberty, and received great benefits at her hands; and, notwithstanding all this, they had conspired most unnaturally and traitorously against her, with that heinous traitor Wyat, as by the confession of Wyat, said he, and the letters sent to and fro, may plainly appear: yet there were some in the city of London which reported, that Wyat was constrained by the council to accuse the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney, "and yet you, my Lord Mayor," quoth he, "have not seen the same punished."

"The party is here," said the lord mayor. "Take him with you," said Gardiner, "and punish him according to his desert;" and said further, "My Lord, take heed to your charge! The city of London is a whirlpool and sink of all evil rumours, where they be bred, and from thence spread into all parts of this realm."

There stood by, the same time, the Lord Chandos, who, being then lieutenant of the Tower, and now hearing the bishop thus speak, to soothe his tale came in with these words as followeth:

"My Lords," quoth he, "this is a truth that I shall tell you. Being lieutenant of the Tower when Wyat suffered, he desired me to bring him to the Lord Courtney; which when I had done, he fell down upon his knees before him in my presence, and desired him to confess the truth of himself, as he had done before, and to submit himself unto the queen's Majesty's mercy."

And thus much I thought of this matter to declare, to the intent that the reader, perceiving the proceedings of the bishop in the premises, and comparing the same with the true testimony of Wyat himself, and with the testimony of the sheriffs, which were present the same time when Sir Thomas Wyat asked the Lord Courtney forgiveness, may the better judge of the whole case and matter for which the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were so long in trouble; of which her Grace's trouble, hereafter (God willing) more shall be said in the story of her life. In the mean time to let this matter stay, let us now pass further in our history.

Not long after this, Queen Mary, partly fearing the Londoners by occasion of Wyat's conspiracy;

partly perceiving most of the city, for religion's sake, not greatly to favour her proceedings, to their displeasure and hinderance summoned a parliament to be holden at Oxford: as it were to gratify that city, where both the university, town, and country, had showed themselves very obedient, and forward, especially, in restoring popish religion. For this purpose great provision was made, as well by the queen's officers, as by the townsmen and inhabitants of Oxford, and the country about. But the queen's mind in short space changed, and the same parliament was holden at Westminster in April following. Then the queen, beside other things, proposed concerning her marriage to King Philip, and restoring of the pope's supremacy; as touching her marriage, it was agreed upon: but the other request could not as then be obtained.

The same time when this parliament was summoned, she also summoned a convocation of bishops, and of the clergy, writing unto Bonner (whom she had made vicegerent in the stead of Cranmer, being then in the Tower) after the tenor and form of a new style, differing from the old style of King Henry and King Edward, as followeth.

The style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning of a convocation.

"*Maria Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor, reverendo in Christo patri Edmundo Londinensi episcopo salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem,*" &c.

Where note, good reader, concerning the altering and changing the queen's style, the latter part thereof to be left out of her style, which is, "Supreme head of the church of England and Ireland," because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away. Likewise the said Bonner, giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out *auctoritate illustrissimæ, &c., legitime suffultus*: which parcel, also, in the said parliament was repealed and taken away the same time.

The dignity of priests extolled by Bishop Bonner.

In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner, bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made a certain exhortation or oration to the clergy, (which was in this convocation, or much about the said time,) wherein he seemeth to show a great piece of profound and deep learning, in setting forth the most incomparable and superangelical

order of priesthood, as may appear by this parcel or fragment of his aforesaid oration, being collected and gathered by some that stood by ; which, as it came to our hands, so I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly, also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true that Bonner saith.

A piece or fragment of the exhortation in praise of priesthood, made by Bonner, bishop of London, to them of the convocation-house : copied out by them that stood by and heard him.

“Wherefore it is to be known, that priests and elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the dignity’ sake which they have of God, as in Matthew xvi.: Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, &c., and whatsoever ye shall bind, &c. For a priest, by some means, is like Mary the Virgin, and is showed by three points. As the blessed Virgin, by five words, did conceive Christ, as it is said in Luke i., *Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*, (Be it unto me according to thy word,) so the priest, by five words, doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in the womb ; so, immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is substantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, as the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth ; even so the priest, after the consecration, doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived ; so the priest, being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing, therefore the layman cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the selfsame words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests, by some means, passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do ; as St. Bernard saith, ‘O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.’ St. Augustine saith, that angels, in the consecration of the sacred host, do serve him ; and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, ‘Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar.’ Wherefore priests are to be honoured before

all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles. For a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore,” &c.

It was declared a little before, how Dr. Ridley was had from Framlingham to the Tower ; when being in durance, and invited to the lieutenant’s table, he had certain talk or conference with Secretary Bourn, Master Fecknam, and others, concerning the controversies in religion ; the sum whered, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth.

The sum and effect of the communication between Dr. Ridley and Secretary Bourn, with others, at the lieutenant’s table in the Tower.

“Master Thomas of Bridges said at his brother Master Lieutenant’s board, ‘I pray you, Master Doctors, for my learning, tell me what a heretic is.’ Master Secretary Bourn said, ‘I will tell you who is a heretic : whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth—he is a heretic.’ ‘You mean, sir,’ said I, ‘an untruth in matters of religion, and concerning our faith.’ ‘Yea, that is true,’ said he ; ‘and in this we are soon agreed.’ Then said Master Fecknam, (whom they called Master Dean of Paul’s,) sitting at the upper end of the table, I will tell you by St. Augustine who is a heretic : *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est*, saith St. Augustine. And then he Englished the same. ‘Sir,’ said I, ‘I ween St. Augustine addeth the third number, which is, *vel vanæ gloriæ causâ*.’ ‘You say even true, Master Doctor,’ said he. And thus far we did agree all three.

“Master Fecknam began again to say, ‘When doth not believe what the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain the contrary, he is hereticus ; as in the sacrament of the altar, Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ’s body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it : therefore, to hold the contrary, is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the Virgin ; and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this, and he was a heretic, as Master Doctor there knoweth full well : I do take to witness his own conscience,’ said he.

“‘Marry sir,’ said Master Secretary, ‘Master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters, unity, antiquity, and universality. Do you not think so, Master Doctor?’ said he to me.

“Here, while I strained courtesy, and pretended no willingness to talk ; said one of the commissioners, ‘Peradventure Master Ridley doth agree with

Master Fecknam; and then there needs not much debating of the matter.'

"'Sir,' said I, 'in some things I do and shall agree with him, and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all. Masters,' said I, 'ye be, as I understand, the queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either to give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace.'

"'There is none here,' said Master Secretary, 'that doth not favour you:' and then every man showed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

"But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, some thought they granted me it but *à vis* or *à grè*. Well, at the last I was content to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

"To Master Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered, 'Where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that which any one of the evangelists spake, inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which is spoken of them all. It is as true that John saith of Christ, I am the door of the sheep, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain with what spirit he doth speak.' And whereas Master Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation, &c., 'Sir,' said I, 'all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now if ye take their words, to leave their meaning—then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir,' said I, 'if, in talk with you, I should so utter my mind in words, that ye, by the same, do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if you would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companions to talk with, except ye would take my words as ye did perceive I did mean.'

"'Marry,' quoth Master Secretary, 'we should else do you plain injury and wrong.'

"Master Fecknam, perceiving whereunto my talk went, 'Why,' quoth he, 'what circumstances can ye show me, that shall move to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?'

"'Sir,' said I, 'even the next sentence that followeth, viz., Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body, by the same I may say that it is turned

into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you: so Paul, which spake by Christ's Spirit, saith, We, being many, are all but one bread and one body, inasmuch as we are partakers of one bread.'

"'Here he calleth one bread, one loaf,' said Master Secretary.

"'Yea,' said I, 'one loaf, one bread: all is one with me.'

"'But what say ye,' quoth Master Secretary, 'of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that Master Fecknam did speak of?'

"'I assure you,' said I, 'I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is before God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our Head, Christ, and such a one as Paul speaketh of, saying, One faith, one God, one baptism. And for antiquity, I am also persuaded that to be true which Irenæus saith, 'That which is first is true.' In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeed next unto them; and for this controversy of the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, which wrote before the controversy and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood in this truth.'

"'I am glad to hear,' said Master Secretary, 'that you do so well esteem the doctors of the church.'

"'Now as for universality,' said I, 'it may have two meanings; one to understand that to be universal, which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another to understand universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age.'

"'No, no,' saith Master Secretary, 'these three do always agree, and where there is one, there is all the rest.' And here he and I changed many words; and finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

"'There was none,' quoth Master Fecknam, 'before Berengarius, Wickliff, and Huss; and now, in our days, Carolostadius and Ecolampadius. Carolostadius saith, 'Christ pointed to his own body, and not to the sacrament, and said, *Hoc est corpus meum*.' And Melancthon writeth to one Miconius (Miconius said I) these or the like words: 'I can find no grounded reason, to cause me to dissent from the belief of our fore-elders.'

"Thus when he had spoken at length, with many other words more; 'Sir,' said I, 'it is certain that others, before these, have written of this matter: not by the way only, and *obiter*: as do for t' most all the old writers, but even *ex profess*

and their whole books entreat of it alone; as Bertram.'

"'Bertram,' said the secretary, 'what man was he? and who was he? and how do you know?' &c., with many questions.

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'I have read his book. He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly, that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Charlemagne.'

"'Marry,' quoth he, 'mark, for there is a matter. He wrote,' quoth he, 'to Henry, and not to Charles;' for no author maketh any such mention of Bertram.'

"'Yes,' quoth I, 'Trithemius, in Catalogo illustrium Scriptorum, speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time; but he speaketh,' quoth I, 'of them that were of antiquity.' Here, after much talk of Bertram, 'What authors have ye,' quoth Master Secretary, 'to make of the sacrament a figure?'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'ye know, I think, that Tertulian in plain words speaketh thus: 'This is my body; that is to say, a figure of my body.' And Gelasius saith plainly, that 'the substance of bread remaineth.' And Origen saith likewise, 'That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away into the draught.' This when I had Englished, Master Secretary said to me, 'You know very well as any man,' &c. And here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish paradise of his commendation of my learning, and 'that I was a man of much reading.' But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought myself as low again: and here was much ado.

"'As for Melancthon,' quoth I, 'whom Master Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will allege him, for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon is to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one material substance, and Melancthon, as I ween, saith there are two.'

"'Ye say truth,' quoth Master Secretary; 'Melancthon's opinion is so. But, I pray you, have ye read that the sacrament was in old time so revered, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministration thereof—*catechumeni*,' quoth he, 'and many more?'

"'Truth, sir,' quoth I, 'there were some called *audientes*, some *pœnitentes*, some *catechumeni*, and some *energumeni*, which were commanded to depart.'

"'Now,' quoth he, 'then; and how can ye then

make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book doth, which is set forth in my Lord of Canterbury's name? I wis, ye can tell who made it. Did not ye make it?' And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book; which yet was said, of some there, to contain the most heinous heresy that ever was.

"'Master Secretary,' quoth I, 'that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again. As for me, I assure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any such-like thing. He passeth me, no less than the learned master his young scholar.'

"'Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over, not much material for to tell. 'But, sir,' quoth I, 'methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand, that any man doth so lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make it but a figure; for that but maketh it a bare figure without any more profit; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly.'

"'Yes,' quoth he, 'that they do.'

"'Sir, no,' quoth I, 'of a truth; and as for me, I assure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: I say, whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith either life or death.'

"'No,' quoth Master Secretary, 'Scripture saith not so.'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St. Augustine saith, in the sound of words also: for Paul saith, The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ? And St. Augustine, 'Eat life, drink life.'

"'Then said Master Pope, 'What can ye make of it, when ye say, 'There is not the real body of Christ,' which I do believe, &c.; and I pray God I may never believe other. How can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's body is not there?'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'when you hear God's word truly preached, if you do believe it, and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal; and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal—in every preacher's mouth.'

"'I pray you tell me,' quoth he, 'how can ye answer to this, Which shall be given for you? Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?'

"'No, sir,' quoth I, 'but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure.'

"'How say you then,' quoth he, 'to Which shall be given for you?'

"'Forsooth,' quoth I, 'Tertullian's exposition

maketh it plain; for he saith, 'The body is a figure of the body.' Now put to, Which shall be given for you, and it agreeth exceeding well.'

"'In faith,' quoth he, 'I would give forty pound that ye were of a good opinion; for I assure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you.'

"'I thank you, Master Pope, for your heart and mind; and ye know,' quoth I, 'I were a very fool if I would, in this matter, dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trow) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain.'

"'What say ye,' quoth he, 'to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, 'The bread which the Lord did deliver being changed, not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word, is made flesh?'

"'True, sir, so he doth say; and I answer even the same which once, by chance, I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported of, as any poor man hath been. For there I, speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of penitents, hearers, catechumens, that I spake of before: and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery. And then I said to those that be holy: Cyprian the martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, 'Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh; because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name.' And this place then took I to utter, as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain.

"'Master Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me not a word.

"'You do know well,' quoth Master Secretary, 'that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred.'

"'Sir,' quoth I, 'there is no one of all the doctors that is holden in all points, but is thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge or to Tertullian's, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament.'

"'What,' quoth Master Cholmley, late chief justice, 'doth not Christ plainly say, that it is his very flesh, and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or else we can have no life?' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'if you will hear how St. Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box.' And then I began to tell St. Augustine's mind in his

book *De Doctrina Christiana*. 'Yea, yea,' quoth Master Secretary, 'that is true; St. Augustine doth take it figuratively indeed.'

"'Forty years ago,' quoth Master Fecknam, 'all were of one opinion in this matter.'

"'Forty years ago,' quoth I, 'all held that the bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal church.'

"'What then?' was Master Fecknam beginning to say, &c.; but Master Secretary took the tale, and said, 'That was but a positive law.'

"'A positive law?' quoth I; 'no, sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his decree saith, 'The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodical constitutions, nor by any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter,' &c. And in another place he entreatheth, 'Thou art Cephas, that is to say, the head.'

"'Tush! it was not counted an article,' quoth Master Secretary, 'of our faith.'

"'Yes,' said I, 'if ye call that an article of our faith, which is believed under pain of damnation. For he saith, We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the bishop of Rome, upon necessity of salvation.'

"'And here, when we spake of laws and decrees, Master Roger Cholmley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him. And then he up and told a long tale, what laws were of kings in England made against the bishop of Rome; and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

"'Finally, we departed in peace, and Master Secretary promised in the end, that of their talk there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he said, they were all once given him: 'But since I know,' said he, 'who hath them now, write me the names of such as you would have, and I will speak for you the best I can.'

Upon the articles above mentioned, and inquisition made upon the same, divers ministers were divorced from their wives. Amongst whom was one John Draper, and Joan Gold his wife, in the diocese of London, troubled and vexed for the same by Bonner, bishop of London, who sent forth a com-

mission, with a process to sequester and separate them; enjoining also penance to the poor woman.

Besides this John Draper, divers others, also, were divorced the same time against their wills; and some were contented, of their own unconstant accord, to be separated from their wives: as of Chichester one, (who, because he soon recovered again, shall be here nameless,) another named Edmund Alstone, another Alexander Bull; amongst whom also was Dr. Standish, with many others, whose names together, in the end of this story of Queen Mary, we may peradventure, by God's grace, in a general catalogue together comprehend.

The tenth of March a letter was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, to deliver the bodies of Master Doctor Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, Master Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him unto Oxford.

The twenty-sixth of March, there was a letter directed to Sir Henry Doell, and one Foster, to attach the bodies of Doctor Taylor, parson of Hadley, and of Henry Askew, and to send them up to the council.

How Thomas Cranmer, archbishop, Bishop Ridley, and Master Latimer, were sent down to Oxford to dispute; with the order and manner, and all other circumstances unto the said disputation, and also to their condemnation, appertaining.

ABOUT the tenth of April, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Ridley, bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer, bishop also some time of

Worcester, were conveyed as prisoners from the Tower to Windsor; and from thence to the university of Oxford, there to dispute with the divines and learned men of both the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, about the presence, substance, and sacrifice of the sacrament. The names of the university doctors and graduates appointed to dispute against them, were these: of Oxford, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Cole, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Pie, Master Harpsfield, Master Fecknam. Of Cambridge, Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, Dr. Watson, Dr.

Sedgewick, Dr. Atkinson, &c. The articles and questions whereupon they should dispute were these:

First, Whether the natural body of Christ be really in the sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, or no?

Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, any other substance remain, than the substance of the body and blood of Christ?

Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory for the sins of the quick and the dead?

Touching the order and manner of all which things there done, with the notes, arguments, and all circumstances thereunto pertaining, to declare the matter from the beginning, leaving out nothing (as near as we may) that shall seem necessary to be added: First, Here is to be understood, that upon Saturday, the seventh day of April, the heads of the colleges in Cambridge being congregated together, letters coming down from Stephen Gardiner, then chancellor, were read, with articles therewith annexed, that should be disputed upon at Oxford: the contents of which three articles are sufficiently expressed before. Whereupon, in the said congregation of the aforesaid university of Cambridge, there was granted first a grace in this form, proposed by the senior proctor: "May it please you to have an instrument made, that the doctrine of these aforesaid articles may be sound and catholic, and consistent with the verity of the right meaning faith; and that the same may be approved by your consent and voices?" Secondly, in the said congregation, another grace was given and granted, that Dr. Young, being vice-chancellor, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Scot, and Master Sedgewick, should go to Oxford to defend the said articles against Cranmer, Ridley, London, and Latimer: also to have letters to the Oxford men, sealed with their common seal. Item, Another grace granted to Master Sedgewick to be actual doctor, being thereupon immediately admitted. The aforesaid letters, being then drawn out, the third day after (which was the eleventh day of April) were read in the aforesaid congregation-house, and there sealed.

Whereupon the next day after (the twelfth of the said month) the aforesaid doctors, with the full grace of that university, set forward to Oxford: and coming thither the next day after, (being Friday, the thirteenth of April,) were all lodged at the Cross Inn, with one Wakecline, being some time servant to Bishop Bonner.

Anon after their coming, Dr. Crooke presented them with wine for their welcome; and, shortly

after, two of the beadles came from the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and presented the vice-chancellor of Cambridge with a dish of apples and a gallon of wine; after whom, next came Master Pie and Fecknam to welcome them. Then, after consultation concerning the delivery of their letters, and instrument of grace, (which was in Dr. Seton and Dr. Watson's keeping,) they went all to Lincoln college, to Dr. Weston, the prolocutor, and to the vice-chancellor, Dr. Tresham; and there they delivered their letters, and declared what they had done touching the articles, letters, and graces. Half an hour after eight they returned to their inn again: but first they concluded of a procession, sermon, and convocation, to be had the morrow following; and that the doctors of Cambridge should be incorporate in the university of Oxford, and likewise that the doctors of Oxford should be incorporate in the university of Cambridge. The same day the aforesaid prisoners were dissevered, as was said afore; Dr. Ridley to Alderman Irish's house, Master Latimer to another, and Dr. Cranmer remained still in Bocardo.

On Saturday, being the fourteenth of April, at eight of the clock, the aforesaid vice-chancellor of Cambridge, with the other doctors of the same university, repaired to Lincoln college again, and found the prolocutor above in a chapel, with a company of the house singing Requiem mass, and tarried there until the end. Then they, consulting all together in the master's lodging, about nine of the clock came all to the university church called St. Mary's; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, &c. of Oxford, caused the vice-chancellor of Cambridge, and the rest of the doctors of that university, to send for their scarlet robes, brought from Cambridge; save that Doctors Seton and Watson borrowed of the Oxford men. And in this time, the regents in the congregation-house had granted all the Cambridge doctors their graces, to be incorporate there; and so they went up, and were admitted immediately, Dr. Oglethorpe presenting them, and the proctor reading the statute, and giving them their oaths.

That done, they came all into the choir, and there held the convocation of the university. They had mass of the Holy Ghost solemnly sung in prick-song, by the choir men of Christ's church. But first, the cause of the convocation was opened in English, partly by the vice-chancellor, and partly by the prolocutor, declaring that they were sent by the queen, and wherefore they were sent; and caused Master Say, the register, openly to read the commission. That done, the vice-chancellor read

Cambridge letters openly, and then concluded, that three notaries, Master Say for the convocation, a beadle of Cambridge for that university, and one Master White for Oxford, should testify of their doing; and then willed the said notaries to provide parchment, that the whole assembly might subscribe to the articles, save those that had subscribed before in the convocation-house at London and Cambridge. And so the vice-chancellor began first; after him the rest of the Oxford men, as many as could in the mass time.

The mass being done, they went in procession: First, The choir in their surplices followed the cross; then the first-year regents and proctors; then the doctors of law, and their beadles before them; then the doctors of divinity of both universities intermingled, the divinity and arts' beadles going before them, the vice-chancellor and prolocutor going together. After them bachelors of divinity, *Regentes, et non regentes*, in their array; and last of all, the bachelors of law and art; after whom followed a great company of scholars and students not graduate. And thus they proceeded through the street to Christ's church; and there the choir sung a psalm, and after that a collect was read. This done, departed the commissioners, doctors, and many others to Lincoln college, where they dined with the mayor of the town, one alderman, four beadles, Master Say, and the Cambridge notary. After dinner they went all again to St. Mary's church; and there, after a short consultation in a chapel, all the commissioners came into the choir, and sat all on seats before the altar, to the number of thirty-three persons; and first they sent to the mayor, that he should bring in Dr. Cranmer, who, within a while, was brought to them with a great number of rusty bill-men.

Thus the reverend archbishop, when he was brought before the commissioners, revered them with much humility, and stood with his staff in his hand, who notwithstanding, having a stool offered him, refused to sit. Then the prolocutor, sitting in the midst in a scarlet gown, began with a short preface or oration in praise of unity, and especially in the church of Christ; declaring withal his bringing up, and taking degrees in Cambridge, and also how he was promoted by King Henry, and had been his councillor and a catholic man, one of the same unity, and a member thereof in times past, but, of late years, did separate and cut off himself from it, by teaching and setting forth of erroneous doctrine, making every year a new faith: and therefore it pleased the queen's Grace, to send them of the convocation, and other learned men, to bring him to this unity again, if it might be. Then showed

he him, how they of the convocation-house had agreed upon certain articles, whereunto they willed him to subscribe.

The archbishop answered to the preface very wittily, modestly, and learnedly, showing that he was very glad of a unity, forasmuch as it was "the preserver of all commonwealths, as well of the heathen as of the Christians:" and so he dilated the matter with one or two stories of the Romans' commonwealth. Which thing when he had done, he said, that he was very glad to come to a unity, so that it were in Christ, and agreeable to his holy word.

When he had thus spoken his full mind, the prolocutor caused the articles to be read unto him, and asked if he would grant and subscribe unto them. Then the bishop of Canterbury did read them over three or four times; and touching the first article, he asked what they meant by these terms, "true and natural." "Do you not mean," saith he, "a sensible body?" Some answered, "The same that was born of the Virgin;" and so confusedly, some said one thing, some another.

Then the bishop of Canterbury denied it utterly; and when he had looked upon the other two, he said, they were all false, and against God's holy word: and therefore he would not agree, he said, in that unity with them.

This done, the prolocutor, first willing him to write his mind of them that night, said moreover, that he should dispute in them, and caused a copy of the articles to be delivered him, assigning him to answer thereunto on Monday next: and so charged the mayor with him again, to be had to Bocardo, where he was kept before; offering moreover unto him, to name what books he would occupy, and should have them brought unto him. The archbishop was greatly commended of every body for his modesty; insomuch that some masters of arts were seen to weep for him, which in judgment were contrary to him.

Then was Dr. Ridley brought in, who, hearing the articles read unto him, answered without any delay, saying, they were all false; and said further, that they sprang out of a bitter and sour root. His answers were sharp, witty, and very learned. Then did they lay to his charge a sermon that he made when he was bishop of Rochester, wherein (they said) he spake with transubstantiation. He denied it utterly, and asked whether they could bring out any that heard him, which would say and affirm with them the same. They could bring no proof of it at all. After that, he was asked of one, whether he desired not my lord chancellor that now is, to stick to the mass, and other things? He said, that my

Lora would say no such things or words of him; for if he did, he reported not the truth of him.

Then he was asked, whether he would dispute or no? He answered, that as long as God gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but he required time and books. They said, he could not have that time and books. They said, he could not have that time he should have books. He said it was not reason, that he might not have his own books and time, also, to look for his disputations. They gave them the articles, and bade him write his mind of them that night, and so did they command the mayor to have him from whence he came.

Last of all came in Master Latimer in like sort with a kerchief, and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast, and a staff in his hand, and was set in a chair; for he was he suffered by the prolocutor. And after his denial of the articles, when he had Wednesday appointed for disputation, he alleged age, sickness, disuse, and lack of books, saying, that he was almost as meet to dispute, as to be a captain of Calais: but he would, he said, declare his mind either by writing or word, and would stand to all they could lay upon his back: complaining moreover, that he was permitted to have neither pen nor ink, nor yet any book but only the New Testament there in his hand, which, he said, he had read over seven times deliberately, and yet could not find the mass in it, neither the marrow-bones nor sinews of the same. At which words the commissioners were a little offended; and Dr. Weston said, that he would make him grant that it had both marrow-bones and sinews in the New Testament. To whom Master Latimer said again, "That you will never do, Master Doctor:" and so, forthwith, they put him to silence; so that whereas he was desirous to tell what he meant by those terms, he could not be suffered. There was a very great press and throng of people, and one of the beadles swooned by reason thereof, and was carried into the vestry.

After this, bringing home the prolocutor first, the Cambridge men, viz., Dr. Young, vice-chancellor, Seton, Glyn, Atkinson, Scot, Watson, and Selgewick, went to the Cross Inn to supper. And this was on Saturday, being the fourteenth day of April.

On Sunday after, Master Harpsfield preached at St. Mary's, the university church, at nine of the clock, where were divers of the doctors of the university in their robes, and placed accordingly. After the sermon they went all to dinner to Magdalen college, and there had a great dinner. They supped at Lincoln college with the prolocutor, whither Dr.

Cranmer sent answer of his mind upon the articles, in writing.

On Monday, being the sixteenth of April, Master Say and Master White, notaries, went about in the morning to the colleges, to get subscriptions to the articles. And, about eight of the clock, the prolocutor, with all the doctors and the vice-chancellor, met together at Exeter college; and so they went into the schools. And when the vice-chancellor, the prolocutor, and doctors were placed, and four (appointed to be *exceptores argumentorum*) sat at a table in the midst, and four notaries sitting with them, Dr. Cranmer came to the answerer's place, the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; and so the disputation began to be set to work by the prolocutor with a short *præludium*. Dr. Chedsey began to argue first, and ere he left, the prolocutor divers times. Drs. Tresham, Oglethorpe, Marshal, the vice-chancellor, Pie, Cole, and Harpsfield did interrupt and press him with their arguments, so that every man said somewhat, as the prolocutor would suffer, disorderly; sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, so that three hours of the time were spent ere the vice-chancellor of Cambridge began; who also was interrupted as before. He

began with three or four questions subtilely. Here the beadle had provided drink, and offered the answerer; but he refused with thanks. The prolocutor offered him, if he would retire for a brief interval, he should. Thus the disputation continued until almost two of the clock, with this applausion of the audience: *Vicit veritas*. Then were all the arguments, written by the four appointed, delivered into the hand of Master Say, registrar; and as for the prisoner, he was had away by the mayor; and the doctors dined together at the University college.

And thus much concerning the general order and manner of these disputations, with such circumstances as there happened, and things there done, as well before the disputation, and in the preparation thereof, as also in the time of their disputing. Now followeth to infer and declare the orations, arguments, and answers, used and brought forth in the said disputations on both parts.

The arguments, reasons, and allegations used in this disputation.

On Monday, Dr. Weston, with all the residue of the visitors, censors, and opponents, repairing to

the divinity school, each one installed himself in his place. Dr. Cranmer, with a rout of rusty bills, was brought thither, and set in the answerer's place, with the mayor and aldermen sitting by him; where Dr. Weston, prolocutor, apparelled in a scarlet gown after the custom of the university, began the disputation with this oration. His words, as he spake them, were these :

"Ye are assembled hither, brethren, this day, to confound the detestable heresy of the verity of the body of Christ in the sacrament," &c. At which words thus pronounced of the prolocutor unawares, divers of the learned men there present, considering and well weighing the words by him uttered, burst out into a great laughter, as though, even in the entrance of the disputations, he had betrayed himself and his religion, that termed the opinion of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament, a detestable heresy. The rest of his oration tended all to this effect, that it was not lawful by God's word to call these questions into controversy: for such as doubted of the words of Christ, might well be thought to doubt both of the truth and power of God. Whereunto Dr. Cranmer, desiring licence, answered in this wise.

"We are assembled," saith he, "to discuss these doubtful controversies, and to lay them open before the eyes of the world; whereof ye think it unlawful to dispute. It is indeed no reason," saith he, "that we should dispute of that which is determined upon, before the truth be tried. But if these questions be not called into controversy, surely mine answer then is looked for in vain."

This was the sum and effect of his answer; and, this done, he prepared himself to disputation.

Then Chedsey, the first opponent, began in this wise to dispute.

"Reverend Master Doctor, these three conclusions are put forth unto us at this present, to dispute upon;

"First, in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his blood present really under the forms of bread and wine, by virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest.

"Secondly, there remaineth no substance of bread and wine after the consecration, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"Thirdly, the lively sacrifice of the church is in the mass propitiatory, as well for the quick as the dead.

"These be the conclusions propounded, whereupon this our present controversy doth rest. Now, to the end we might not doubt how you take the same, you have already given up unto us your

opinion thereof: I term it *your* opinion, in that it disagreeeth from the catholic. Wherefore I take argue:

"Your opinion differeth from the Scripture:

"Ergo, you are deceived."

Cranmer.—"I deny the antecedent."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he instituted his supper, spake to his disciples, Take, eat: this is my body which shall be given for you.

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament.

"The right form of this argument is thus framed:

"The same which was given for us is in the sacrament.

"But his true body was given for us:

"Ergo, his true body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"His true body is truly present to them that truly receive him: but spiritually. As so it is taken after a spiritual sort; for when he said, This is my body, it is all one as if he had said, This is the breaking of my body; this is the shedding of my blood.—As oft as you shall do this it shall put you in remembrance of the breaking of my body, and the shedding of my blood; that is truly as you receive this sacrament, so truly shall you receive the benefit promised by receiving the same worthily."

Chedsey.—"Your opinion differeth from the church, which saith, that the true body is in the sacrament:

"Ergo, your opinion therein is false."

Cranmer.—"I say and agree with the church, that the body of Christ is in the sacrament effectually, because the passion of Christ is effectual."

Chedsey.—"Christ, when he spake these words, This is my body, spake of the substance, but not of the effect."

Cranmer.—"I grant he spake of the substance and not of the effect after a sort: and yet it is most true that the body of Christ is effectually in the sacrament. But I deny that he is there truly present in bread, or that under the bread is his organical body."

And because it should be too tedious (he said) to make discourse of the whole, he delivered up then his opinion thereof to Dr. Weston, written at large, with answers to every one of their three propositions, which he desired Dr. Weston, sitting there on high, to read openly to the people; which he promised to do. But it was not the first promise that such papists have broken.

The copy of this writing, although it were not there read, yet the contents thereof we have drawn out as followeth.

"In the assertions of the church and of religion, rifling and new-fangled novelties of words, so much as may be, are to be eschewed, whereof ariseth nothing but contention and brawling about words; and we must follow, so much as we may, the manner of speaking of the Scripture.

"In the first conclusion, if ye understand by this word 'really' in very deed and effectually, so Christ, by the grace and efficacy of his passion, is indeed and truly present to all his true and holy members.

"But if ye understand by this word 'really' 'corporally,' so that by the body of Christ is understood a natural body and organical; so, the first proposition doth vary, not only from the usual speech and phrase of Scripture, but also is clean contrary to the holy word of God, and Christian profession: when as both the Scripture doth testify by these words, and also the catholic church hath professed from the beginning,—Christ to have left the world, and to sit at the right hand of the Father till he come to judgment.

"And likewise I answer to the second question; that is, that it swerveth from the accustomed manner and speech of Scripture.

"The third conclusion, as it is intricate and wrapped in all doubtful and ambiguous words, and differing also much from the true speech of the Scripture, so as the words thereof seem to import no open sense; is most contumelious against our only Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, and a violating of his precious blood, which, upon the altar of the cross, is the only sacrifice and oblation for the sins of all mankind."

Chedsey.—"By this your interpretation which you have made upon the first conclusion, this I understand,—the body of Christ to be in the sacrament only by the way of participation: insomuch as we, communicating thereof, do participate the grace of Christ, so that you mean hereby only the effect thereof. But our conclusion standeth upon the substance, and not the efficacy only, which shall appear by the testimony both of Scriptures, and of all the fathers a thousand years after Christ.

"And first, (to begin with the Scripture,) let us consider what is written in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and 1 Cor. xi. Matthew saith, As they sat at supper, Jesus took bread, &c. In Mark there is the same sense, although not the same words, who, also, for one part of the sacrament speaketh more plainly, Jesus taking bread, &c. After the same sense also writeth Luke xxii., And when Jesus had taken bread, &c. In the mouth of two or three witnesses, saith the Scripture, standeth all truth. Here we have three witnesses together, that Christ said that to be his body, which was given for many;

and that to be his blood, which should be shed for many: whereby is declared the substance, and not only the efficacy alone thereof. Ergo, it is not true that you say, there to be not the substance of his body, but the efficacy alone thereof."

Cranmer.—"Thus you gather upon mine answer, as though I did mean of the efficacy, and not of the substance of the body; but I mean of them both, as well of the efficacy as of the substance. And, forasmuch as all things come not readily to memory, to a man that shall speak extempore, therefore, for the more ample and fuller answer in this matter, this writing here I do exhibit."

A further explication exhibited by Cranmer.

"Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, at the time of his maundy—preparing himself to die for our cause, that he might redeem us from eternal death, forgive us all our sins, and cancel out the handwriting that was against us—that we, through ungrateful oblivion, should not forget his death, therefore, at the time of his holy supper, did institute a perpetual memory of this his death, to be celebrated among Christians in bread and wine, according as it is said: Do this in remembrance of me; and, So often as you eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall show forth the Lord's death, till he come. And this remembrance or sacrament of his holy passion, that is, of his body slain, and blood shed, he would all Christians to frequent and celebrate in bread and wine, according as he said, Take, eat; and drink ye all of this. Therefore, whosoever, for man's tradition, denieth the cup of Christ's blood to laymen, they manifestly repugn against Christ, forbidding that which Christ commandeth to be done, and be like to those scribes and Pharisees of whom the Lord spake: Ye hypocrites, ye have rejected the commandments of God for your traditions. Well did Esaias prophesy of you, saying, This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. Without cause do they worship me, teaching the doctrines and precepts of men. The sacrament and mystical bread being broken and distributed after the institution of Christ, and the mystical wine being likewise taken and received, be not only sacraments of the flesh of Christ wounded for us, and of his blood-shedding, but also be most certain sacraments for us, and (as a man would say) seals of God's promises and gifts, and also of that holy fellowship which we have with Christ and all his members. Moreover, they be to us memorials of that heavenly food and nourishment, wherewith we are nourished unto eternal life, and the thirst of our boiling conscience [is] quenched; and finally, whereby the hearts of the faithful be replenished

with unspeakable joy, and be corroborated and strengthened unto all works of godliness. We are many, saith St. Paul, one bread, and one body, all we which do participate of one bread, and one cup. And Christ saith, Eat ye; this is my body; and, Drink ye.; this is my blood. And, I am the living bread which came down from heaven. He that eateth me, shall also live for ever. Not as your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead: he that eateth me, shall also live for ever.

"Thus, therefore, true bread and true wine remain still in the eucharist (until they be consumed of the faithful) to be signs, and as seals unto us annexed unto God's promises, making us certain of God's gifts towards us. Also Christ remaineth in them, and they in Christ, which eat his flesh, and drink his blood, as Christ himself hath promised: They that eat my flesh, and drink my blood, abide in me, and I in them. Moreover, he abideth also in them which worthily receive the outward sacrament; neither doth he depart so soon as the sacrament is consumed, but continually abideth, feeding and nourishing us so long as we remain bodies of that Head, and members of the same. I acknowledge not here the natural body of Christ, which is only spiritual, unintelligible, and insensible, having no distinction of members and parts in it: but that body only I acknowledge and worship, which was born of the Virgin, which suffered for us, which is visible, palpable, and hath all the form, and shape, and parts of the true natural body of man. Christ spake not these words of any uncertain substance, but of the certain substance of bread, which he then held in his hands, and showed his disciples, when he said, Eat ye; this is my body: and likewise of the cup, when he said, Drink ye; this is my blood: meaning verily of that bread, which by nature is usual and common with us, which is taken out of the fruit of the ground, compacted by the uniting of many grains together made by man, and by man's hand brought to that visible shape, being of round compass, and without all sense or life; which nourisheth the body, and strengtheneth the heart of man: of this same bread, (I say,) and not of any uncertain and wandering substance, the old fathers say that Christ spake these words, Eat ye; this is my body. And likewise also of the wine, which is the creature and fruit of the vine pressed out of many clusters of grapes, and maketh man's heart merry, of the very same wine (I say) Christ spake, Drink ye; this is my blood. And so the old doctors do call this speaking of Christ tropical, figurative, analogical, allegorical; which they do interpret after this sort, that although the substance of bread and wine do remain, and be

received of the faithful, yet, notwithstanding, Christ changed the appellation thereof, and called the bread by the name of his flesh, and the wine by the name of his blood; 'Not that it is so in very deed, but signified in a mystery.' So that we should consider, not what they be in their own nature, but what they import to us and signify; and should understand the sacrament not carnally, but spiritually; and should attend not to the visible signs of the sacraments, neither have respect only to the outward bread and cup, thinking to see there with our eyes no other things but only bread and wine: but that, lifting up our minds, we should look up to the blood of Christ with our faith; should meet him with our mind, and receive him with our inward man; and that, being like eagles in this life, we should fly up into heaven in our hearts, where that Lamb is resident at the right hand of his Father, which taketh away the sins of the world; by whose stripes we are made whole; by whose passion we are filled at his table, and whose blood we receive out of his holy side, do live for ever, being made the guests of Christ; having him dwelling in us through the grace of his true nature, and, through the virtue and efficacy of his whole passion, being no less assured and certified, that we are fed spiritually unto eternal life by Christ's flesh crucified, and by his blood shed, the true food of our minds, than that our bodies be fed with meat and drink in this life: and hereof this said mystical bread on the table of Christ, and the mystical wine being administered and received after the institution of Christ, be to us a memorial, a pledge, a token, a sacrament, and a seal. And thereof it is that Christ saith not thus: This is my body; eat ye: but after he had bidden them eat, then he said, This is my body, which shall be given for you: which is to mean, as though he should say, In eating of the bread, consider you that this bread is no common thing, but a mystical matter; neither do you attend that which is set before your bodily eyes, but what feedeth you within. Consider and behold my body crucified for you; that eat and digest in your minds: chew you upon my passion; be fed with my death. This is the true meat; this is the drink that quickeneth, wherewith you—being truly fed and inebriated—shall live for ever. The bread and wine which are set before your eyes are only declarations of this, but I myself am the eternal food. Wherefore whensoever at this my table you shall behold the sacraments, have not regard so much to them, but consider ye what I promise you by them; which is—myself to be meat for you of eternal life.

"The only oblation of Christ (wherewith he offered himself to God the Father once to death upon

he altar of the cross for our redemption) was of such efficacy, that there is no more need of any sacrifice for the redemption of the whole world; but all the sacrifices of the old law he took away, performing that in very deed, which they did signify and promise. Whosoever therefore shall fix the rope of his salvation in any other sacrifice, he falleth from the grace of Christ, and is contumelious against the blood of Christ. For he was wounded for our transgressions, and was broken for our iniquities. All we like sheep have wandered astray. Every man hath turned after his own way, and the Lord hath laid all our iniquities upon him. For he hath entered once for all into the holy place by the blood, not of goats or calves, but by his own blood, finding eternal redemption: And hath entered into heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us: not to offer himself oftentimes (for so should he have suffered many times); but now hath he appeared once to put away sin, through his own oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once to die, so also Christ once was offered: Who, offering up one oblation for sins, sitteth now for ever on the right hand of God: for by one oblation hath he made perfect for ever those that be sanctified. For where is remission of sins, there is now no oblation for sin, but this only sacrifice of Christ. Whosoever shall seek any other sacrifice propitiatory for sin, maketh the sacrifice of Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy: for if it be sufficient to remit sins, what need is there of any other? for the necessity of another argueth and declareth this to be insufficient. Almighty God grant, that we may truly lean to one sacrifice of Christ, and that we to him again may repay our sacrifices of thanksgiving, of praise, of confessing his name, of true amendment, of repentance, of mercifulness towards our neighbours, and of all other good works of charity: for by such sacrifices we shall declare ourselves neither ungrateful to God, nor altogether unworthy of this holy sacrifice of Christ.

"And thus you have out of the testimonies of Holy Scripture, and of the ancient doctors of the church, the true and sincere use of the Lord's holy supper, and the fruit of the true sacrifice of Christ; which whosoever, through captious or wrested interpretations, or by men's traditions, shall go about, otherwise than Christ ordained them, to alter or transubstantiate, he shall answer to Christ in the latter day, when he shall understand, (but then too late,) that he hath no participation with the body and blood of Christ, but that out of the supper of eternal life, he hath eaten and drunken eternal damnation to himself."

Weston.—"Because we will not consume and spend the time in waste, this your writing which you exhibit, hereafter shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now fall to the arguments."

Chedsey.—"The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Christ gave his natural body: Matt. xxvi.; Mark xiv.; Luke xxii. Ergo, I do conclude that the natural body is in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"To your argument I answer, If you understand by the body natural *organicum*, that is, having such proportion and members as he had living here, then I answer negatively. Furthermore, concerning the evangelists thus I say and grant, that Christ took bread, and called it his body."

Chedsey.—"The text of the Scripture maketh against you, for the circumstance thereto annexed doth teach us, not only there to be the body, but also teacheth us what manner of body it is, and saith, The same body which shall be given."

"That thing is here contained, that is given for us."

"But the substance of bread is not given for us."

"Ergo, The substance of bread is here not contained."

Cranmer.—"I understand not yet what you mean by this word 'contained.' If ye mean 'really,' then I deny your major."

Chedsey.—"The major is the text of Scripture. He that denieth the major, denieth the Scripture: for the Scripture saith, This is my body which is given for you."

Cranmer.—"I grant he said it was his body which should be given, but he said it was not his body which is here contained; but the body, saith he, that shall be given for you. As though he should say, This bread is the breaking of my body; and this cup is the shedding of my blood. What will ye say then? Is the bread the breaking of his body, and the cup the shedding of his blood really? If you say so, I deny it."

Chedsey.—"If you ask what is the thing therein contained; because his apostles should not doubt what body it was that should be given, he saith, This is my body which shall be given for you, and my blood which shall be shed for many. Ergo, here is the same substance of the body, which the day after was given, and the same blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that it was no fantastical, no feigned, no spiritual body, nor body in faith; but the substance of the body."

Cranmer.—"You must prove that it is contained: but Christ said not, 'which is contained.' He gave bread, and called that his body. I stick not in

the words of the Scripture, but in your word, which is feigned and imagined of yourself."

Chedsey.—"When Christ took bread and brake it, what gave he?"

Cranmer.—"He gave bread. The bread sacramentally, and his body spiritually, and the bread there he called his body."

Chedsey.—"This answer is against the Scripture, which saith, that he gave his body."

Cranmer.—"It did signify that which they did eat."

Chedsey.—"They did not eat the body as the Capernaïtes did understand it, but the selfsame body which was given for the sins of the world. Ergo, it was his body which should be given, and his blood which should be shed."

[In some other copies I find this argument to be made by *Chedsey*.

"The same body is in the sacrament, which was given for us on the cross.

"But bread was not given on the cross for us :

"Ergo, Bread is not given in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I deny the major, which is, that the same natural body is given in the sacrament, which was given on the cross, except you understand it spiritually."—And after, he denied also the argument as utterly nought, as he might well do, the major in the second figure being not universal.]

When Master *Chedsey* had put forth his argument, and prosecuted the same, and Dr. *Cranmer* answered as before is showed, Dr. *Oglethorpe*, one of those doctors which the prolocutor called *censores*, (belike to be arbiters to order the disputations,) said on this wise :

Oglethorpe.—"You come in still with one evasion or starting hole to flee to. He urgeth the Scriptures, saying, that Christ gave his very body. You say, that he gave his body in bread. *Quomodo prædicatur corpus? qualis est corpus? qualis est prædicatio? panis est corpus.*"

Cranmer.—"You should say, *Quale corpus*. I answer to the question: It is the same body which was born of the Virgin, was crucified, ascended; but tropically, and by a figure. And so I say, *Panis est corpus* is a figurative speech, speaking sacramentally; for it is a sacrament of his body."

Oglethorpe.—"This word 'body,' being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

"But *substantia* is not predicated denominatively.

"Ergo, It is an essential predication; and so it is his true body, and not the figure of his body."

Cranmer.—"Substantia may be predicated de-

nominatively in an allegory, or in a metaphor, or in a figurative locution."

Oglethorpe.—"It is not a likely thing, that Christ hath less care for his spouse the church, than a wise householder hath for his family, in making his will or testament."

Cranmer.—"Your reason is drawn out of the affairs of men, and not taken out of the Holy Scriptures."

Oglethorpe.—"But no householder maketh his testament after that sort."

Cranmer.—"Yes, there are many that so do. For what matter is it, so it be understood and perceived? I say, Christ did use figurative speech in no place more than in his sacraments; and specially in this of his supper."

Oglethorpe.—"No man of purpose doth use tropes in his testament; for if he do, he deceiveth them that he comprehendeth in his testament: therefore Christ useth none here."

Cranmer.—"Yes, he may use them well enough. You know not what tropes are."

Oglethorpe.—"The good man of the house hath respect that his heirs, after his departure, may live in quiet and without brabbling.

"But they cannot be in quiet, if he do use tropes:

"Therefore, I say, he useth no tropes."

Cranmer.—"I deny your minor."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his book entitled *De unitate Ecclesiæ*, chap. x., hath these words following :

"What a thing is this, I pray you? When the last words of one lying upon his death-bed are heard, who is ready to go to his grave, no man saith, that he hath made a lie; and he is not accounted his heir, who regardeth not those words. How shall we then escape God's wrath, if either not believing, or not regarding, we shall reject the last words both of the only Son of God, and also of our Lord and Saviour,—both ascending into heaven, and beholding from thence, who despiseth, who observeth them not; and so shall come from thence to judge all men?"

"The argument is thus formed :

"Whosoever saith that the testator lieth, is a wicked heir.

"But whosoever saith that Christ spake by figures, saith that he did lie :

"Ergo, Whosoever saith that Christ here spake by figures, is a wicked heir."

Cranmer.—"I deny the minor: as who say, it is necessary that he that useth to speak by tropes and figures, should lie in so doing."

Oglethorpe.—"Your judgment is disagreeing with all churches."

Cranmer.—"Nay, I disagree with the papistical church."

Oglethorpe.—"This you do, through the ignorance of logic."

Cranmer.—"Nay, this you say, through the ignorance of the doctors."

Weston.—"I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What took he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What gave he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What brake he?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"What did he eat?"

Cranmer.—"Bread."

Weston.—"He gave bread: therefore he gave not his body."

"He gave not his body, therefore it is not his body verily, and in deed and in truth."

Cranmer.—"I deny the argument."

Cole.—"This argument holdeth, *à disparatis*: It is bread: ergo, it is not the body; and it is such an argument or reason as cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer.—"The like argument may be made. He is a rock: ergo, he is not Christ."

Cole.—"It is not alike."

Weston.—"He gave not his body indeed: ergo, it was not his body indeed."

Cranmer.—"He gave his death, his passion, and the sacrament of his passion. And, in very deed, setting the figure aside, formally it is not his body."

Weston.—"Why? then the Scripture is false."

Cranmer.—"Nay, the Scripture is most true."

Weston.—"This saith Chrysostom: 'Needful it is, dear friends, to tell you what the miracle of the mysteries is, and wherefore it is given, and what profit there is of the thing. We are one body, and members of his flesh and of his bones. We that be in the mystery, let us follow the thing which was spoken. Wherefore, that we may become this thing, not only by love, but also that we may become one with that flesh indeed, *that* is brought to pass by this food which he gave unto us, minding to show his great good will that he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with us, and united his own body with us, that we should be made all as one thing together, as a body joined and annexed to the head; for this is a token of most ardent and perfect love. And the same thing Job also, insinuating, said of his servants, of whom he was desired above measure insomuch that they, showing their great desire toward him, said, Whoshall give unto us to be filled with his flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a greater

love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be seen of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered us to fasten our teeth in his flesh, and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that table, being made terrible to the devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and his charity which he showed unto us. For parents many times give their children to others to be fed, but I do not so, (saith he,) but feed you with mine own flesh, and set myself before you; desiring to make you all jolly people, and pretending to you great hope and expectation to look for things to come, who here give myself to you, but much more in the world to come. I am become your brother; I took flesh and blood for you. Again, my flesh and blood, by the which I am made your kinsman, I deliver unto you.' Thus much out of Chrysostom. Out of which words I make this argument:

"The same flesh whereby Christ is made our brother and kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten."

"Christ is made our brother and kinsman, by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Ergo, His true, natural, and organical flesh, is given to us to be eaten."

Cranmer.—"I grant the consequence and the consequent."

Weston.—"Therefore we eat it with our mouth."

Cranmer.—"I deny it. We eat it through faith."

Weston.—"He gave us that same flesh to eat whereby he became our brother and kinsman."

"But he became our brother and kinsman by his true, natural, and organical flesh:

"Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical flesh to be eaten."

Cranmer.—"I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical flesh wherein he suffered; and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that flesh is received spiritually."

Weston.—"He gave us the same flesh which he took of the Virgin."

"But he took not his true flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure."

"Ergo, He gave his true natural flesh, not spiritually."

Cranmer.—"Christ gave to us his own natural flesh, the same wherein he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually."

Weston.—"Chrysostom is against you, where he saith, 'Let it come into thy remembrance with what honour thou art honoured, and what table thou sittest at: for with the same thing we are nourished,

which the angels do behold and tremble at; neither are they able to behold it without great fear, for the brightness which cometh thereof: and we be brought and compact into one heap or mass with him, being together one body of Christ, and one flesh with him. Who shall speak the powers of the Lord, and shall declare forth all his praises? What pastor hath ever nourished his sheep with his own members? Many mothers have put forth their infants after their birth to other nurses; which he would not do, but feedeth us with his own body, and conjoineth and uniteth us to himself.' Whereupon I gather this argument:

"Like as mothers nurse their children with milk, so Christ nourisheth us with his body.

"But mothers do not nourish their infants spiritually with their milk:

"Therefore Christ doth not nourish those that be his spiritually, with his blood."

Cranmer.—"He gave us the wine for his blood."

Weston.—"If he gave the wine for his blood, (as you say,) then he gave less than mothers do give.

"But Chrysostom affirmeth, that he gave more than mothers give:

"Therefore he gave not the wine for his blood."

Cranmer.—"You pervert mine answer. He gave wine, yet the blood is considered therein. As for example: when he giveth baptism, we consider not the water, but the Holy Ghost, and remission of sins. We receive with the mouth the sacrament; but the thing and the matter of the sacrament we receive by faith."

Weston.—"When Christ said, Eat ye, whether meant he by the mouth or by faith?"

Cranmer.—"He meant, that we should receive the body by faith, the bread by the mouth."

Weston.—"Nay, the body by the mouth."

Cranmer.—"That I deny."

Weston.—"I prove it out of Chrysostom, writing upon the fiftieth Psalm: 'She that is a mother, shameth sometime to play the nurse. But Christ, our nurse, doth not so play with us. Therefore, instead of meat, he feedeth us with his own flesh; and instead of drink, he feedeth us with his own blood.' Likewise, upon the 83d Homily, on Matt. xxvi., he saith: 'For it shall not be enough for him to become man, and in the mean while to be whipped; but he doth bring us into one mass or lump with himself (as I may so call it); and maketh us his body, not by faith alone, but also in very deed.'"

Cranmer.—"I grant, we make one nature with Christ. But that to be done with the mouth, I deny."

Weston.—"Chrysostom (2 Cor. xiii. Homil. 29) hath these words: 'No little honour is given to our mouth, receiving the body of the Lord.'"

Cranmer.—"This I say, that Christ entereth into us both by our ears and by our eyes. With our mouth we receive the body of Christ, and tear it with our teeth, that is to say, the sacrament of the body of Christ. Wherefore I say and affirm, that the virtue of the sacrament is much: and therefore Chrysostom many times speaketh of sacraments no otherwise than of Christ himself; as I could prove, if I might have liberty to speak, by many places of Chrysostom, where he speaketh of the sacrament of the body of Christ."

With which word of the "sacrament of the body," &c., Dr. Cole being highly offended, denied it to be the sacrament of the body of Christ, save only of the mystical body, which is the church.

Cranmer.—"And why should we doubt to call it the sacrament of the body of Christ, offered upon the cross, seeing both Christ and the ancient fathers do so call it?"

Cole.—"How gather you that of Chrysostom?"

Cranmer.—"Chrysostom declareth himself thus: 'O miracle, O the good-will of God towards us, which sitteth above, at the right hand of the Father, and is holden in men's hands at the sacrifice's time, and is given to feed upon, to them that are desirous of him! And that is brought to pass by no subtlety or craft, but with the open and beholding eyes of all the standers-by.' Thus ye hear, Christ is seen here in earth every day: is touched, is torn with the teeth, that our tongue is red with his blood; which no man having any judgment will say or think to be spoken without trope or figure."

Weston.—"What miracle is it, if it be not his body, and if he spake only of the sacrament, as though it were his body? But hearken what Chrysostom saith: 'I show forth that thing on the earth unto thee, which is worthy the greatest honour. For like as in the palace of kings, neither the walls nor the sumptuous bed, but the body of kings sitting under the cloth of estate, and royal seat of majesty, is of all things else the most excellent: so is, in like manner, the King's body in heaven, which is now set before us on earth. I show thee neither angels nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens, but the very Lord and Master of all these things. Thou perceivest after what sort thou dost not only behold, but touchest; and not only touchest, but eatest, that which on the earth is the greatest and chiefest thing of all other; and when thou hast received the same, thou goest home: wherefore cleanse thy soul from all uncleanness.'

— “Upon this, I conclude that the body of Christ showed us upon the earth.”

Cranmer.—“What! upon the earth? No man with Christ upon the earth: he is seen with the eyes of our mind, with faith and spirit.”

Weston.—“I pray you, what is it that seemeth worthy highest honour on the earth? Is it the sacrament, or else the body of Christ?”

Cranmer.—“Chrysostom speaketh of the sacrament; and the body of Christ is showed forth in the sacrament.”

Weston.—“Ergo, then the sacrament is worthy greatest honour.”

Cranmer.—“I deny the argument.”

Weston.—“That thing is showed forth, and now on the earth, which is worthy highest honour.”

— “But only the body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

— Ergo, The body of Christ is now on the earth.”

Cranmer.—“I answer, the body of Christ to be on the earth, but so as in the sacrament, and as the Holy Ghost is in the water of baptism.”

Weston.—“Chrysostom saith, ‘I show forth,’ which noteth a substance to be present.”

Cranmer.—“That is to be understood sacramentally.”

Weston.—“He saith, ‘I show forth on earth;’ declaring also the place where.”

Cranmer.—“That is to be understood figuratively.”

Weston.—“He is showed forth, and is now on the earth, &c., as before.”

Cranmer.—“Your major and conclusion are all true.”

Weston.—“But the major is true: ergo, the conclusion also is true.”

— “That thing is on the earth, which is worthy of most high honour.”

— “But no figure is worthy of highest honour.”

— “Ergo, That which is on the earth, is no figure.”

Cranmer.—“I answer, that is true sacramentally.”

Here Weston crieth to him, that he should answer to one part, bidding him repeat his words. Which when Cranmer went about to do, such was the noise and crying out in the school, that his mild voice could not be heard. For when he went about to declare to the people how the prolocutor did not well English the words of Chrysostom, using for *ostenditur in terra*, “he is showed forth on the earth,” *est in terra*, “he is on the earth,” whereas Chrysostom hath not *est* nor any such word of being on the earth, but only of showing, as the grace of the Holy Ghost in *baptismo ostenditur*, i. e. is

showed forth in baptism: and oftentimes he did inculcate this word *ostenditur*.

Then the prolocutor, stretching forth his hand, set on the rude people to cry out at him, filling all the school with hissing, clapping of hands, and noise; calling him unlearned, unskilful, impudent: which impudent and reproachful words this reverend man most patiently and meekly did abide, as one that had been inured with the suffering of such-like reproaches. And when the prolocutor, not yet satisfied with this rude and unseemly demeanour, did urge and call upon him to answer the argument; then he bade the notary repeat his words again.

Notary.—“That which is worthy most high honour, here I show forth to thee on earth.”

— “The body of Christ is worthy highest honour:

— Ergo, He showeth forth the body of Christ here on earth.”

Cranmer.—“That is showed forth here on the earth, which may be seen, which may be touched, and which may be eaten: but these things be not true of the body.”

Cole.—“Why should not these things be true of the body of Christ?”

Cranmer.—“The major out of Chrysostom is true; meaning of the sacraments. For in the sacrament the true body of Christ, and not the figurative body, is set forth.”

Weston.—“Show me somewhat in earth worthy greatest honour.”

Cranmer.—“I cannot, but in the sacrament only.”

Weston.—“Ergo, The sacrament is worthy greatest honour.”

Cranmer.—“So it is.”

Judges.—“Let it be written.”

Cranmer.—“I pray you let my answer be written likewise: I affirm, that the body of Christ is showed forth unto us. It is our faith that seeth Christ.”

Weston.—“‘I show it to thee,’ saith Chrysostom—not to thy faith.”

Cranmer.—“He speaketh sacramentally.”

Weston.—“Ergo, Chrysostom lieth. For he, speaking of showing, saith, ‘I Chrysostom do show.’ But he can show nothing sacramentally.”

Chedsey.—“By force of argument we are brought to this point, that the body of Christ is proved to be on earth, not only sacramentally, but in very deed also, by this reason, that it is worthy highest honour.—The reason is indissoluble.”

Cranmer.—“I never heard a more vain argument, and it is most vain; also it hath mine answer unto it.”

Chedsey.—“Will you affirm, that it is absurd

which Chrysostom saith, That the body of Christ is touched?

"I touch the body of Christ in the sacrament, as Thomas touched Christ.

"Thomas touched Christ, and said, My Lord, my God.

"Ergo, That which he touched was the Lord, the God."

[This argument, as I received it out of the notary's book, is not formal; but rather he should conclude in the third figure thus:

As Thomas touched the body of Christ, so we touch it in the sacrament.

Thomas touched the body of Christ corporally:

Ergo, We touch the body of Christ corporally in the sacrament.]

Cranmer.—"I deny your argument. He touched not God, but him which was God; neither is it sound doctrine to affirm that God is touched."

Chedsey.—"This is because of the union; so that God is said to be touched, when Christ, which is both God and man, is touched.

"Tertullian saith, 'Let us consider as concerning the proper form of the Christian man, what great prerogative this vain and foul substance of ours hath with God. Although it were sufficient to it, that no soul could ever get salvation unless it believe while it is in the flesh: so much the flesh availeth to salvation; by the which flesh it cometh, that whereas the soul so is linked unto God, it is the said flesh that causeth the soul to be linked: yet the flesh moreover is washed, that the soul may be cleansed; the flesh is anointed, that the soul may be consecrated; the flesh is signed, that the soul may be defended; the flesh is shadowed by the imposition of hands, that the soul may be illuminated with the Spirit; the flesh doth eat the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be fed of God.' Whereupon I gather this argument:

"The flesh eateth the body of Christ.

"Ergo, The body of Christ is eaten with the mouth.

"Item, Photius upon these words (1 Cor. xi.) will be guilty of the body and blood, &c.: 'Whereas he saith, Is guilty of the body and blood; this he declareth, that like as Judas betrayed him, and the Jews were fierce and spiteful against him; so do they dishonour him, who receive his holy body with their impure hands, and, as the Jews did hold him then, do now receive him with impure mouths. And whereas he often maketh mention of the body and blood of the Lord, he declareth, that it is not simply man that is sacrificed, but even the Lord himself, being the Maker of all things, hereby (as it were) making them afraid.'

"Ergo, (as it is hereby gathered,) the body of Christ is touched with the hands."

Cranmer.—"You vouch two authors against me upon sundry things. First I must answer Tertullian, and then the other."

Chedsey.—"They tend both to one meaning."

Cranmer.—"Unto Tertullian I answer, (because our disputation is wandering and uncertain,) that he calleth that the flesh, which is the sacrament. For although God work all things in us invisibly, beyond man's reach, yet they are so manifest, that they may be seen, and perceived of every sense. Therefore he setteth forth baptism, unction, and, last of all, the supper of the Lord unto us, which he gave to signify his operation in us. The flesh liveth by the bread, but the soul is inwardly fed by Christ."

Weston.—"Stick to those words of Tertullian, 'The body eateth, that the soul may be fed.'"

Chedsey.—"The flesh eateth the body of Christ, that the soul may be fed therewith."

Weston.—"Here you see two kinds of food, of the soul and of the body."

Chedsey.—"He saith, that not only the soul, but the flesh is also fed."

Cranmer.—"The soul is fed with the body of Christ, the body with the sacrament."

Chedsey.—"Is the soul fed with the body of Christ, and not with the sacrament?"

Cranmer.—"Read that which followeth, and you shall perceive, that by things external, an operation internal is understood. Inwardly we eat Christ's body, and outwardly we eat the sacrament. So one thing is done outwardly, and another inwardly. Like as in baptism the external element, whereby the body is washed, is one; the internal thing, whereby the soul is cleansed, is another."

Chedsey.—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.

"But the soul is fed by the flesh of Christ:

"Ergo, The body eateth the flesh of Christ."

Cranmer.—"We eat not one thing outwardly and inwardly. Inwardly we eat Christ's body: outwardly we eat the sacrament."

Chedsey.—"I will repeat the argument.

"The flesh eateth Christ's body, that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body.

"Ergo, The flesh eateth the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament is one thing, the matter of the sacrament is another. Outwardly we receive the sacrament; inwardly we eat the body of Christ."

Chedsey.—"I prove, that we receive that outwardly, wherewith the soul is fed.

"The soul is fed with the body of Christ:

"Ergo, We eat the body of Christ outwardly.

"The flesh eateth Christ his body:

"Ergo, The soul is fed therewith."

Cranmer.—"The flesh, I say, eateth the sacrament; it eateth not Christ's body. For Tertullian speaketh of the sacrament; and the place hath not 'thereof,' but 'of God.'"

Chedsey.—"What say you to Photius's saying? 'They which receive the body with impure hands, are guilty of the Lord's blood, as Judas was.'"

Weston.—"That which followeth in Tertullian doth take away your shift, where he saith, 'They cannot be separated in reward, whom one work joineth together.'

"But manducation is the work, or labour: ergo, &c.

"The form of this argument may be thus collected:

"One work or labour joineth body and soul together.

"Manducation is a work, or labour.

"Ergo, One manducation joineth together both body and soul.

"To the major of which argument, thus it may be answered, expounding the saying of Tertullian, *Una opera conjungit, sed non idem operandi modus*. Again, *opera* here, in Tertullian, may be taken for temptations and afflictions."

Cranmer.—"Your authority, I suppose, is taken out of the book, Of the Resurrection of the Flesh; and the meaning thereof is this: Tertullian goeth about there to prove, that the flesh shall rise again, because it is joined together in one work with the soul. Through baptism in this world the body is washed, and the soul is washed: the body outwardly, the soul inwardly; the work is one. In this work they are joined, and he speaketh of signs."

Weston.—"He speaketh of eating in a sign: ergo, the reward is in a sign."

Cranmer.—"They are coupled in one work, namely, in the sacrament."

Weston.—"There are two works: ergo, there are two rewards.

"If the work be in a figure: ergo, the reward is in a figure."

Cranmer.—"He speaketh not of two works. Two works are but one work. And yet he saith not, 'whom one work joineth together;' but 'a work:' as in baptism the soul and body are joined in understanding."

Weston.—"The flesh and soul shall have one and the selfsame reward, because they have one work."

Cranmer.—"Because they be joined together in one work."

Tresham.—"Forasmuch as the reverend doctors here have impugned and overthrown your assertion and your answers sufficiently, I will fall to another matter, not altogether impertinent to the purpose, and that in few words, against a certain sequel of your opinion. The sequel is this: that between us and Christ there is no further conjunction, while we receive the eucharist, than a conjunction of the mind, or a spiritual conjunction, whereby we are united and knit unto Christ through faith and love. As for the presence of Christ concerning the substance, that you utterly deny. Whereupon, in very deed, you leave but a spiritual union and joining together of mind: howbeit you would seem to think otherwise, by your subtle answers. But I will declare, by manifest testimonies of the fathers, that this your sequel, which you account so sure, is far wide from the truth. And I will begin with St. Hilary, who is both an ancient and learned author. For, disputing against the Arians, in his eighth book of the Trinity, he saith, that this was their opinion; that the Father and the Son are conjoined only through unity of will. Whereupon Arius himself, when Scripture was alleged against him, did (as you do now) elude the right meaning of it by his false interpretations. But the catholic church hath always believed and ever maintained, 'That Christ is one with the Father in nature, and not by consent of will only.' To the proof whereof, when the catholics vouched this testimony of John, The Father and I are one; the Arians answered, that *unum sumus* was to be understood by the assent of their wills, and agreement of their minds; not by unity of their natures. Thus it happeneth now-a-days, where men do doubt of the sacrament. But Hilary, going on, and proving the natural conjunction between the Father and the Son *à fortiori*, questioneth with his adversaries after this manner: 'I demand of them now, which will needs have the unity of will only between the Father and the Son, whether Christ be now in us truly by nature, or only by the agreement of wills. If,' saith he, 'the Word be incarnate in very deed, and we receive at the Lord's table the Word made flesh, how then is he to be thought not to dwell in us naturally, who, being born man, hath both taken the nature of our flesh upon him, that is now inseparable, and hath also mingled that nature of his own flesh unto the nature of eternity, under the sacrament of his flesh, to be communicated unto us?' Thus much hath Hilary. Whereupon I ask of you this question, How Christ dwelleth now in us?—according to faith, or according to nature?"

Cranmer.—"I say that Christ dwelleth verily in us carnally and naturally; for that he hath taken of the Virgin our flesh upon him, and because he hath communicated his nature unto us."

Tresham.—"Bucer referreth these words only to the eucharist, saying, 'Christ doth exhibit all this unto us in his holy supper; and, according to the holy fathers,' saith Bucer, 'Christ liveth thereby in us, not only by faith and love, as absent, but naturally, corporally, and carnally.' Wherefore he is not absent, neither are we joined to Christ only by a spiritual union, (as you suppose,) but also by a corporal and carnal union."

Cranmer.—"I know that Master Bucer was a learned man. But your faith is in good case, which leaneth upon Bucer."

Tresham.—"I do not bring Bucer as a patron of our faith; but because he is a man of your sort, and yet bringeth this place of Hilary for that union which we have by the sacrament, and confesseth, that by it we are carnally united to Christ: whereas you think, we are joined by it only through faith and love."

Cranmer.—"I say that Christ was communicated unto us, not only by faith, but in very deed, also, when he was born of the Virgin. We have fellowship with Christ, when we are united in the unity of the church; when we are made flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones: and so we are united in the communion, in baptism, and in faith."

Tresham.—"I pray you, what fellowship have we with Christ, in that he is made man? Are not the Turks and Jews therein joined with him? For they are men as we are, and are joined with him in man's nature, in that he was born of a woman. I speak now of a more near unity. We are made one with Christ by the communion, in a perfect unity."

Cranmer.—"We are made so, I grant: but we are made so also by baptism; and the unity in baptism is perfect."

Tresham.—"We are not made one by baptism in a perfect unity, as Hilary there speaketh, but by the communion, by which we are carnally made one; but not likewise by baptism: wherefore you understand not Hilary. You shall hear his words, which are these: 'He had now declared afore the sacrament of his perfect union, saying; As the living Father sent me, so do I also live by the Father. And he that eateth my flesh, shall also live through me.' And a little after that he writeth thus: 'This truly is the cause of our life; that we have Christ dwelling by his flesh in us that are fleshly, which also by him shall live in such sort as he liveth by his Father.' Wherefore of these

words it is manifest, that we obtain this unity by means of the sacrament, and that by it is carnally united unto us."

Cranmer.—"Nay, Hilary in that sayeth doth teach, that it is done by baptism: and that doctrine is not to be suffered in the church which teacheth, that we are not joined to Christ by baptism."

Weston.—"Repeat the argument."

Cranmer.—"You must first make a statement."

Tresham.—"It is made already, but it shall be made again in this form:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, so they that eat Christ's flesh, live by the same flesh.

"But Christ liveth by the Father, not only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Ergo, We live not through the eating of Christ's flesh, by faith and love only, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"We live by Christ, not only by faith and love, but eternally indeed."

Tresham.—"Nay, naturally; I prove it thus:

"As Christ liveth by the Father, so live we by his flesh eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father only by faith and love, but naturally.

"Therefore we do not live by eating of Christ's flesh only by faith and love, (as you suppose,) but naturally."

Cranmer.—"The minor is not true."

Tresham.—"This is the opinion of Arius: that Christ is united to his Father by conjunction of mind, and not naturally."

Cranmer.—"I say not so yet, neither do I think so: but I will tell you what I like not in your minor. You say, 'that Christ doth not live by his Father only by faith and love:' but I say, that Christ liveth not at all by his faith."

Weston.—"Mark and consider well this word, 'by faith,' lest any occasion of cavilling be given."

Tresham.—"Let that word, 'by faith,' be omitted. Neither did I mean, that Christ liveth by his Father through faith. Yet the strength of the argument remaineth in force; for else Hilary doth not confute the Arians, except there be a greater conjunction between us and Christ, when he is eaten of us, than only a spiritual conjunction. You do only grant a union. As for a carnal or natural union of the substance of flesh, by which we are joined more than spiritually, you do not grant. But our Lord Jesus give you a better mind, and show you the light of his truth, that you may return into the way of righteousness."

Weston.—"We came hither to dispute, and not to pray."

Tresham.—"Is it not lawful to pray for them that err?"

Weston.—"It is not lawful yet.—But proceed."

Tresham.—"Again, I reason thus: As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by the eating of his flesh.

"But Christ liveth not by his Father, only in unity of will, but naturally:

"Ergo, We do not live when we eat the flesh of Christ, only by faith and unity of will, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"This is my faith, and it agreeth with the Scripture; Christ liveth by his Father naturally, and maketh us to live by himself indeed naturally, and that not only in the sacrament of the eucharist, but also in baptism. For infants, when they are baptized, do eat the flesh of Christ."

Weston.—"Answer either to the whole argument, or to the parts thereof. For this argument is strong, and cannot be dissolved."

Cranmer.—"This is the argument:

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner do we live by his flesh, being eaten of us.

"But Christ liveth by his Father not only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally.

"But the major is false; namely, that by the same manner we live by Christ, as he liveth by his Father."

Weston.—"Hilary saith, 'after the same manner,' upon these words, He that eateth my flesh shall live by me. Ergo, Christ liveth by his Father, and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh. Here you see, that Hilary saith, 'after the same manner.'"

Cranmer.—" 'After the same manner,' doth not signify alike in all things, but indeed and eternally: for so do we live by Christ, and Christ liveth by his Father. For in other respects Christ liveth otherwise by his Father than we live by Christ."

Weston.—"He liveth by his Father naturally and eternally.

"Ergo, We live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer.—"We do not live naturally, but by grace, if you take naturally for the manner of nature; as Christ hath eternal life of his Father, so have we of him."

Weston.—"I stick to this word 'naturally.'"

Cranmer.—"I mean it, touching the truth of nature. For Christ liveth otherwise by his Father than we live by Christ."

Weston.—"Hilary, in his eighth book de Trini-

tate, denieth it, when he saith, 'He liveth therefore by his Father; and as he liveth by his Father, after the same manner we shall live by his flesh.'"

Cranmer.—"We shall live after the same manner, as concerning the nature of the flesh of Christ: for as he hath of his Father the nature of eternity, so shall we have of him."

Weston.—"Answer unto the parts of the argument."

"As Christ liveth by his Father, after the same manner shall we live by his flesh.

"But Christ doth not live by his Father only in unity of will, but naturally.

"Ergo, We, eating of his flesh, do not live only by faith and love, but naturally."

Cranmer.—"I grant, as I said, we live by Christ naturally: but I never heard that Christ liveth with his Father in unity of will only."

Weston.—"Because it seemeth a marvel unto you, hear what Hilary saith: 'These things are recited of us to this end, because the heretics, feigning a unity of will only between the Father and the Son, did use the example of our unity with God; as though we, being united to the Son, and by the Son to the Father, only by obedience and will of religion, had no propriety of the natural communion by the sacrament of the body and blood.'

"But answer to the argument,—Christ liveth by his Father naturally and eternally: therefore do we live by Christ naturally and eternally."

Cranmer.—"Cyril and Hilary do say, that Christ is united to us not only by will, but also by nature: he doth communicate to us his own nature, and so is Christ made one with us carnally and corporally, because he took our nature of the Virgin Mary. And Hilary doth not say only that Christ is naturally in us, but that we also are naturally in him, and in the Father; that is, that we are partakers of their nature, which is eternity, or everlastingness. For as the Word, receiving our nature, did join it unto himself in unity of person, and did communicate unto that our nature, the nature of his eternity, that like as he, being the everlasting Word of the Father, had everlasting life of the Father; even so he gave the same nature to his flesh. Likewise also did he communicate with us the same nature of eternity, which he and the Father have, and that we should be one with them, not only in will and love, but that we should be also partakers of the nature of everlasting life."

Weston.—"Hilary, where he saith, 'Christ communicated to us his nature,' meaneth that not by his nativity, but by the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"He hath communicated to us his flesh by his nativity."

Weston.—"We have communicated to him our flesh when he was born."

Cranmer.—"Nay, he communicated to us his flesh, when he was born, and that I will show you out of Cyril upon this place, *Et homo factus est*."

Weston.—"Ergo, Christ being born, gave us his flesh."

Cranmer.—"In his nativity he made us partakers of his flesh."

Weston.—"Write, sirs."

Cranmer.—"Yea, write."

Chedsey.—"This place of Hilary is so dark, that you were compelled to falsify it in your book, because you could not draw it to confirm your purpose: 'If Christ hath taken verily the flesh of our body, and the man that was verily born of the Virgin Mary is Christ, and also we receive under the true mystery the flesh of his body, by means whereof we shall be one, (for the Father is in Christ, and Christ in us,) how shall that be called the unity of will, when the natural property, brought to pass by the sacrament, is the sacrament of unity. We must not speak in the sense of man, or of the world, in matters concerning God: neither must we perversely wrest any strange or wicked sense out of the wholesome meaning of the Holy Scripture, through impudent and violent contention. Let us read those things that are written, and let us understand those things that we read, and then we shall perform the duty of perfect faith. For as touching that natural and true being of Christ in us, except we learn of him, we speak foolishly and ungodly that thing that we do speak. For he saith, My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him. As touching the verity of his flesh and blood, there is left no place of doubt: for now, both by the testimony of the Lord, and also by our faith, it is verily flesh, and verily blood.'—Here you have falsified Hilary, for you have set *vero sub mysterio*, for *verè sub mysterio*, 'we receive truly under a mystery.' Hilary thrice reporteth *verè sub mysterio*, and you interpret it twice *verè sub mysterio*, but, the third time, you have *vero* for *verè*."

Cranmer.—"Assuredly I am not guilty of any deceit herein. It may be that the copy which I followed had *sub vero mysterio*, i. e. under a true mystery; although touching the sense it differeth little. God, I call to witness, I have always hated falsifying, and if you had leisure and lust to hear false citations, I could recite unto you six hundred."

Weston.—"Here shall be showed you two copies of Hilary, the one printed at Basil, the other at Paris."

Cranmer.—"I suppose that Dr. Smith's book hath *vero*."

Weston.—"Here is Dr. Smith: let him answer for himself.—Master Smith, Master Doctor, what say you for yourself? Speak, if you know it."

Here Dr. Smith, either for the truth in his book alleged, or else astonished with Dr. Weston's hasty calling, staid to answer; for he only put off his cap, and kept silence.

Weston.—"But your own book, printed by Wolf your own printer, hath *vero*."

Cranmer.—"That book is taken from me, which easily might have ended this controversy. I am sure the Book of Decrees hath *vero*."

Cole.—"Now you admit the Book of Decrees, when it maketh for you."

Cranmer.—"Touching the sense of the matter there is little difference. The change of one letter for another is but a small matter."

Weston.—"No? Yes; *pastor*, as you know, signifieth a bishop, and *pistor* signifieth a baker. But *pastor* shall be *pistor*, a bishop shall be a baker, by this your change of one letter, if *verè* and *vero* do nothing change the sense."

Cranmer.—"Let it be so, that in *pistor* and *pastor* one letter maketh some difference: yet let *pistor* be either a maker or baker of bread, ye see here the change of a letter, and yet no great difference to be in the sense."

Young.—"This disputation is taken in hand, that the truth might appear. I perceive that I must go another way to work than I had thought. It is a common saying, 'Against them that deny principles, we must not dispute.' Therefore, that we may agree of the principles, I demand, whether there be any other body of Christ, than his instrumental body?"

Cranmer.—"There is no natural body of Christ, but his organical body."

Young.—"Again I demand, whether sense and reason ought to give place to faith?"

Cranmer.—"They ought."

Young.—"Thirdly, whether Christ be true in all his words?"

Cranmer.—"Yea, he is most true, and truth itself."

Young.—"Fourthly, whether Christ, at his supper, minded to do that which he spake, or no?"

Cranmer.—"In saying he spake, but in saying he made not, but made the sacrament to his disciples."

Young.—"Answer according to the truth, Whether did Christ that as God and man, which he spake, when he said, This is my body?"

Cranmer.—"This is a sophistical cavillation: go plainly to work. There is some deceit in these questions. You seek subtileness: leave your crafty fetches."

Young.—"I demand, whether Christ by these words wrought any thing or no?"

Cranmer.—"He did institute the sacrament."

Young.—"But answer, whether did he work any thing?"

Cranmer.—"He did work in instituting the sacrament."

Young.—"Now I have you; for before you said, it was a figurative speech.

"But a figure worketh nothing:

"Ergo, It is not a figurative speech. A liar ought to have a good memory."

Cranmer.—"I understood your sophistry before. You, by working, understand converting into the body of Christ: but Christ wrought the sacrament, not in converting, but in instituting."

Young.—"Woe be to them that make Christ a deceiver! Did he work any other thing than he spake, or the selfsame thing?"

Cranmer.—"He wrought the sacrament, and by these words he signified the effect."

Young.—"A figurative speech is no working thing.

"But the speech of Christ is working:

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer.—"It worketh by instituting, not by converting."

Young.—"The thing signified in the sacrament, is it not that sacrament?"

Cranmer.—"It is; for the thing is ministered in a sign. He followeth the letter that taketh the thing for a sign. Augustine separateth the sacrament from the thing. 'The sacrament,' saith he, 'is one, and the thing of the sacrament another.'"

Weston.—"Stick to this argument.

"It is a figurative speech.

"Ergo, It worketh nothing."

Young.—"But the speech of Christ is a working thing.

"Ergo, It is not figurative."

Cranmer.—"Oh how many crafts are in this argument! they are mere fallacies. I said not, that the words of Christ do work, but Christ himself; and he worketh by a figurative speech."

Weston.—"If a figure work, it maketh of bread the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"A figurative speech worketh not."

Weston.—"A figurative speech, by your own confession, worketh nothing.

"But the speech of Christ in the supper (as you grant) wrought somewhat.

"Ergo, The speech of Christ in the supper was not figurative."

Cranmer.—"I answer, these are mere sophisms. The speech doth not work, but Christ, by the speech, doth work the sacrament. I look for Scriptures at your hands, for they are the foundation of disputations."

Young.—"Are not these words of Scripture, This is my body? The word of Christ is of strength; and by the Lord's words the heavens were made. He said, This is my body: ergo, he made it."

Cranmer.—"He made the sacrament; and I deny your argument."

Young.—"If he wrought nothing, nothing is left there. He said, This is my body. You say, contrary to the Scriptures, it is not the body of Christ; and fall from the faith."

Cranmer.—"You interpret the Scriptures contrary to all the old writers, and feign a strange sense."

Young.—"Ambrose saith: 'Thou hast read of the works of all the world, that he spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Cannot the word of Christ, which made of nothing that which was not, change those things that are into that they were not? for it is no less matter to give new things, than to change natures. But what use we arguments? let us use his own examples, and let us confirm the verity of the mystery by example of his incarnation. Did the use of nature go before, when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If you seek the order of nature, conception is wont to be made by a woman joined to a man. It is manifest therefore, that contrary to the order of nature, a virgin did conceive: and this body that we make, is of the Virgin. What seekest thou here the order of nature in the body of Christ, when, against the order of nature, the Lord Jesus was conceived of a virgin? It was the true flesh of Christ that was crucified, and which was buried: therefore it is truly the sacrament of him. The Lord Jesus himself crieth, This is my body. Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is named another kind: but, after the consecration, the body of Christ is signified. He calleth it his blood. Before consecration it is called another thing: after consecration it is called blood. And thou sayest, Amen; that is, It is true. That the mouth speaketh, let the inward mind confess: that the word soundeth, let the heart perceive.'

"The same Ambrose, in his fourth book of Sacraments, chap. iv., saith thus: 'This bread is bread before the words of the sacraments: when the consecration cometh to it, of bread it is made the

flesh of Christ. Let us confirm this, therefore. How can that which is bread, by consecration be the body of Christ? by what words then is the consecration made, and by whose words? By the words of our Lord Jesus. For touching all other things that are said, praise is given to God, prayer is made for the people, for kings, and for the rest. When it cometh that the reverend sacrament must be made, then the priest useth not his own words, but the words of Christ: therefore the word of Christ maketh this sacrament. What word? That word, by which all things were made. The Lord commanded, and heaven was made: the Lord commanded, and the earth was made: the Lord commanded, and the seas were made: the Lord commanded, and all creatures were made. Dost thou not see then how strong in working the word of Christ is? If therefore so great strength be in the Lord's word, that those things should begin to be, which were not before, how much the rather is it of strength to work, that these things which were, should be changed into another thing?' Ambrose saith, that the words are of strength to work."

Weston.—"You omit those words which follow, which make the sense of Ambrose plain: read them."

Young.—"Heaven was not, the sea was not, the earth was not: but hear him that said, He spake the word, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created. Therefore, to answer thee, it was not the body of Christ before consecration: but after the consecration I say to thee, that now it is the body of Christ."

Cranmer.—"All these things are common. I say, that God doth chiefly work in the sacraments."

Young.—"How doth he work?"

Cranmer.—"By his power, as he doth in baptism."

Young.—"Nay, by the word he changeth the bread into his body. This is the truth: acknowledge the truth; give place to the truth."

Cranmer.—"O glorious words! You are too full of words."

Young.—"Nay, O glorious truth!—You make no change at all."

Cranmer.—"Not so, but I make a great change; as, in them that are baptized, is there not a great change, when the child of the bondsman of the devil, is made the Son of God? So it is also in the sacrament of the supper, when he receiveth us into his protection and favour."

Young.—"If he work in the sacraments, he worketh in this sacrament."

Cranmer.—"God worketh in his faithful, not in the sacraments."

Weston.—"In the supper the words are directed to the bread; in baptism, to the Spirit. He said not, the water is the Spirit, but of the bread he said, This is my body."

Cranmer.—"He called the Spirit a dove, when the Spirit descended in likeness of a dove."

Weston.—"He doth not call the Spirit a dove; but he saith, that he descended as a dove. He was seen in the likeness of a dove. As in baptism the words are directed to him that is baptized, so in the supper the words are directed unto the bread."

Cranmer.—"Nay it is written, Upon whomsoever thou shalt see the Spirit descending. He calleth that which descended, the Holy Spirit. And Augustine calleth the dove, the Spirit. Hear what Augustine saith in John i., 'What meant he by the dove, that is, by the Holy Ghost? forsooth, to teach who sent him.'"

Young.—"He understandeth of the Spirit descending as a dove: the Spirit is invisible. If you mind to have the truth heard, let us proceed. Hear what Ambrose saith: 'You see what a working power the word of Christ hath. Therefore, if there be so great power in the Lord's word, that those things which were not, begin to be, how much more of strength is it, to work that those things that were, should be changed into another thing?' And in the fifth chapter, 'Before it is consecrated, it is bread; but, when the words of Christ come to it, it is the body of Christ.' But, hear what he saith more: 'Take ye, eat ye; this is my body. Before the words of Christ, the cup is full of wine and water: when the words of Christ have wrought, there is made the blood of Christ which redeemed the people.' What can be more plain?"

Cranmer.—"Nay, what can be less to the purpose? The words are of strength to work in the sacrament, as they are in baptism."

Pie.—"The words of Christ, as Ambrose saith, are of strength to work. What do they work?—Ambrose saith, 'They make the blood which redeemed the people.'

"Ergo, The natural blood is made."

Cranmer.—"The sacrament of his blood is made. The words make the blood to them that receive it: not that the blood is in the cup, but in the receiver."

Pie.—"There is made the blood which redeemed the people."

Cranmer.—"The blood is made; that is, the sacrament of the blood, by which he redeemed the people. Fit, 'it is made;' that is to say, ostenditur, 'it is showed forth there.' And Ambrose saith, we receive in a similitude: 'As thou hast

received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.'"

Weston.—"He saith, 'in a similitude,' because it is ministered under another likeness. And this is the argument :

"There is made the blood which redeemed the people.

"But the natural blood redeemed the people :

"Ergo, There is the natural blood of Christ.

"You answer, that words make it blood to them that receive it ; not that blood is in the cup, but because it is made blood to them that receive it. That all men may see how falsely you would avoid the fathers, hear what Ambrose saith in the sixth book and first chapter. 'Peradventure thou wilt say, How be they true? I, who see the similitude, do not see the truth of the blood. First of all I told thee of the word of Christ, which so worketh, that it can change and turn kinds ordained by nature. Afterward, when the disciples could not abide the words of Christ, but hearing that he gave his flesh to eat, and his blood to drink, they departed. Only Peter said, Thou hast the words of eternal life ; whither should I go from thee? Lest therefore more should say this thing, as though there should be a certain horror of blood, and yet the grace of redemption should remain : therefore, in a similitude thou receivest the sacrament, but indeed thou obtainest the grace and power of his nature.'"

Cranmer.—"These words of themselves are plain enough. [And he read this place again, 'Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude.'] But what is that he saith, Thou receivest for a similitude? I think he understandeth the sacrament to be the similitude of his blood."

Chedsey.—"That you may understand that truth dissenteth not from truth, to overthrow that which you say of that similitude, hear what Ambrose saith, in his fourth book of Sacraments : 'If the heavenly word did work in other things, doth it not work in the heavenly sacraments? Therefore thou hast learned, that of bread is made the body of Christ ; and that wine and water is put into that cup, but, by consecration of the heavenly word, it is made blood. But thou wilt say peradventure, that the likeness of blood is not seen. But it hath a similitude. For as thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood ; so that there is no horror of blood, and yet it worketh the price of redemption. Therefore thou hast learned, that that which thou receivest is the body of Christ.'"

Cranmer.—"He speaketh of sacraments sacramentally. He calleth the sacraments by the names of the things ; for he useth the signs for the things

signified : and therefore the bread is not called bread, but his body, for the excellency and dignity of the thing signified by it. So doth Ambrose interpret himself, when he saith, 'For a type or figure whereof we receive the mystical cup of his blood, for the safeguard of our bodies and souls.'"

Chedsey.—"A type? He calleth not the blood of Christ a type or sign : but the blood of bulls and goats in that respect was a type or sign."

Cranmer.—"This is new learning ; you shall never read this among the fathers."

Chedsey.—"But Ambrose saith so."

Cranmer.—"He calleth the bread and the cup a type or sign of the blood of Christ, and of his benefit."

Weston.—"Ambrose understandeth it for a type of his benefit ; that is, of redemption : not of the blood of Christ, but of his passion. The cup is the type or sign of his death, seeing it is his blood."

Cranmer.—"He saith most plainly, that the cup is a type of Christ's blood."

Chedsey.—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament.

"But Christ is really and truly incarnate :

"Ergo, The body of Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

Cranmer.—"I deny the major."

Chedsey.—"I prove the major out of Justin, in his second Apology, 'Ὁν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔχεν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.'"

Cranmer.—"This place hath been falsified by Marcus Constantius. Justin meant nothing else but that the bread which nourishes us is called the body of Christ."

Chedsey.—"To the argument. As Christ is truly and naturally incarnate, &c. *ut supra*."

Cranmer.—"I deny your major."

Chedsey.—"The words of Justin are thus to be interpreted word for word : As by the word of God, Jesus Christ our Saviour, being made flesh, had both flesh and blood for our salvation : so we are taught, that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, instituted of him, whereby our blood and flesh are nourished by communion, is the flesh and blood of the same Jesus which was made flesh," &c.

Cranmer.—"You have translated it well ; but I deny your major. This is the sense of Justin, that the bread is called the body of Christ ; and of that sanctified meat our bodies are nourished."

Chedsey.—"Nay, he saith, that of that sanctified meat both our bodies and souls are nourished."

Cranmer.—"He saith not so; but he saith that it nourisheth our flesh and blood: and how can that nourish the soul, that nourisheth the flesh and blood."

Cole.—"It feedeth the body by the soul."

Cranmer.—"Speak uprightly. Can that which is received by the soul and spirit be called the meat of the body?"

Weston.—"Hear then what Irenæus saith: 'This, the same cup which is a creature, he confirmed to be his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. When both the cup mixed, and the bread broken, hath joined to it the word of God, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, of which the substance of our flesh is increased and consisteth.'

"The substance of our flesh is increased by the body and blood of Christ:

"Ergo, Our body is nourished by the body and blood of Christ."

Cranmer.—"I deny your argument. He calleth it the flesh and blood, for the sacrament of the body and blood; as Tertullian also saith: 'Our flesh is nourished with symbolical or sacramental bread; but our soul is nourished with the body of Christ.'"

Weston.—"Look what he saith more: 'How do they say, that the flesh cannot receive the gift of God that is eternal life, which is nourished with the blood and body of Christ?' That is in the fifth book, two leaves from the beginning."

Cranmer.—"The body is nourished both with the sacrament, and with the body of Christ; with the sacrament to a temporal life; with the body of Christ to eternal life."

Chedsey.—"I cannot but be sorry when I see such a manifest lie in your writings. For whereas you translate Justin on this fashion; that the bread, water, and wine, are not so to be taken in this sacrament, as common meats and drinks are wont to be taken of us, but are meats chosen out peculiarly for this; namely, for the giving of thanks, and therefore be called of the Greeks *eucharistia*, that is, thanksgiving—they are called moreover the blood and body of Christ (so have you translated it)—the words of Justin are thus: 'We are taught that the meat consecrated by the word of prayer, by the which our flesh and blood is nourished by communion, is the body and blood of the same Jesus who was made flesh.'"

Cranmer.—"I did not translate it word for word, but only I gave the meaning: and I go nothing from his meaning."

Harpfeld.—"You remember, touching Justin,

to whom this apology was written; namely, to a heathen man. The heathen thought that the Christians came to the church to worship bread: Justin answereth, that we come not to common bread, but as to, &c., as is said afore. Weigh the place well: it is right worthy to be noted: 'Our flesh is nourished according to mutation.'"

Cranmer.—"We ought not to consider the bare bread, but whosoever cometh to the sacrament eateth the true body of Christ."

Weston.—"You have corrupted Emissene; for instead of 'to be filled with meat,' you have set it to be filled with spiritual meats."

Cranmer.—"I have not corrupted it; for it is so in the Decrees."

Weston.—"You have corrupted another place of Emissene; for you have omitted these words, 'Marvel thou when thou comest up to the reverend altar to be filled with spiritual meats: look in faith to the holy body and blood of thy God; marvel at his honour; worthily touch him.'"

Cranmer.—"This book hath not that."

Weston.—"Also you have falsified this place by evil translating, 'Honour the body of thy God.' You have translated it, 'Honour him which is thy God.' Whereas Emissene hath not 'honour him' but 'honour the body of thy God.'"

Cranmer.—"I have so translated him, and yet no less truly, than not without a weighty cause: else it should not have been without danger, if I had translated it thus: 'Honour the body of thy God; because of certain that (according to the error of the Anthropomorphites) dreamed that God had a body.'"

Weston.—"Nay, you most of all have brought the people into that error, who so long have taught that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father: and counted me for a heretic, because I preached that God had no right hand. Then I will oppose you in the very articles of your faith.

"Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father.

"But God the Father hath no right hand:

"Ergo, Where is Christ now?"

Cranmer.—"I am not so ignorant a novice in the articles of my faith, but that I understand that to sit at the right hand of God, doth signify to be equal in the glory of the Father."

Weston.—"Now then take this argument.

"Wheresoever God's authority is, there is Christ's body.

"But God's authority is in every place:

"Ergo, What letteth the body of Christ to be in every place.—Moreover you have also corrupted Duns."

Cranmer.—"That is a great offence, I promise you."

Weston.—"For you have omitted 'as it appeareth:' whereas his words are these, 'If you demand why the church did choose this so hard an understanding of this article, whereas the words of Scripture may be salved after an easy and true understanding (as appeareth) of this article,'" &c.

Cranmer.—"It is not so."

Weston.—"Also you have set forth a catechism in the name of the synod of London, and yet there be fifty, who, witnessing that they were of the number of the convocation, never heard one word of this catechism."

Cranmer.—"I was ignorant of the setting to of that title; and as soon as I had knowledge thereof, I did not like it. Therefore, when I complained thereof to the council, it was answered me by them, that the book was so entitled, because it was set forth in the time of the convocation."

Weston.—"Moreover, you have in Duns translated 'in the Church of Rome,' for 'the catholic church.'"

Cranmer.—"Yea; but he meant the Romish church."

Weston.—"Moreover you have depraved St. Thomas, namely, where he hath these words: 'Inasmuch as it is a sacrifice, it hath the power of satisfaction: but in satisfaction the affection of the offerer is more to be weighed, than the quantity of the oblation. Wherefore the Lord said, in Luke's Gospel, of the widow which offered two mites, that she cast in more than they all. Therefore, although this oblation of the quantity of itself will suffice to satisfy for all pain, yet it is made satisfactory to them for whom it is offered, or to the offerers, according to the quantity of their devotion, and not for all the pain.' You have thus turned it: 'That the sacrifice of the priest hath power of satisfaction,' &c. And therefore in this place you have chopped in this word, 'of the priest;' whereas, in the translation of all the New Testament, you have not set it but where Christ was put to death. And again, where St. Thomas hath 'for all pain,' your book omitteth many things there. Thus you see, brethren, the truth stedfast and invincible. You see, also, the craft and deceit of heretics. The truth may be pressed, but it cannot be oppressed: therefore cry altogether, 'The truth overcometh.'"

This disordered disputation, sometimes in Latin, sometimes in English, continued almost till two of the clock. Which being finished, and the arguments written and delivered to the hands of Master Say, the prisoner was had away by the

mayor, and the doctors dined together at the University college.

Disputation at Oxford between Dr. Smith, with his other colleagues and doctors, and Bishop Ridley.

HE next day following, which was the twelfth of April, was brought forth Dr. Ridley to dispute; against whom was set Dr. Smith to be principal opponent. Touching

which Dr. Smith, forasmuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to attributed to his judgment in religion, who so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him recanted may appear, and also by his own letter sent a little before in King Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his epistle and judge.

The true copy of a certain Epistle of Dr. Richard Smith to Dr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, declaring his affection to the setting forth of God's sincere word.

"Most honourable, I commend me unto your Lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your Grace in January last and the tenth day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your Grace over the sea; and desiring your good Lordship, of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did towards your Grace, and to obtain in writing the king's Majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and, within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward, write *De Sacerdotum Connubiis*, &c., a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. *Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libentur amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam [ita per-*

suadeat] ut ea citra conscientie lesionem agnoscam, doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm is dishonour to the king's Highness and realm, and because I must needs (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your Grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of commonplaces against all the doctrine set forth by the king's Majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your Grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake; and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

"Ex urbe divi Andreæ. 14. Feb.

Rich. Smithus."

And thus much touching the forenamed Dr. Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against Bishop Ridley, who was brought now, the next day after the archbishop, to answer in the divinity school. Against whom also, besides Dr. Smith, disputed Dr. Weston, Dr. Tresham, Dr. Oglethorpe, Dr. Glyn, Dr. Seton, and Dr. Cole, Master Ward, Master Harpsfield, Dr. Watson, Master Pie, Master Harding, Master Curton, Master Fecknam: to all them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy. And some said, he drave off the time in ambiguous things, nothing to the purpose; and so they would not suffer him to say his mind. Dr. Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He showed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

The disputation beginneth.

Weston the prolocutor.—"Good Christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed I trust; and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his Holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church, to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the

prosperity of the queen's Majesty, and to give a quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

Dr. Smith.—"This day, right learned Master Doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof a controversy among Christians ought to be moved to wit;

"First, Whether the natural body of Christ Saviour, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

"Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

"Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, &c.

"Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and apertly professed your own judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will essay again to demand your sentence in the first question—whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

(The Preface or Protestation of Dr. Ridley before his Disputation.)

"I received of you the other day, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's Majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

"Now, whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must now render an account to my Lord God, (and that how soon, he knoweth,) and that moreover, by the commandment of the apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in us with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: besides this, considering my duty to the church of Christ, and to your Worship, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the

grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers.

"These things I do the rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than I now do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that, which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, or Christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself, and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books: therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me, concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answer of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers."

Weston.—"Reverend Master Doctor, concerning the lack of books, there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, you shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of yourself with further deliberation, it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley.—"There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published: I beseech you for God's sake let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption; not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter."

Weston.—"Among this whole company, it shall be permitted you to take two for your part."

Ridley.—"I will choose two, if there are any here with whom I were acquainted."

Weston.—"Here are two that Master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them if it please you."

Ridley.—"I am content with them; I trust they are honest men."

The first proposition.

"In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood, are really present under the forms of bread and wine."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth. Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the Church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

(The explication.)

Ridley.—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase, in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the Holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men) to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

"First, there is a double sense in these words 'by virtue of God's word,' for it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St. Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter.

"Again, there is a doubt of these words, 'of the priest,' whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of

Aaron, or else after the order of Melchizedek. For as far as I know, the Holy Scripture doth allow no more."

Weston.—"Let this be sufficient."

Ridley.—"If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."

Weston.—"These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vain."

Ridley.—"I cannot start far from you: I am captive and bound."

Weston.—"Fall to it, my masters."

Smith.—"That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."

Ridley.—"Let me alone, I pray you; for I have not much to say behind."

Weston.—"Go forward."

Ridley.—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be taken as the logicians term it *transcendenter*; that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared,) or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God, into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.

"There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shows of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed of the Word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul; and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments: and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

Weston.—"We lose time."

Ridley.—"You shall have time enough."

Weston.—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

Ridley.—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."

Weston.—"Go to; say on."

(The confirmation of the aforesaid answer.)

Ridley.—"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which discenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided.

"But this doctrine of the first proposition is such:

"Ergo, It ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

"The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus:

"This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the Word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

"But such a presence disagreeeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities:

"Ergo, The second part is true.

"The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus:—

Weston.—"Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments."

Smith.—"I will here reason with you upon transubstantiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith; the contrary whereof I prove by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in John vi. there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley.—"It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly; being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words."

Weston.—"Let him read on."

Ridley.—"First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the Holy Scripture.

"Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

"Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

"Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles without necessity and authority of God's word.

"Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics who erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their heresies thereby.

"Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

(The probation of the antecedent or former part of this argument by the parts thereof.)

"This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth, thus:—I tell you the truth. It is profitable for you that I go away, for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you. Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath spoken. The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning. But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice. I will come again and take you to myself. If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcass is, thither the eagles will resort.

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, saith St. Augustine) he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.'

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and, as one of the fathers saith, 'A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.' . .

"It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of John vi.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly

kind of cruelty of the Anthropophagi, that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him."

Pie.—"He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Ridley.—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands."

Weston.—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments, Master Doctor."

Ridley.—"I have not many things more to say."

Weston.—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument."

Ridley.—"It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject; and, instead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed there, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Others affirm, the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good. But another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St. Paul prophesied, Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth. This gross presence hath brought forth that fond fantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.

"It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, who said that Christ had but a phantastical body; and to Eutiches, who wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

"Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius, a martyr and grave writer, saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful, until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Emissene, Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All

those places, as I am sure I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could show the same, if I might have the use of mine own books; which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth, (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists,) that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

"I say and believe that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

"I say also with St. Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; with Emissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life; as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

"I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of his very nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostom; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine.

"Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, (as he writeth,) because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how it we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ."

The second proposition.

"After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance than the substance of God and man."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first, and also of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore, to the answer of the first proposition."

(The first argument for the confirmation of this answer.)

"It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

"But the substance of the bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man:

"Therefore, the conclusion is false.

"The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

(The second argument.)

"That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

"But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread.

"Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede: whose places I will take upon me to show more manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

"Bread is the body of Christ:

"Ergo, it is bread."

(The third argument.)

“As the bread of the Lord’s table is Christ’s natural body, so is it his mystical body.

“But it is not Christ’s mystical body by transubstantiation :

“Ergo, It is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

“The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, This is my body which shall be betrayed for you, speaking there of his natural body; even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, We, though we be many, yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread.”

(The fourth argument.)

“We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

“But the wine is not transubstantiate into his blood :

“Ergo, Neither is that bread, therefore, transubstantiate into his body.

“The first part of this argument is manifest; and the second part is proved out of the authority of God’s word, in Matthew and Mark, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostom on Matt. xx.: as Cyprian doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup.”

(The fifth argument.)

“The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread, have like effect and working.

“But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transubstantiate :

“Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue.

“The second part of the argument is proved; because they would then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup, into the new testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same.”

(The sixth argument.)

“The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the sacrament.

“But the words of the Lord’s supper, the cir-

cumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord’s supper :

“Ergo, A figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, This is my body.

“The circumstances of the Scripture: Do this in remembrance of me. As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show forth the Lord’s death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread. The bread which we break, &c. For we, being many, are all one bread and one body, &c.

“The analogy of the sacraments is necessary: for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper is taken three manner of ways :

“The first consisteth in nourishing; as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenæus, and, most plainly, in Isidore out of Bertram.

“The second in the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

“The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body; so we, by the right use of this sacrament, are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

“The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory, Nazianzen, Hilary, and, most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation: but of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom, (to Cæsarius the monk,) Augustine, (against Adamantus,) Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom Rabanus, Damascene, and Bertram.

“Here, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise, whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his mani-

fold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak."

The third proposition.

"In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiatory and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead."

(The answer of Dr. Ridley.)

Ridley.—"I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first: and moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ."

(The explication.)

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the Holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

"There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed, as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither catechists nor penitents to be sent away.

"Again, touching these words, 'the lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice, (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper,) or properly and without any figure: after the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage; as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge—being apt indeed in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiatory,' whether it signify here, that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the

taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ's flesh (united and knit to the Divinity) to lie hid under the accidents, and outward shows of bread and wine; which is very false, as I have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily mass, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas, by the apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever, the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the apostle) no more offering for sin."

(Arguments confirming his answer.)

"No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

"All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ:

"Ergo, No other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

"The second part of my argument is thus proved.

"No honour in God's church ought to be taken where a man is not called, as Aaron.

"It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin:

"Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

"But only Christ is called to that honour:

"Ergo, No other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident; for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God: namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other."

(Another argument.)

"That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is, wherefore it is done.

"To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all:

"Ergo, To do the same in the mass it is in vain."

(Another argument.)

"After that eternal redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily offering for the same.

"But Christ coming a high bishop, &c., found and obtained for us eternal redemption :

"Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead."

(Another argument.)

"All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

"In the mass there is no shedding of blood :

"Ergo, In the mass there is no remission of sins : and so it followeth also that there is no propitiatory sacrifice."

(Another argument.)

"In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same : yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity : for the apostle saith, Not that he might offer up himself oftentimes (for then must he have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world). Now where Christ is not offered there is no propitiatory sacrifice :

"Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice : For Christ appeared once, in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment : even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And unto them that look for him, shall he appear again without sin unto salvation."

(Another argument.)

"Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

"But in the New Testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever :

"Ergo, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifices."

(Sentences of the Scripture, alleged by Ridley, tending to the same end and purpose ; out of which also may be gathered other manifest arguments for more confirmation thereof.)

"By the which will (saith the apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Je-

sus Christ once for all. And in the same place, But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified ; and, By himself hath he purged our sins."

"I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy. The apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him, that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision."

"He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh."

"Mark, I beseech you ; he saith not, in the mystery of his body, but in the body of his flesh."

"If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins ; not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.

"I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts : the one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a showing-forth, and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which St. Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in the eighty-third chapter of his ninth book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places ; likewise by Eusebius, Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord : that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world ; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed ; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour : and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and showing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross ; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

"These are the things, right worshipful Master Prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books: wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the Church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that is, at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm. But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God; to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory. Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced, I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr. Smith and him.

(Dr. Smith beginneth to oppose.)

Smith.—"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Meseemed you did, in your supposition, abuse the testimonies of Scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament; as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal.

"Christ did ascend into heaven: ergo, he is not in the sacrament.

"Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

"Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."

Ridley.—"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect

it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but upon his ascension and his abiding there also."

Smith.—"Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Ridley.—"Of Christ's real presence, there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven, cannot be on the earth also. But if you mean a real presence, according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace. I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Weston.—"I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt: for whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley.—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence."

Smith.—"Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom: ergo, his ascension and abiding in heaven, is no let to his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"Master Doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not so straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure: for when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time."

Smith.—"Mark, I pray you, my masters that be here, diligently, what he answereth: First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father, is a let to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then, afterward, he flieth from it again."

Ridley.—"I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

Smith.—"Ergo, It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he will himself."

Ridley.—"Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed."

Smith.—"Ergo, He, ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will."

Smith.—"Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in that short argument:

"Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth :

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you, peradventure, would be ashamed of it hereafter."

Smith.—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth :

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"I grant the antecedent; but I deny the consequence."

Smith.—"Do you grant the antecedent?"

Ridley.—"Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true; and I will frame the argument for you.

"He was seen on earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Smith.—"Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth."

Ridley.—"Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith.—"Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?"

Ridley.—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations. Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the Holy Scriptures, as Austin saith: 'The body of Christ is in heaven; but his truth is dispersed in every place.' Now if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his perpetual abiding there, stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal preence of him cannot be in the sacrament."

Smith.—"In Acts iii. we read, that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God, unto the consummation of the world."

Weston.—"I perceive you are come here to this

issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Christ, in very deed, is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: ergo," &c.:—

Ridley.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"I prove it by two witnesses: First by Chrysostom: 'Do we not offer every day? we do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was once offered in the holy place? This sacrifice is a pattern of that: the selfsame we always offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and another to-morrow, but always one and the same lamb. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places, be there many Christs. Not so, but one Christ in all places, both perfect here, and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue:

"We offer one thing at all times.

"There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete.

"Ergo, By Chrysostom, there is one both in heaven and earth."

Ridley.—"I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me."

Weston.—"One Christ is in all places; here full and there full."

Ridley.—"One Christ is in all places; but not one body in all places."

Weston.—"One body, saith Chrysostom."

Ridley.—"But not after the manner of bodily substance he is in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For 'here' and 'there,' in Chrysostom, do assign no place; as Augustine saith, 'The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.' "

Weston.—"You cannot so escape. He saith not the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there."

Ridley.—"One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same."

Weston.—"Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ. But Chrysostom saith, 'One body and one Christ is there;' and not one sacrifice."

Ridley.—"I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ are there; Christ by his Spirit, grace, and verity; the sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant with Chrysostom, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many. And this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. That only

host was never other but that which was once offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples.

"And whereas you allege out of Chrysostom, that Christ is offered in many places at once, (both here full Christ, and there full Christ,) I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostom here speaketh, he himself doth clearly show what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, 'We always do the selfsame, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.'"

Weston.—"The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith: 'How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we, silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth; that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands, and before our eyes, who, both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father; and who also, in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present, one and the selfsame, in many and divers places?'"

Ridley.—"These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same aforesaid place by you alleged: but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover; but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time here now he saith, that the verity of Christ is every where: the verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places."

Weston.—"What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ."

Ridley.—"The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him."

Weston.—"Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words 'in divers places;' and yet I am not satisfied."

Smith.—"Christ was really seen and corporally on

the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father: ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction."

Smith.—"These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really in earth after his ascension. First, you will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father: for so it is written, Heaven must needs receive him, unto the time of the restoring of all, &c. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction."

Ridley.—"What letteth but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will; and yet, notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath been here seen, that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful."

Smith.—"I will prove that he would appear in earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Ridley.—"He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

Smith.—"Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time: ergo, you are deceived in denying that."

Ridley.—"I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly."

Smith.—"He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven.

"But his vision was a corporal vision:

"Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven."

Ridley.—"He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt: and of doubtful things we must judge

doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time when he was corporally on earth."

Smith.—"I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ."

Ridley.—"I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength: for whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again."

Smith.—"Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm."

Ridley.—"You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you should have proved."

Smith.—"You make delays for the nonce."

Ridley.—"Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer well enough, I warrant you."

Tresham.—"He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard: ergo, he was corporally on the earth; or else how could he be heard?"

Ridley.—"He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven."

Smith.—"As others saw him, so Paul saw him."

"Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth."

Ridley.—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth."

Smith.—"He was seen of him as of others."

"But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth:

"Ergo, He was seen of Paul on earth."

Ridley.—"Your controversy is about being on earth. If 'to be' be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover I say, that Christ was seen of men in earth after his ascension, it is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the

third heaven, I know that some contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain."

Smith.—"We have Egesippus and Linus against you, which testify, that Christ appeared corporally on the earth to Peter after his ascension. Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city because of Nero's lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him, he said, 'Master, whither walk you?' Christ answered, 'I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfsame story. St. Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?"

Ridley.—"I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary."

Smith.—"Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?"

Ridley.—"I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me."

Smith.—"Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain."

Ridley.—"The story of Linus is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also, in the Story of the Church. And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit if, at any time, he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us); but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his Divine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father, may, I grant, be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven."

Smith.—"Now, whereas you boast that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will

show here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers: I will bring in Chrysostom for this point. 'Eliseus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance: for it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Elias: he was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be, every one of you, as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that? Elias indeed left his mantle to his scholar: but the Son of God ascending did leave here his flesh unto us. Elias left it, putting off the same: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him.'

Ridley.—"I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a divers manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh: again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For, the 'bread,' which we break, is the communication of the body of Christ: and generally, Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you."

Smith.—"Chrysostom saith: 'O miracle, O good will of God! He that sitteth above, at the sacrifice time, is contained in the hands of men.' Or else as others have translated it, thus: 'O miracle, O the gentleness of God! he that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.'"

Ridley.—"He that sitteth there, is there present in mystery, and by grace; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received: but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men."

Seton.—"Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?"

Ridley.—"Yes, there is a miracle, good sir: Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understand-

eth not the force of that mystery. God grant we may every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same."

Smith.—"Chrysostom calleth it a miracle, the Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men.—Not that he is handled with the hands of men—only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth."

Harpesfield.—"The former place of Chrysostom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of prophecy, to his scholar?"

Ridley.—"Yes, surely; it is a great matter."

Harpesfield.—"Did not Elias then leave great grace?"

Ridley.—"He did so."

Harpesfield.—"But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh."

Ridley.—"I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him: for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ, ascending up, here left with us, is the only salvation and life of all them who shall be saved: which life Christ both here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Harpesfield.—"But Christ performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him: Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also."

Ridley.—"True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace: then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh."

Harpesfield.—"If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question: If Chrysostom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident, could he have used than these?"

Ridley.—"These things be not of so great force as they bear a great show outwardly. He might also have used grosser words if he had listed to have

uttered his mind so grossly : for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments sacramentally."

Harpsfield.—"The comparison lieth in this : That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ."

Ridley.—"I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak : Christ both left his flesh and took it with him."

Harpsfield.—"Elias left behind him, and could not take with him : Christ both left behind him, and also took with him : except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing."

Ridley.—"He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh in earth."

Weston.—"You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh ; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh ; and why do you not understand it in the second place also, for his true flesh ? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is."

Ridley.—"These be taunts and reproaches, not beseeching, as I think, the modesty of this school."

Weston.—"Elias left his cloak to his disciple : but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh ; and yet, ascending, he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason :

"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him :

"Ergo, He is present here with us."

Here Dr. Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Master Doctor answereth it after this fashion : 'He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind.' Assuredly the answer is too unlearned."

Ridley.—"I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers : He left his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us.

Weston.—"Ye judges, what think you of this answer?"

Judges.—"It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer."

Ridley.—"Well, I take your words patiently, for Christ's cause."

Weston here citeth a place : "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ."

Ridley.—"Master Doctor, it is the same blood,

but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the prophets were sprinkled with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation."

Weston.—"Here I bring Bernard unto you again : 'Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the selfsame Christ in many and divers places.'"

Ridley.—"The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places : for God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St. Austin saith, is every where with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye would understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like, a body would you then make Christ's body to be, which should reach even from north to south, from west to east."

Weston.—"Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned."

Ward.—"Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Master Doctor's argument, by which you, being brought into the briers, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else than that which was agreed upon in the catechism of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you."

Ridley.—"Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism."

Weston.—"Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff."

Ridley.—"I compelled no man to subscribe."

Ward.—"Yes, by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy."

Ridley.—"I put forth no catechism."

Cole.—"Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?"

Ridley.—"I grant that I saw the book ; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it : so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it."

Judges.—"The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it."

Ridley.—"I think surely, that he would not say so."

Ward.—"The catechism hath this clause : 'If visibly and on the earth.'"

Ridley.—"I answer, that those articles were set out, I both witting and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Master Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterward. Now, as for the place

which you allege out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience."

Ward.—"Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father: ergo, he was not of so little strength that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself."

Ridley.—"I grant."

Ward.—"Christ was the wisdom of the Father: ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another."

Ridley.—"All this I grant."

Ward.—"Christ was likewise the very truth: ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likewise it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others."

Weston.—"Hilary on Psal. cxviii. hath these words: 'All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed, nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all doubtfulness of superfluous vanity; that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper.'"

Ward.—"He is the truth of the Father: ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially, I mean, when he spake at his latter end, and made his testament."

Ridley.—"Christ is the very truth of the Father; and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, 'This is my body,' which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true."

Ward.—"He took, he brake, he gave, &c. What took he?"

Ridley.—"Bread: his body."

Ward.—"What brake he?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Ward.—"What gave he?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Ward.—"Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?"

Ridley.—"I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread."

Ward.—"I will prove the contrary by Scriptures."

"He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

"But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body:

"Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body."

Ridley.—"I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and

that it was also his body; because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered."

Harpsfield.—"What is he that so saith, 'By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?'"

Ridley.—"I have Theophylact for mine aid for this manner of speaking. And here I bid him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore the same Theophylact, writing upon these words, This is my body, sheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar."

Oglethorpe.—"That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you: for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, 'This is the figure of my body, but my body.' 'For,' saith he, 'by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.'"

Ridley.—"It is not a figure; that is to say, it is not only a figure of his body."

Weston.—"Where have you that word 'only?'"

Ridley.—"It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Augustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Here Weston, repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, "He saith, it is not a figure, and you say, it is a figure. And the same Theophylact saith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

"That which Christ gave, we do give.

"But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body.

"Ergo, We give no figure, but his body."

Ridley.—"I grant," quoth he, "the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ: but not by transubstantiation, but by a sacramental conversion or turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact, in the same place, 'by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ.' He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh. And whereas he saith, 'It is not a figure of the body,' we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add 'only,' that is, it is no naked or bare figure *only*. For Christ is present in his mysteries; neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the Divine mysteries."

Weston.—"You put in 'only,' and that is *only*. And I tell you further, Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain

against him. But mark his words, how he saith, 'It is no figure, but his flesh.'

Ridley.—"To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author."

Harding.—"No other doctor maketh more against you. For the word in Greek is μεταστοιχειῶνται; which is in Latin *trans-elementatur*, that is, turned from one element into another. And showing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith, 'Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man: therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.'"

Ridley.—"That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it over-much, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχειούμεθα, that is, 'We are trans-elemented, or transformed and changed, into the body of Christ:' and so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are changed indeed into the very body of Christ."

Ward.—"Learned Master Doctor, thus you expound the place, This is my body, that is, a figure of my body."

Ridley.—"Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole."

Ward.—"My sheep hear my voice, and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, This is my body, without a figure:

"Ergo, The voice of Christ here hath no figure."

Ridley.—"The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance."

Ward.—"But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech."

Ridley.—"Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches."

Ward.—"Justin Martyr, in his second Apology, hath thus: οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

"Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communimus; imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster incarnatus, habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem: ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutri-

untur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti."

"This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished; 'For we do not take this for common bread and drink, but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.'

"Dr. Cranmer hath thus translated it: 'Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies.'"

Ridley.—"O good Master Doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used."

Ward here repeated the place again out of Justin, 'We are taught,' &c., as above.

Ridley.—"O what upright dealing is this! I have the selfsame place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, which are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place; and that without any just cause."

Ward.—"I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?"

Ridley.—"If you will, that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all."

Weston.—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten:

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar:

"Ergo, There is the very true flesh of Christ."

Ridley.—"If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him: for he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, My flesh is meat indeed," &c.

Ward.—"I have desired with my hearty desire to eat this paschal with you. What paschal, I

pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion: He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal, (his own paschal I say, for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own,) taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body. What say you? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterward he gave in his supper?"

Ridley.—"I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterward of the eucharist."

Ward.—"Nay then Tertullian is against you, who saith:

'He desired to eat his passover.

'But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ:

'Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical passover.'"

Ridley.—"The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own: inasmuch as he is the Lord of all; and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper."

Ward.—"What answer you then to Tertullian, who saith, He desired to eat his own passover, and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?"

Ridley.—"Tertullian may here dally in sense analogical. I know that Cyprian hath these words: 'He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's.'"

Ward.—"Augustine on Psalm xcvi., writing upon these words, Worship his footstool, &c.: 'I ask,' saith he, 'what is the footstool of his feet; and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so, in searching thereof, I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped. For he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh of earth, and because of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked; and also he gave the same flesh to us, to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin not in worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same.'

"He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, &c.

"But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body:

"Ergo, In the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

Ridley.—"You do allege the place of Augustine upon Psalm xcvi., where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross."

Smith.—"What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?"

Ridley.—"I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body; for indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh."

(Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, "Ye say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body."

Ridley.—"I say not so: I say, he gave his own body verily; but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication."

After this, Dr. Glyn began to reason, who (notwithstanding Master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend) made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface Master Ridley, therefore, did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Dr. Glyn's mind was to serve the turn; for afterward he came to the house wherein Master Ridley was kept, and, as far as Master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr. Young and Dr. Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which Master Ridley did even from the very heart; and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that, all offences put apart, they, being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Glyn.—"I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and fathers: I will go to work with you after another sort:—Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley.—"This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter-away of the Scripture, and of the doctors. As touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glyn.—"Then I ask this question; whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?"

Ridley.—"The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance."

Glyn.—"That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist."

"But the church hath never been idolatrous:

"Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist."

Ridley.—"And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament: like as I worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually, (according to his grace,) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction, giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the church of Christ (which is the spouse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often showed, and by a sacramental signification; but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glyn.—"Augustine against Faustus [saith,] 'Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus.' Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Augustine and Cyprian."

Ridley.—"We do handle the signs reverently; but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament."

Glyn.—"What is the symbol or sacrament?"

Ridley.—"Bread."

Glyn.—"Ergo, We worship bread."

Ridley.—"There is a deceit in this word *adoramus*. We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits: but we understand his benefits to be greatest in the sacrament."

Glyn.—"So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ; and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ."

Ridley.—"We adore and worship Christ in the

eucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament."

Glyn.—"So was the faith of the primitive church."

Ridley.—"Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church."

Glyn.—"Think you that Christ hath now his church?"

Ridley.—"I do so."

Glyn.—"But all the church adoreth Christ verily and really in the sacrament."

Ridley.—"You know yourself, that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation; as appeareth in the council of Florence."

Cole.—"That is false: for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation; although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do."

Ridley.—"Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the article was propounded unto them."

Cole.—"It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do."

Curtop.—"Reverend sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom. The place is this:

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ:

"But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ:

"Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup."

Ridley.—"It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.—Again I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us; so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ: but that sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body. Even so likewise the cup is called the blood also, which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity; namely, for our spiritual nourishment: like as baptism is ordained in water to spiritual regeneration."

Curtop.—"The sacrament of the blood is not the blood."

Ridley.—"The sacrament of the blood is the blood; and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament."

(Here Weston repeateth *Curtop*'s argument in English.)

Weston.—"That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side."

"But there came out very blood:

"Ergo, There is very blood in the chalice."

Ridley.—"The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament."

Weston.—"That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice."

Ridley.—"It is true; but by grace, and in a sacrament."

(Here the people hissed at him.)

Ridley.—"O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God's judgment."

Watson.—"Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disputation: and therefore first I ask this question: When Christ said in John vi., He that eateth my flesh, &c., doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

Ridley.—"I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manducation: for without the spirit to eat the sacrament, is to eat it unprofitably; for whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Watson.—"I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

Watson.—"Is it instituted of God?"

Ridley.—"It is instituted of God."

Watson.—"Where?"

Ridley.—"In the supper."

Watson.—"With what words is it made a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same."

Watson.—"It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive."

Ridley.—"True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament; but as by an instrument. The inward

virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."

Watson.—"What is a sacrament?"

Ridley.—"I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Augustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace."

Watson.—"Ergo, grace is given to the receivers."

Ridley.—"The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."

Watson.—"But there is difference between the mystical body and natural body."

Ridley.—"There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one."

Watson.—"The eucharist is a sacrament of the New Testament:

"Ergo, It hath a promise of grace."

"But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

"Ergo, Bread and wine be not the sacraments of the New Testament."

Ridley.—"I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ? And like as he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament."

Watson.—"If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine."

"But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood."

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine remaineth not."

Ridley.—"The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and blood, but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith."

Watson.—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it: but bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto them:

"Ergo, The bread and wine are not sacraments."

Ridley.—"True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word 'hath:' for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given: not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water."

Watson.—"This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ; and not to the bread and wine:

"Ergo, The sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ."

Ridley.—"There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood."

Watson.—"Every sacrament of the New Testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it."

Ridley.—"This sacrament hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine."

Watson.—"But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine."

Ridley.—"That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread, there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify."

Watson.—"Where is that promise made?"

Ridley.—"The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And we being many are one bread, one body of Christ."

Watson.—"What doth he mean by bread in that place?"

Ridley.—"The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ."

Watson.—"Hearken what Chrysostom saith upon that place: 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?' Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting; for likewise as that body is co-united to

Christ, so also we, by the same bread, are conjoined and united to him."

Ridley.—"Let Chrysostom have his manner of speaking, and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me, to name it true bread."

Watson.—"All," saith Chrysostom, 'which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call,' saith he, 'this communicating? We are all the selfsame body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The body of Christ: for many are but one body.' Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you: 'All we be one bread and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ.'"

Ridley.—"All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration, or quickening."

Watson.—"Of what manner of bread speaketh he?"

Ridley.—"Of the bread of the Lord's table."

Watson.—"Is not that bread one?"

Ridley.—"It is one of the church being one; because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord."

Watson.—"See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?"

Ridley.—"All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which being one, all we together do participate."

Watson.—"A perverse answer. Which all? Mean you all Christian men?"

Ridley.—"I do distribute this word 'all;' for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts: all, I say, which were in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table."

Watson.—"What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?"

Fecknam.—"But Cyprian saith, 'Bread which no multitude doth consume:' which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ."

Ridley.—"Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread."

Fecknam.—"Nay, rather he did there entreat of the sacrament in that tractation De Cœna Domini, writing upon the supper of the Lord."

Ridley.—"Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but, also, he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation."

Smith.—"When the Lord saith, This is my body,' he useth no tropical speech:

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley.—"I deny your antecedent."

Smith.—"I bring here Augustine expounding these words, He was carried in his own hands: 'How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, 'This is my body:' for he carried that same body in his own hands, &c. Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry himself in his own hands. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter.' For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'"

Ridley.—"I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Austin could not find, after his own understanding, how this could be understood of David after the letter. Austin goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Austin be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet, to grant to you this exposition of Austin, I say yet, notwithstanding, it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples."

Smith.—"Ergo, It is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands."

Ridley.—"He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*."

"I grant that St. Austin saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, and that it is found of Christ. But this word *ad literam*, literally, you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St. Augustine's meaning is this; that it is not read any where in the Bible, that this carnal David, the son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands; but of that spiritual David, that overthrew Goliath the devil, (that is, of Christ our Saviour, the Son of the Virgin,) it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his

own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St. Austin hath these words, *quodam modo*, after a certain manner; which manifestly declare, how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."

Smith.—"When then was he borne in his own hands; and after what letter?"

Ridley.—"He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, 'This is my body.'"

Smith.—"Every man may bear in his own hand a figure of his body. But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands:

"Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his body."

Ridley.—"If Austin could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ."

Smith.—"But he did bear himself in his own hands."

"Ergo, He did not bear a figure only."

Ridley.—"He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Austin afterward addeth, *quodam modo* that is, sacramentally."

Smith.—"You understand not what Austin meant when he said, *quodam modo*: for he meant that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread."

"Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth."

Dr. Weston repeated this place again in English: which done, then Dr. Tresham began thus to speak moved (as it seemed to Master Ridley) with great zeal; and desired that he might be in the stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence: but afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing.

Tresham.—"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, Which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted. The wise man saith, Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother: but you dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set nought by her."

Ridley.—"These by-words do pollute your school."

Tresham.—"If there were an Arian which had

that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and fathers."

Weston.—"Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham.—"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council, representing the universal church, wherein were congregated three hundred bishops, and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic."

Ridley.—"Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."

One of the scribes.—"What! will you deny then the authority of that council, for the multitude of those priors?"

Ridley.—"No, sir, not so much for that cause, as for that, especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Tresham.—"What! do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, "Write, write."

Ridley.—"No, sir, I receive not that council; write, and write again."

Tresham.—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ; ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar."

Ridley.—"Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further; as St. Augustine saith. But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace."

Tresham.—"I prove the contrary, by St. Augustine: 'Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,' &c. And a little after, 'Because some do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not, therefore, that it is not his body.'"

Ridley.—"It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Austin hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he saith, 'The bread of the Lord, the

bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread the Lord. But good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.'"

Weston.—"Paul saith, the body, and you say, the sacrament of the body."

Ridley.—"Paul meaneth so indeed."

Watson.—"You understand it evil concerning the sign: for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven."

Ridley.—"They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you:" and so here he cited the place.

Weston.—"I bring Theophylact, which saith, that Judas did taste the body of the Lord. 'The Lord did show the cruelty of Judas, who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's flesh,' &c."

Ridley.—"This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors: He tasted the flesh of the Lord 'insensibly;' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh."

Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him."

Ridley.—"That is, because they defile the Lord's body: for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but good men eat both the sacrament, and the matter of the sacrament."

Watson.—"You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these: 'Let us not look a-low by the ground, upon the bread and the drink set before us, but, lifting up our mind, let us faithfully believe, there upon that holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests.'"

Ridley.—"That council was collected out of ancient fathers; and is to me a great authority; for it saith, 'that bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.' The words of the council make for me."

Watson.—"With a mind exalted: that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them. 'The Lamb of God lieth on the table,' saith the council."

Ridley.—"The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power; not corporally."

Watson.—"But the Lamb of God lieth on the table."

Ridley.—"It is a figurative speech; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven."

Watson.—"But he lieth there, the Greek word is *κείται*."

Ridley.—"He lieth there; that is, he is there present: not corporally, but he lieth there by his operation."

Watson.—"He lieth; but his operation lieth not."

Ridley.—"You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord: for we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge: but all things are here to be understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table; but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same canon doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? 'But rather,' saith the canon, 'lifting up our minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table.' 'For a lifted-up faith,' saith he, 'seeth him which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body set by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table.'"

Smith.—"I bring another place out of the council of Nice: 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said, the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.'

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley.—"This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times."

Then came in another, whom Master Ridley knew not, and said: "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament; that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."

Ridley.—"I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of

Florence, wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto I confess it was left for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread."

Here cried out Dr. Cole, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Master Ridley said that could not be.

Here started up another unknown to Master Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; but the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church to whom Master Ridley answered again, saying that he said the truth.

Pie.—"What say you to that council, where is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?"

Ridley.—"I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

Pie.—"But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice."

Ridley.—"It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and is a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, who saith Christ to be offered."

Weston.—"I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostom, and I will teach, not only a figure, and a sign or grace only, but the very same body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist."

"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger."

"But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual:

"Ergo, The real body of Christ is in the eucharist."

"Again, the same Chrysostom saith, 'We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar. Here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.'"

Ridley.—"We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery; and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St. Augustine, not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself from the Divine

mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh: even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly ministered."

Weston.—"That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest."

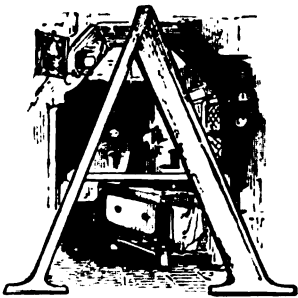
Ridley.—"I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body."

(Weston repeated again his argument out of Chrysostom in English.)

Ridley.—"I say that the author meant it spiritually."

(Weston here, dissolving the disputations, had these words: "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see, this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note, (and he began, and they followed,) 'Verity hath the victory,' 'Verity hath the victory.'")

The disputation had at Oxford the eighteenth day of April, 1554, between Master Hugh Latimer, answerer, and Master Smith, and other opposers.



AFTER these disputations of Bishop Ridley ended, next was brought out Master Hugh Latimer to dispute, upon Wednesday, which was the eighteenth day

of April; which disputation began at eight of the clock, in such form as before: but it was most in English. For Master Latimer, the answerer, alleged that he was out of use with the Latin, and unfit for that place.

There replied unto him Master Smith of Oriel college; Dr. Cartwright, Master Harpsfield, and divers others, had snatches at him, and gave him bitter taunts. He escaped not hissings and scornful laughings, no more than they that went before him. He was very faint, and desired that he might not long tarry. He durst not drink for fear of vomiting. The disputation ended before eleven of the clock. Master Latimer was not suffered to read what he had (as he said) painfully written: but it

was exhibited up, and the prolocutor read part thereof, and so proceeded unto the disputation.

(The preface of Weston unto the disputation following.)

Weston.—"Men and brethren! we are come together this day, (by the help of God,) to vanquish the strength of the arguments, and dispersed opinions of adversaries, against the truth of the real presence of the Lord's body in the sacrament. And therefore, you father, if you have any thing to answer, I do admonish you that you answer in short and few words."

Latimer.—"I pray you, good Master Prolocutor, do not exact that of me, which is not in me, I have not these twenty years much used the Latin tongue."

Weston.—"Take your ease, father."

Latimer.—"I thank you, sir, I am well; let me here protest my faith, for I am not able to dispute; and afterwards do your pleasure with me."

The protestation of Master Hugh Latimer, given up in writing to Dr. Weston.

"The conclusions whereunto I must answer are these:

"The first is, that in the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word pronounced by the priest, there is really present the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, under the kinds of the appearance of bread and wine: in like manner his blood.

"The second is, that after consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, but the substance of God and man.

"The third is, that in the mass there is the lively sacrifice of the church, which is propitiabile, as well for the sins of the quick, as of the dead.

"Concerning the first conclusion, methinketh it is set forth with certain new-found terms that be obscure, and do not sound according to the speech of the Scripture. Howbeit, howsoever I understand it, this I do answer plainly, though not without peril—I answer, I say, that to the right celebration of the Lord's supper there is no other presence of Christ required, than a spiritual presence: and this presence is sufficient for a Christian man, as a presence by which we abide in Christ, and Christ abideth in us, to the obtaining of eternal life, if we persevere. And this same presence may be called most fitly a real presence; that is, a presence not feigned, but a true and a faithful presence: which thing I here rehearse, lest some sycophant or scorner should suppose me, with the Anabaptists,

to make nothing else of the sacrament, but a naked and a bare sign. As for that which is feigned of many, concerning their corporal presence, I, for my part, take it but for a papistical invention; therefore think it utterly to be rejected.

"Concerning the second conclusion, I dare be bold to say, that it hath no stay or ground in God's word, but is a thing invented and found out by man; and therefore to be taken as fond and false: and I had almost said, as the mother and nurse of the other errors. It were good for my lords and masters of the transubstantiation, to take heed lest they conspire with the Nestorians, for I do not see how they can avoid it.

"The third conclusion (as I do understand it) seemeth subtly to sow sedition against the offering which Christ himself offered for us in his own proper person, according to that pithy place of Paul, where he saith, That Christ, his own self, hath made purgation of our sins. And afterward, That he might, saith he, be a merciful bishop, concerning those things which are to be done with God, for the taking away of our sins. So that the expiation or taking away of our sins, may be thought rather to depend on this, that Christ was an offering bishop, than that he was offered, were it not that he was offered of himself: and therefore it is needless that he should be offered of any other. I will speak nothing of the wonderful presumption of man, to dare to attempt this thing without a manifest vocation, specially in that it tendeth to the overthrowing and making fruitless (if not wholly, yet partly) of the cross of Christ; for truly it is no base or mean thing to offer Christ. And therefore worthily a man may say to my lords and masters the offerers, By what authority do ye this, and who gave you this authority?—Where? when?—A man cannot, saith the Baptist, take any thing except it be given him from above: much less then may any man presume to usurp any honour, before he be thereto called. Again, If any man sin, saith St. John, we have, saith he,—(not a master or offerer at home, which can sacrifice for us at mass; but we have, saith he,) an advocate, Jesus Christ, which once offered himself long ago; of which offering the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever, so that it is needless to have such offerers.

"What meaneth Paul, when he saith, They that serve at the altar are partakers of the altar? and so addeth, So the Lord hath ordained, that they that preach the gospel, shall live of the gospel.—Whereas he should have said, The Lord hath ordained, that they that sacrifice at mass, should live of their sacrificing; that there might be a living assigned to our sacrificers now, as was before Christ's coming, to the

Jewish priests. For now they have nothing to allege for their living, as they that be preachers have. So that it appeareth, that the sacrificing priesthood is changed by God's ordinance into a preaching priesthood; and the sacrificing priesthood shall cease utterly, saving inasmuch as all Christians are sacrificing priests.

"The supper of the Lord was instituted to provoke us to thanksgiving for the offering which the Lord himself did offer for us, much rather than that our offerers should do there as they do. *Ferd.* But Peter, as much as ye may, the flock of Christ: rather, let us *sacrifice* as much as we may, for the flock of Christ. If so be the matter be as now we make it, I can never wonder enough, that Peter would or could forget this office of sacrificing, which, at this day, is in such a price and estimation that to feed is almost nothing with many. If he cease from feeding the flock, how shalt thou be taken? Truly, catholic enough. But if thou cease from sacrificing and massing, how will that be taken? At the least, I warrant thee, thou shalt be called heretic. And whence, I pray you, come these papistical judgments? except, perchance, they think a man feedeth the flock, in sacrificing for them: and then what needeth there any learned pastors? For no man is so foolish, but soon may he learn to sacrifice and mass it.

"Thus, lo! I have taken the more pains to write, because I refused to dispute, in consideration of my debility thereunto: that all men may know, how that I have so done not without great pains, having not any man to help me, as I have never before been debarred to have. Oh, sir! you may chance to live till you come to this age and weakness that I am of. I have spoken in my time before two kings more than once, two or three hours together, without interruption; but now, that I may speak the truth, (by your leave,) I could not be suffered to declare my mind before you, no, not by the space of a quarter of an hour, without snatches, revellings, checks, rebukes, taunts, such as I have not felt the like, in such an audience, all my life long.

"Surely it cannot be but a heinous offence that I have given. But what was it? Forsooth I have spoken of the four marrow-bones of the mass; the which kind of speaking I never read to be said against the Holy Ghost. I could not be allowed to show what I meant by my metaphor; but, sir, now, by your favour, I will tell your master what I mean:—

"The first, is 'the popish consecration,' which hath been called a god's body-making. The second, is 'transubstantiation.' The third, is 'the Missal oblation.' The fourth, 'adoration.'

"These chief and principal portions, parts, and points, belonging or incident to the mass, and most esteemed and had in price in the same, I call 'the marrow-bones of the mass;' which indeed you, by force, might, and violence, intrude in sound of words in some of the Scripture, with racking and cramping, injuring and wronging the same: but else, indeed, plain out of the Scripture, as I am thoroughly persuaded; although in disputation I now could nothing do to persuade the same to others, being both unapt to study, and also to make a show of my former study, in such readiness as should be requisite to the same.

"I have heard much talk of Master Doctor Weston to and fro in my time: but I never knew your person to my knowledge, till I came before you, as the queen's Majesty's commissioner. I pray God send you so right judgment, as I perceive you have a great wit, the great learning, with many other qualities. God give you grace ever well to use them, and ever to have in remembrance, that he that dwelleth on high, looketh on the low things on the earth; and that there is no counsel against the Lord; and also that this world hath been, and yet is, a tottering world. And yet again, that though we must obey the princes, yet that hath this limitation; namely, in the Lord. For whoso doth obey them against the Lord, they be most pernicious to them, and the greatest adversaries that they have; for they so procure God's vengeance upon them, if God be only the ruler of things.

"There be some so corrupt in mind, the truth being taken from them, that they think gain to be godliness; great learned men, and yet men of no learning, but of railing, and raging about questions and strife of words. I call them men of no learning, because they know not Christ, how much else soever they know. And on this sort we are wont to call great learned clerks, being ignorant of Christ, unlearned men; for it is nothing but plain ignorance, to know any thing without Christ: whereas whoso knoweth Christ, the same hath knowledge enough, although in other knowledge he be to seek. The apostle St. Paul confesseth of himself to the Corinthians, that he did know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified. Many men babble many things of Christ which yet know not Christ; but, pretending Christ, do craftily colour and darken his glory. Depart from such men, saith the apostle St. Paul to Timothy.

"It is not out of the way to remember what St. Augustine saith. The place where, I now well remember not, except it be against the epistles of Petilian: 'Whosoever,' saith he, 'teacheth any thing necessarily to be believed, which is not contained in

the Old and New Testament, the same is accursed.' Oh! beware of this curse if you be wise. I am much deceived if Basil have not such like words: 'Whatsoever,' saith he, 'is beside the Holy Scripture, if the same be taught as necessarily to be believed, that is sin.' Oh therefore take heed of this sin!

"There be some that speak many false things more probable, and more like to the truth, than the truth itself. Therefore Paul giveth a watchword: Let no man, saith he, deceive you with probability and persuasions of words.—'But what mean you,' saith one, 'by this talk so far from the matter?' Well, I hope, good masters, you will suffer an old man a little to play the child, and to speak one thing twice. O Lord God!—you have changed the most holy communion into a private action; and you deny to the laity the Lord's cup, contrary to Christ's commandment. And you do blemish the annunciation of the Lord's death till he come; for you have changed the common prayer, called the divine service, with the administration of the sacraments, from the vulgar and known language, into a strange tongue, contrary to the will of the Lord revealed in his word. God open the door of your heart, to see the things you should see herein! I would as fain obey my sovereign as any in this realm; but, in these things, I can never do it with an upright conscience. God be merciful unto us. Amen!"

Weston.—"Then refuse you to dispute? Will you here then subscribe?"

Latimer.—"No, good master; I pray be good to an old man. You may, if it please God, be once old, as I am: you may come to this age, and to this debility."

Weston.—"Ye said, upon Saturday last, that ye could not find the mass, nor the marrow-bones thereof, in your book: but *we* will find a mass in that book."

Latimer.—"No, good Master Doctor, ye cannot."

Weston.—"What find you then there?"

Latimer.—"Forsooth, a communion I find there."

Weston.—"Which communion?—the first or the last?"

Latimer.—"I find no great diversity in them; they are one supper of the Lord; but I like the last very well."

Weston.—"Then the first was naught, belike."

Latimer.—"I do not well remember wherein they differ."

Weston.—"Then cake-bread and loaf-bread are all one with you. Ye call it the supper of the Lord,

but you are deceived in that: for they had done the supper before, and therefore the Scripture saith, 'after they had supped.' For ye know that St. Paul findeth fault with the Corinthians, for that some of them were drunken at this supper; and ye know no man can be drunken at our communion."

Latimer.—"The first was called 'The Jewish supper,' when they did eat the paschal lamb together; the other was called 'The Lord's supper.'"

Weston.—"That is false; for Chrysostom denieth that. And St. Ambrose, on 1 Cor. x., saith, that 'the mystery of the sacrament, given as they were at supper,' is not the supper of the Lord.' And Gregory Nazianzen saith the same: 'Again he kept the holy feast of passover with his disciples in the dining chamber, after the supper, and one day before his passion. But we keep it both in the churches and houses of prayer, both before the supper, and also after the resurrection. And that first supper was called ἀγάπη: can you tell what that is?'"

Latimer.—"I understand no Greek: yet I think it meaneth charity."

Weston.—"Will you have all things done that Christ did then? Why, then, must the priest be hanged on the morrow.—And where find you, I pray you, that a woman should receive the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to turn my book: I find it in 1 Cor. xi. I trow these be his words: *probet autem seipsum homo*, &c.—I pray you, good master, what gender is *homo*?"

Weston.—"Marry, the common gender."

Cole.—"It is in the Greek, ὁ ἄνθρωπος."

Harpfield.—"It is ἀνρ, that is, *vir*."

Latimer.—"It is in my book of Erasmus's translation, *probet seipsum homo*."

Fecknam.—"It is *probet seipsum* indeed, and therefore it importeth the masculine gender."

Latimer.—"What then? I trow when the woman touched Christ, he said, Who touched me? I know that some man touched me."

Weston.—"I will be at host with you anon.—When Christ was at his supper, none were with him but his apostles only: ergo, he meant no woman, if you will have his institution kept."

Latimer.—"In the twelve apostles was represented the whole church, in which you will grant both men and women to be."

Weston.—"So through the whole heretically translated Bible ye never make mention of priest, till ye come to the putting of Christ to death. Where find you then that a priest or minister (a minstrel, I may call him well enough) should do it of necessity?"

Latimer.—"A minister is a more fit name for

that office; for the name of a priest importeth sacrifice."

Weston.—"Well, remember that ye cannot fix that a woman may receive by Scripture. Master Opponent, fall to it."

Smith.—"Because I perceive that this day is laid upon my neck to dispute with you: to end that the same may go forward after a right manner and order, I will propose three questions as they are put forth unto me. And first I ask to question of you, although the same indeed ought not to be called in question; but such is the condition of the church, that it is always vexed of a wicked sort. I ask, I say, whether Christ be really in the sacrament?"

Latimer.—"I trust I have obtained of Master Prolocutor, that no man shall exact that thing of me, which is not in me. And I am sorry that this worshipful audience should be deceived of their expectation for my sake. I have given up my mind in writing to Master Prolocutor."

Smith.—"Whatsoever ye have given up, it shall be registered among the acts."

Latimer.—"Disputation requireth a good memory; my memory is gone clean, and marvelously weakened, and never the better, I wis, for the prison."

Weston.—"How long have ye been in prison?"

Latimer.—"These three quarters of this year."

Weston.—"And I was in prison six years."

Latimer.—"The more pity, sir."

Weston.—"How long have you been of this opinion?"

Latimer.—"It is not long, sir, that I have been of this opinion."

Weston.—"The time hath been, when you said mass full devoutly."

Latimer.—"Yea, I cry God mercy heartily for it."

Weston.—"Where learned you this new-fangledness?"

Latimer.—"I have long sought for the truth in this matter of the sacrament, and have not been of this mind past seven years: and my Lord of Canterbury's book hath especially confirmed my judgment herein. If I could remember all therein contained, I would not fear to answer any man in this matter."

Tresham.—"There are in that book six hundred errors."

Weston.—"You were once a Lutheran."

Latimer.—"No, I was a papist: for I never could perceive how Luther could defend his opinion without transubstantiation. The Zurichers once did write a book against Luther, and I oft desired God, that he might live so long to make them answer."

Weston.—"Luther, in his book *De privata Missa*, said, that the devil reasoned with him, and persuaded him that the mass was not good. Whereof it may appear, that Luther said mass, and the devil dissuaded him from it."

Latimer.—"I do not take in hand here to defend Luther's sayings or doings. If he were here, he would defend himself well enough, I trow. I told you before, that I am not meet for disputations. I pray you read mine answer, wherein I have declared my faith."

Weston.—"Do you believe this, as you have written?"

Latimer.—"Yea, sir."

Weston.—"Then have you no faith."

Latimer.—"Then would I be sorry, sir."

Tresham.—"It is written, Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you. Which when the Capernaïtes, and many of Christ's disciples, heard, they said, This is a hard saying, &c. Now that the truth may the better appear, here I ask of you, whether Christ, speaking these words, did mean of his flesh to be eaten with the mouth, or the spiritual eating of the same?"

Latimer.—"I answer as Augustine understandeth: that Christ meant of the spiritual eating of his flesh."

Tresham.—"Of what flesh meant Christ? his true flesh, or no?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh, spiritually to be eaten in the supper by faith, and not corporally."

Tresham.—"Of what flesh mean the Capernaïtes?"

Latimer.—"Of his true flesh also; but to be taken with the mouth."

Tresham.—"They, as ye confess, did mean his true flesh to be taken with the mouth. And Christ also, as I shall prove, did speak of the receiving of his flesh with the mouth. Ergo, they both did understand it of the eating of one thing, which is done by the mouth of the body."

Latimer.—"I say, Christ understood it not of the bodily mouth, but of the mouth of the spirit, mind, and heart."

Tresham.—"I prove the contrary, that Christ understandeth it of the eating with the bodily mouth. For whereas custom is a right good mistress and interpreter of things, and whereas the acts put in practice by Christ, do certainly declare those things which he first spake: Christ's deeds in his supper, where he gave his body to be taken with the mouth, together with the custom which hath been ever since that time, of that eating which is done with the mouth, doth evidently infer that Christ did un-

derstand his words, here cited of me out of John vi., of the eating with the mouth."

Latimer.—"He gave not his body to be received with the mouth, but he gave the sacrament of his body to be received with the mouth: he gave the sacrament to the mouth, his body to the mind."

Tresham.—"But my reason doth conclude, that Christ spake concerning his flesh to be received with the corporal mouth: for otherwise (which God forbid) he had been a deceiver, and had not been offensive to the Capernaïtes and his disciples, if he had not meant in this point as they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do feign, it had been an easy matter for him to have said, You shall not eat my flesh with your mouth, but the sacrament of my flesh; that is to say, ye shall receive with your mouth not the thing itself, but the figure of the thing; and thus he might have satisfied them: but so he said not, but continued in the truth of his words, as he was wont. Therefore Christ meant the selfsame thing that the Capernaïtes did, I mean concerning the thing itself to be received with the mouth; videlicet, that his true flesh is truly to be eaten with the mouth. Moreover, forasmuch as you do expound for 'the body of Christ,' 'the sacrament of the body of Christ,' and hereby do suppose that we obtain but a spiritual union, or union of the mind between us and Christ, plain it is, that you are deceived in this thing, and do err from the mind of the fathers: for they affirm by plain and express words, that we are corporally and carnally joined together. And these be the words of Hilary: 'Therefore, if Christ did truly take the flesh of our body upon him, and the same man be Christ indeed, which was born of Mary; then we also do receive under a mystery the flesh of his body indeed, and thereby shall become one; because the Father is in him, and he in us. How is the unity of will affirmed, when a natural propriety by the sacrament is a perfect sacrament of unity?' Thus far hath Hilary. Lo! here you see how manifestly these words confound your assertion. To be short, I myself have heard you preaching at Greenwich before King Henry the Eighth, where you did openly affirm, that no Christian man ought to doubt of the true and real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, forasmuch as he had the word of Scripture on his side; videlicet, This is my body; whereby he might be confirmed. But now there is the same truth; the word of Scripture hath the selfsame thing which it then had. Therefore why do you deny at this present that, whereof it was not lawful once to doubt before, when you taught it?"

Latimer.—"Will you give me leave to speak?"

Tresham.—"Speak Latin, I pray you; for ye can do it, if ye list, promptly enough."

Latimer.—"I cannot speak Latin so long and so largely. Master Prolocutor hath given me leave to speak English. And as for the words of Hilary, I think they make not so much for you. But he that shall answer the doctors, had not need to be in my case, but should have them in a readiness, and know their purpose. Melancthon saith, 'If the doctors had foreseen that they should have been so taken in this controversy, they would have written more plainly.'"

Smith.—"I will reduce the words of Hilary into the form of a syllogism.

"Such as is the unity of our flesh with Christ's flesh, such, yea greater, is the unity of Christ with the Father.

"But the unity of Christ's flesh with ours, is true and substantial:

"Ergo, The unity of Christ with the Father, is true and substantial."

Latimer.—"I understand you not."

Seton.—"I know your learning well enough, and how subtle ye be: I will use a few words with you, and that out of Cyprian, De Cœna Domini. 'The Old Testament doth forbid the drinking of blood. The New Testament doth command the drinking and tasting of blood: but where doth it command the drinking of blood?'"

Latimer.—"In these words, Drink ye all of this."

Seton.—"Then we taste true blood."

Latimer.—"We do taste true blood, but spiritually; and this is enough."

Seton.—"Nay, the Old and New Testament in this do differ: for the one doth command, and the other doth forbid, to drink blood."

Latimer.—"It is true as touching the matter; but not as touching the manner of the thing."

Seton.—"Then there is no difference between the drinking of blood in the New Testament, and that of the Old: for they also drank spiritually."

Latimer.—"And we drink spiritually, also; but a more precious blood."

Weston.—"Augustine, upon the 45th Psalm, saith, 'Drink boldly the blood which ye have poured out.'—Ergo, it is blood."

Latimer.—"I never denied it, nor ever will I go from it, but that we drink the very blood of Christ indeed, but spiritually: for the same St. Augustine saith, 'Believe, and thou hast eaten.'"

Weston.—"Nay, 'To believe, is not to drink or eat.' You will not say, I pledge you, when I say, I believe in God."

Latimer.—"Is not 'to eat,' in your learning, for 'to believe?'"

Weston.—"I remember my lord chancellor commanded Master Hooper of these questions, where 'to eat,' were 'to believe;' and 'an altar,' was Christ, in all the Scripture, &c.: and he answered, 'Yea.' Then said my lord chancellor, 'Why? We have an altar of which it is not lawful to eat: as much to say, We have a Christ in whom we may not believe.'"

Tresham.—"Believe, and thou hast eaten: is spoken of the spiritual eating."

Latimer.—"It is true, I do allow your saying: I take it so also."

Weston.—"We are commanded to drink blood in the new law.—Ergo, it is very blood."

Latimer.—"We drink blood, so as appetites us to us to drink to our comfort, in sacramental way. We drink blood sacramentally: he gave us his blood to drink spiritually: he went about to show, but as certain as we drink wine, so certainly we drink his blood spiritually."

Weston.—"Do not you seem to be a papist, which do bring in new words, not found in Scripture? Where find you that 'sacramentally,' is God's book?"

Latimer.—"It is necessarily gathered out of Scripture."

Weston.—"The Old Testament doth forbid the tasting of blood, but the New doth command it."

Latimer.—"It is true, not as touching the thing, but as touching the manner thereof."

Weston.—"Hear, ye people, this is the argument:—

"That which was forbidden in the Old Testament, is commanded in the New.

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament, and commanded in the New:

"Ergo, It is very blood that we drink in the New."

Latimer.—"It is commanded spiritually to be drunk. I grant it is blood drunk in the New Testament, but we receive it spiritually."

Pie.—"It was not forbidden spiritually in the old law."

Latimer.—"The substance of blood is drunk: but not in one manner."

Pie.—"It doth not require the same manner of drinking."

Latimer.—"It is the same thing, not the same manner. I have no more to say."

[Here Weston cited the place of Chrysostom, of Judas's treason: "O the madness of Judas! He made bargain with the Jews for thirty pence to

all Christ, and Christ offered him his blood, which he sold.”]

Latimer.—“I grant he offered to Judas his blood, which he sold, but in a sacrament.”

Weston.—“Because ye can defend your doctors so better, ye shall see what worshipful men ye hang upon, and one that hath been of your mind shall dispute with you.—Master Cartwright, I pray you dispute.”

Cartwright.—“Reverend father, because it is given me in commandment to dispute with you, I will do it gladly. But first understand, ere we go any further, that I was in the same error that you are in: but I am sorry for it, and do confess myself to have erred. I acknowledge mine offence, and I wish and desire God, that you may also repent with me.”

Latimer.—“Will you give me leave to tell what hath caused Master Doctor here to recant? It is ‘the pain of the law,’ which hath brought you back, and converted you, and many more; he which letteth many to confess God. And this is a great argument, there are few here can dissolve it.”

Cartwright.—“That is not my cause; but I will make you this short argument, by which I was converted from mine errors.

“If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles’ time.

“But Christ would not suffer his church to err:

“Ergo, It is the true body of Christ.”

Latimer.—“The popish church hath erred, and doth err. I think for the space of six or seven hundred years, there was no mention made of any eating but spiritually: for, before these five hundred years, the church did ever confess a spiritual manducation. But the Romish church begat the error of transubstantiation. My Lord of Canterbury’s book handleth that very well, and by him I could answer you, if I had him.”

Cartwright.—“Linus and all the rest do confess the body of Christ to be in the sacrament: and St. Augustine also, upon Psalm xcvi., upon this place, *Adorate scabellum pedum*, &c., granteth that it is to be worshipped.”

Latimer.—“We do worship Christ in the heavens, and we do worship him in the sacrament: but the massing worship is not to be used.”

Smith.—“Do you think that Cyril was of the ancient church?”

Latimer.—“I do think so.”

Smith.—“He saith, ‘That Christ dwelleth in us corporally.’ These be Cyril’s words of the mystical benediction.”

Latimer.—“That ‘corporally’ hath another understanding than you do grossly take it.”

[Here Smith repeateth these words of Cyril, “By the communicating of the body of Christ, Christ dwelleth in us corporally.”]

Latimer.—“The solution of this, is in my Lord of Canterbury’s book.”

Smith.—“Cyril was no papist, and yet these be his words, ‘Christ dwelleth in us corporally:’ but you say, he dwelleth in us spiritually.”

Latimer.—“I say, both; that he dwelleth in us both corporally and spiritually, according to his meaning: spiritually by faith, and corporally by taking our flesh upon him. For I remember I have read this in my Lord of Canterbury’s book.”

Weston.—“Because your learning is let out to farm, and shut up in my Lord of Canterbury’s book, I will recite unto you a place of St. Ambrose, where he saith, ‘We see the chief priest coming unto us, and offering blood,’ &c. Likewise both Augustine on Psalm xxxviii., and Chrysostom, concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, say, *Non so um homines*, &c.”

Latimer.—“I am not ashamed to acknowledge mine ignorance; and these testimonies are more than I can bear away.”

Weston.—“Then you must leave some behind you, for lack of carriage.”

Latimer.—“But for Chrysostom, he hath many figurative speeches, and emphatical locutions in many places; as in that which you have now recited: but he saith not, ‘For the quick and the dead:’ He taketh the celebration for the sacrifice.”

Weston.—“You shall hear Chrysostom again, upon Acts ix., ‘What say you? The host in the hands of the priest,’ &c.:—He doth not call it a cup of wine.”

Latimer.—“Ye have mine answer there with you in a paper: and yet he calleth it not, a propitiatory sacrifice.”

Weston.—“You shall hear it to be so: and I bring another place of Chrysostom out of the same treatise, ‘It was not rashly instituted by the apostles,’ &c.”

Latimer.—“He is too precious a thing for us to offer; he offereth himself.”

Weston.—“Here, in another place of Chrysostom to the people of Antioch, and also to the Philippians, he saith, ‘There should be a memory and sacrifice for the dead.’”

Latimer.—“I do say, that the holy communion beareth the name of a sacrifice, because it is a sacrifice memorative.”

Weston.—“How say you to the sacrifice of the dead?”

Latimer.—"I say, that it needeth not, and it booteth not."

Weston.—"Augustine, in his *Enchiridion*, saith, 'We must not deny that the souls of the dead are relieved by the devotion of their friends which are living, when the sacrifice of the Mediator is offered for them :—where he proveth the verity of Christ's body, and praying for the dead. And it is said, that the same Augustine said mass for his mother.'"

Latimer.—"But that mass was not like yours, which thing doth manifestly appear in his writings, which are against it in every place. And Augustine is a reasonable man, he requireth to be believed no further than he bringeth Scripture for his proof, and agreeth with God's word."

Weston.—"In the same place he proveth a propitiatory sacrifice, and that upon an altar; and no oyster-board."

Latimer.—"It is the Lord's table, and no oyster-board. It may be called an altar, and so the doctors call it in many places: but there is no propitiatory sacrifice, but only Christ. The doctors might be deceived in some points, though not in all things. I believe them when they say well."

Cole.—"Is it not a shame for an old man to lie? You say, you are of the old fathers' faith where they say well; and yet ye are not."

Latimer.—"I am of their faith when they say well. I refer myself to my Lord of Canterbury's book wholly herein."

Smith.—"Then are not you of Chrysostom's faith, nor of St. Augustine's faith."

Latimer.—"I have said, when they say well, and bring Scripture for them, I am of their faith. And further Augustine requireth not to be believed."

Weston.—"Origen, homily thirteen upon *Leviticus*—"

Latimer.—"I have but one word to say: 'the sacramental bread' is called a propitiation, because it is a sacrament of the propitiation. What is your vocation?"

Weston.—"My vocation is at this time to dispute; otherwise I am a priest, and my vocation is to offer."

Latimer.—"Where have you that authority given you to offer?"

Weston.—"Hoc facite, Do this: for facite in that place, is taken for *offerte*, that is, offer you."

Latimer.—"Is *facere* nothing but 'to sacrifice'? Why, then, no man must receive the sacrament but priests only: for there may none other offer but priests.—Ergo, there may none receive but priests."

Weston.—"Your argument is to be denied."

Latimer.—"Did Christ then offer himself at the supper?"

Pie.—"Yea, he offered himself for the whole world."

Latimer.—"Then if this word 'do ye,' signify 'sacrifice ye,' it followeth, as I said, that none but priests only ought to receive the sacrament, to whom it is only lawful to sacrifice: and where find ye that, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Forty year ago, whither could ye have gone to have found your doctrine?"

Latimer.—"The more cause we have to thank God, that hath now sent the light into the world."

Weston.—"The light? nay, light and lev. preachers; for you could not tell what you might have. Ye altered and changed so often your communions and altars; and all for this one end, to spoil and rob the church."

Latimer.—"These things pertain nothing to me: I must not answer for other men's deeds, but only for mine own."

Weston.—"Well, Master Latimer, this is our intent, to will you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself, and remember, that without Noah's ark there is no health. Remember what they have been, that were the beginners of your doctrine: none but a few flying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the faggot. Remember what they have been which have set forth the same in this realm: a sort of fling-brains and light-heads, which were never constant in any one thing; as it was to be seen in the turning of the table, where, like a sort of apes, they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one day west, and another day east; one that way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the apostles, they will have no churches. A hovel is good enough for them. They come to the communion with no reverence. They get them a tankard, and one saith, I drink, and I am thankful. The more joy of the saith another. And in them was it true that Hilary saith, 'We make every year and every month a faith.' A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last communion-book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time. You never agreed with the Zurichers, or the Germans, or with the church, or with yourself. Your stubbornness cometh of a vain-glory, which is to no purpose: for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your hand. And we see all, by your own confession, how little cause you have to be stubborn, for your learning is

in feoffer's hold. The queen's Grace is merciful, if ye will turn."

Latimer.—"You shall have no hope in me to turn. I pray for the queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion."

Weston.—"Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers."

Here all good readers may see, how this glorious prolocutor triumpheth: but whether he hath the victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen.—And give, that he had the victory, yet what great marvel was it, disputing as he did, *non sine suo Theseo*, that is, not without his tipping cup standing at his elbow all the time of his disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley, disputing with one of the opponents, the said prolocutor took the cup, and holding it in his hand, said to the opponent, *Urge hoc, urge hoc; nam hoc facit pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the story thereof.

To the reader.



AND thus hast thou, loving reader, the whole action and stage of this doctorly disputation showed forth unto thee, against these three worthy confessors and martyrs of

the Lord, wherein thou mayest behold the disordered usage of the university-men, the unmannerly manner of the school, the rude tumult of the multitude, the fierceness and interruption of the doctors, the full pith and ground of all their arguments, the censure of the judges, the railing language of the oblocutor, with his blast of triumph in the latter end, being both the actor, the moderator, and also judge himself. And what marvel then, if the courage of this victorious conqueror, having the law in his own hands, to do and say what him listed, would say for himself, *Vicit veritas*, although he said never a true word, nor made ever a true conclusion almost, in all that disputation.

It followeth furthermore, after disputation of these

three days being ended, that Master Harpsfield, the next day after, which was the 19th of April, should dispute for his form, to be made doctor: to the which disputation the archbishop of Canterbury was brought forth, and permitted, among the rest, to utter an argument or two in defence of his cause; as in sequel hereof may appear.

Disputation of Master Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, answering for his form, to be made doctor.

Harpsfield.—"I am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to entreat of the whole order and trade of the Scriptures; and most hard it is too, in the great contention of religion, to show the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood: for the often reading of them doth not bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own heads and senses, but to give over our judgment unto the holy catholic church, which hath had of old years the truth, and always delivered the same to their posterity. But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never so painful comparing of places, should bring the true understanding, then divers heretics might prevail even against whole general councils. The Jews did greatly brag of the knowledge of the law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Notwithstanding, I know right well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow; as, Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, &c. The law of the Lord is pure, able to turn souls. And that saying of St. Paul, All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good works. Howbeit *doth* the law of the Jews convert their souls? *Are* they by reading instructed to every good work? The letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

"The heretics, also, have ever had the same Scriptures which we have that be catholics. But they are served as Tantalus, that the more he reached for, the further he was from it. Who, in the plenty of things to eat, said to be oppressed with hunger swifter than men do seek the Scriptures of the catholic church, the deeper they fall for their labour. St. Cyprian, new to the catholic church, saith, 'He that knoweth the church to be his Father, shall have God to his Father.' Therein, verily, to be wise with the church, saith, Unless ye eat my flesh, and ye have no life in you.

"If he had meant of only eating bread and drinking wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the Capernaïtes, neither would they have forsaken him. The flesh profiteth nothing to them that do so take it. For the Capernaïtes did imagine Christ to be given in such sort as he lived. But Christ spake high things; not that they should have him as flesh in the market, but to consider his presence with the Spirit under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of bodies by courses and times of ages, so there is no less variety in eating of bodies."

These things which I have recited briefly, Master Harpsfield did, with many more words, set out: and hereupon Dr. Weston disputed against him.

Weston.—"Christ's real body is not in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

Harpsfield.—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston.—"John xvi. I speak the truth unto you: it becometh me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c. Upon this I will make this argument.

"Christ is so gone away, as he did send the Holy Ghost.

"But the Holy Ghost did verily come into the world:

"Ergo, Christ is verily gone."

Harpsfield.—"He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here."

Weston.—"St. Augustine saith, that these words, I will be with you even to the end of the world, are accomplished, 'according to his majesty:' but 'by the presence of his flesh he is not here.' The church hath him not in flesh, but by belief."

Harpsfield.—"We must diligently weigh, that there are two natures in Christ: the Divine nature, and human nature. The Divine nature is of such sort, that it cannot choose but be in all places. The human nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So, where that the doctors do entreat of his presence by majesty, they do commend the majesty of the Divine nature, not to hinder us of the natural presence here in the sacrament."

Weston.—"He saith further, Ye shall not have me always with you, is to be understood in the flesh."

Harpsfield.—"The presence of the flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them, to be seen, talked withal, or in such sort as a man may give him any thing: after that sort he is not present."

Weston.—"But what say you to this of Augustine, 'He is not here?'"

Harpsfield.—"I do answer out of St. Augustine upon John, Tract. 25, upon these words, I go to

the Father, ye shall not see me; that is, 'such as I am now.' Therefore I do deny the manner of his presence."

Weston.—"I will overthrow St. Augustine with St. Augustine; who saith this also, 'How may a man hold Christ? Send thy faith, and thou holdest him.'—So he sheweth, that by sending our faith, we do hold Christ."

Harpsfield.—"Indeed no man holdeth Christ, unless he believe in him; but it is another thing to have Christ merciful and favourable unto us, and to have him present in the sacrament. There, St. Augustine speaketh of holding him by faith, as he is favourable unto us."

Weston.—"Nay, he speaketh there, how the fathers had him in the flesh, and teacheth that we have him not so in the flesh, as they had him long time; saying, 'Your fathers did hold Christ present in the flesh: do you hold him in your heart?' What words can be more plain? Further he said, 'He is gone, and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath not forsaken us.' 'He is here in majesty, and gone touching the flesh.'"

Harpsfield.—"I do understand Augustine thus: that Christ is here in his flesh, to them that receive him worthily: to such as do not worthily receive him, to them he is not present in the flesh. I judge St. Augustine meaneth so. We have him, and have not: we have him in receiving of him worthily, otherwise not."

Weston.—"Nay, to hold the flesh is to hold the outward letter. I will prosecute another argument. Cyril doth say, 'By the majesty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the presence of his flesh hath he taken away.'"

Harpsfield.—"The sense of Cyril is thus to be understood: the most true flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the fathers taught, and so they believed. Thus said Cyril: thus said Augustine: and because this is the foundation of our faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the body to be in heaven,) they do not make against the presence in the sacrament.

"So unless ye can plainly show that the fathers do directly say, he is not in the sacrament, you make nothing against me: for I have showed why the fathers so spake. They did teach the great difference between the Divine nature, and the human nature, as I have before said."

Weston.—"I will then prove, that he is not in the sacrament. Vigilius against the heretic Eutiches, upon these words, 'Me ye have not always,' saith, 'The Son of God, as touching his humanity, is gone from us; by his Divinity he re-

maineth with us.' And the same Vigilius, in his fourth book, saith, 'He that is in the heaven, is not in the earth;' speaking of Christ."

Harpsfield.—"I will show you the reason of these words. The heretic Eutiches did believe, that the Divine nature of Christ was fastened on the cross, and believed that Christ had no natural body. To this Vigilius said, that the human nature was taken up and ascended; which could not so have done, unless he had a body. This he said not, to take away the presence in the sacrament: for what had he to refer this sentence to the sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the sacrament."

Weston.—"Cyril saith, 'Although he be absent from us in body, yet are we governed by his Spirit.'"

Harpsfield.—"By these words he gave us a cheerfulness to aspire upwards, seeking thence our help: for as touching his conversation, he is not so in the sacrament as one meet to be lived withal. But let him not teach us, that he is not there to feed us; for after that sort he *is* there."

Weston.—"You have satisfied me with your answers, in doing the same learnedly, and catholicly. But now to another argument.

"Christ is now so absent from the earth by his body, as he was absent from heaven when he lived here.

"But when he did live bodily on earth, the same natural body was out of heaven:

"Ergo, Now whilst this natural body is in heaven, it is not in the earth."

Harpsfield.—"I deny the major."

Weston.—"Fulgentius saith, 'As to the substance of his humanity, he was absent from heaven when he came down from heaven.' These are Fulgentius's words touching his human substance: 'He was absent from heaven, when he descended from heaven; and touching the same substance, now he is in heaven he is not on the earth: but concerning the Divine nature, he never forsook, either heaven or earth.'"

After these words, not waiting Harpsfield's answer, he offered Master Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise:

Cranmer.—"I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently entreat of the dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend, and have marvelled thereat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the catholic church as judge thereof, you are much deceived; specially for that under the name of the church, you appoint such judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise, why you attribute so little to the diligent reading of the Scriptures, and conferring

of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the same, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you yourself have already alleged. And as touching your opinion of these questions, it seemeth to me neither to have any ground of the word of God, nor of the primitive church. And, to say the truth, the schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree therein among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to show my judgment also, I must desire you first to answer me to a few questions which I shall demand of you; which being done, we shall the better proceed in our disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin tongue, which, through long disuse, is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been: and now, all other things set apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the truth. My first question is this: How Christ's body is in the sacrament, according to your mind or determination?"

Then answered a doctor, "He is there as touching his substance, but not after the manner of his substance."

Harpsfield.—"He is there in such sort and manner, as he may be eaten."

Cranmer.—"My next question is, 'Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such-like properties?'"

Harpsfield.—"Are these your questions?" said Master Harpsfield. "I may likewise ask you, 'When Christ passed through the Virgin's womb, *an ruperit necne?*'"

When they had thus awhile contended, there were divers opinions in this matter. All the doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer: some thought one way, some another; and thus Master Doctors could not agree. Then Master Cranmer said thus:

Cranmer.—"You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask, 'Whether he have those properties which he had on the earth?'"

Tresham.—"No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a body."

Smith.—"Stay you, Master Tresham: I will answer you, Master Doctor, with the words of Damascene, 'The bread is transformed,' &c.:—but if thou wilt inquire how, 'The manner is impossible.'"

Then two or three others added their answers to this question, somewhat doubtfully. A great hurly-burly was among them, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cranmer.—"Do you appoint me a body, and cannot tell what manner of body? Either he hath

not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it."

Harpfield.—"These are vain questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them."

Weston.—"Hear me a while: Lanfranc, some time bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto Berengarius upon such-like questions, 'They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.'"

Cranmer.—"If you think good to answer it, some of you declare it."

Harpfield.—"He is there as pleaseth him to be there."

Cranmer.—"I would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a carnal presence had not driven me of necessity to have inquired, for disputation's sake, how you place him there, since you will have a natural body."

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some denying it to be a *quantum*, some saying it to be *quantitativum*; some affirming it to have *modum quanti*, some denying it; some one thing, some another;—up starts Dr. Weston, and doughtily decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, "It is a body, having quantity; but not according to the manner of quantity."

Whereunto Master Ward, a great sophister, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his sentence.—How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor I think he himself either, nor yet the best learned there. For it was said since, that far better learned than he, laid as good ear to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended: indeed he told a formal tale to clout up the matter. He was full of *quantum* and *quantitativum*. This that follows was, as it is thought, the effect; yet others think not. Howbeit we will rehearse the sum of his words, as it is thought he spake them.

Ward.—"We must consider," saith he, "that there are two positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth. Christ is in the sacrament in respect of the whole. This proposition is in one of Aristotle's Predicaments, called Situs. I remember I did entreat these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the philosophical disputations in the public schools. This position is *sine modo quantitativo*, as by an ensample: you can never bring heaven to a quantity. So I conclude that he is in the sacrament *quantum*, *sine modo quantitativo*."

These words he amplified very largely, and so high he climbed into the heavens with Duns's ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be mar-

velled how he could come down again without falling. To whom Master Cranmer said:

Cranmer.—"Then thus do I make my argument.

"In heaven his body hath quantity, in earth hath none, by your saying:

"Ergo, He hath two bodies, the one in heaven, the other in earth."

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and so put off the antecedent: but thus said Master Harpfield:

Harpfield.—"I deny your argument;" [though some would not have had him say so.]

Cranmer.—"The argument is good. It standeth upon contradictories, which is the most sure hold."

Harpfield.—"I deny that there are contradictions."

Weston.—"I confirm the same: for one body may have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; and the same body was passible and impassible; one body may have wounds and not wounds."

Cranmer.—"This cannot be at one time."

Weston.—"The ensample of the potter doth prove that which I say; who of that which is clay now, maketh a pot or cup forthwith."

Cranmer.—"But I say again, that it is so; but at divers times: as one piece of meat to be raw and sodden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in heaven at one time, and should have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; which cannot be but by such argument as I have showed you."

Weston.—"But I say, Christ's body was passible and not passible at one instant."

Seton.—"You may ask as well other questions—how he is in heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?"

Cranmer.—"You yourself, by putting a natural presence, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore, next, I do ask this question: Whether good and evil men do eat the body in the sacrament?"

Harpfield.—"Yea, they do so, even as the sun doth shine upon king's palaces, and on dung-heaps."

Cranmer.—"Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?"

Harpfield.—"These are curious questions, as meet to be asked."

Cranmer.—"I have taken them out of your schools and schoolmen, which you yourselves do most use: and there, also, do I learn to ask, how far he goeth into the body."

Harpfield.—"We know that the body of Christ is received to nourish the whole man, both

body and soul: *eousque progreditur corpus quousque species.*"

Cranmer.—"How long doth he abide in the body?"

Seton.—"St. Augustine saith, 'Our flesh goeth into his flesh.' But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no matter for us, to know how far he doth pierce, or whither he is conveyed."

Here Master Tresham and one Master London answered, that Christ being given there under such form and quantity as pleased him, it was not to be inquired of his tarrying, or of his descending into the body.

Harpsfield.—"You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture; saying always that we should fetch the truth out of the Scripture: and now you yourself bring questions out of the schoolmen, which you have disallowed in us."

Cranmer.—"I say as I have said alway, that I am constrained to ask these questions, because of this carnal presence which you imagine: and yet I know right well, that these questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last question, How long he abideth in the body? &c.: the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his people, as they are his members. Whereupon I make this argument.

"They which eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.

"But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them:

"Ergo, The wicked do not eat his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Harpsfield.—"I will answer unto you as St. Augustine saith, not that howsoever a man doth eat, he eateth the body, but he that eateth after a certain manner."

Cranmer.—"I cannot tell what manner ye appoint; but I am sure that evil men do not eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in John vi."

Harpsfield.—"In John vi. some things are to be referred to the godly, and some to the ungodly."

Cranmer.—"Whatsoever he doth entreat there of eating, doth pertain unto good men."

Harpsfield.—"If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; if concerning the thing, it is not so: and if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, it may be so taken, I grant."

Cranmer.—"Now to the argument: He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. Doth not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat that the good do?"

Tresham.—"You must add, 'He that eateth worthily.'"

Cranmer.—"I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of."

Weston.—"Augustine ad Fratres in Eremito, sermon 28, 'There is a certain manner of eating: Augustine speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.'"

Harpsfield.—"All things in John vi. are not to be referred to the sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by faith. The fathers do agree, that there is not entreaty made of the supper of the Lord, before they come unto *Panis quem dabo vobis, caro mea est,*" &c.

Cranmer.—"There is entreating of manna, both before and after."

Harpsfield.—"I will apply another answer. This argument hath a kind of poison in it, which must be thus bitten away:—That manna and this sacrament be not both one. Manna hath not its efficacy of itself, but of God."

Cranmer.—"But they that did take manna worthily, had fruit thereby: and so, by your assertion, he that doth eat the flesh of Christ worthily, hath his fruit by that. Therefore the like doth follow of them both; and so there should be no difference between manna and this sacrament, by your reason."

Harpsfield.—"When it is said, that they which did eat manna are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of manna."

[If Master Harpsfield do mean of bodily life, they which eat the sacrament do die, as well as they which did eat the manna. If he mean of spiritual life, neither be they all damned that did eat manna, nor all saved that do eat the sacrament. Wherefore the truth is, that neither the eating of manna bringeth death, nor the eating of the sacrament bringeth salvation: but only the spiritual believing upon Christ's bodily passion, which only justifieth both them and us. And therefore, as the effect is spiritual, which Christ speaketh of in this chapter; so is the cause of that effect spiritual whereof he meaneth, which is our spiritual believing in him, and not our bodily eating of him.]

Cranmer.—"They, then, which do eat either of them worthily, do live."

Harpsfield.—"They do live which do eat manna worthily; not by manna, but by the power of God given by it. The others which do eat this sacrament, do live by the same."

Cranmer.—"Christ did not entreat of the cause, but the effect which followed: he doth not speak of the cause, whereof the effect proceedeth."

Harpsfield.—"I do say, the effects are diverse—life, and death, which do follow the worthy and unworthy eating thereof."

Cranmer.—"Since you will needs have an addition to it, we must use both in manna and in the sacrament, indifferently, either worthily or unworthily, Christ spake absolutely of manna, and of the supper; so that, after that absolute speaking of the supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood. Further, Augustine, upon these words, *Qui manducat*, &c., saith, 'There are no such respects in common meats, as in the Lord's body. For who that eateth other meats hath still hunger, and needeth to be satisfied daily: but he that doth eat the flesh of Christ, and drinketh his blood, doth live for ever.' But you know wicked men do not so.—Ergo, Wicked men do not receive."

Harpsfield.—"St. Augustine meaneth, that he who eateth Christ's flesh, &c., after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked men do eat, but not after that manner."

Cranmer.—"Only they which participate Christ, be of the mystical body.

"But the evil men are not of the mystical body.

"Ergo, They do not participate Christ."

Weston.—"Your wonderful gentle behaviour and modesty, good Master Doctor Cranmer, is worthy much commendation: and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my brethren."

At this saying all the doctors gently put off their caps. Then Master Weston did oppose the respondent on this wise:—

Weston.—"Tertullian doth call the sacrament, 'the sign and figure of the Lord.' St. Augustine ad Dardanum saith, 'The Lord did not stick to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.'

"Besides this, he giveth rules how to understand the Scriptures, saying: 'If the Scriptures seem to command some heinous thing, then it is figurative, as by example: To eat the flesh, and drink the blood, is a tropical speech.'"

Harpsfield.—"Tertullian did write in that place against Marcion, a heretic, who denied Christ to have a true body, and said, he had only a fantastical body. He went about to show, that we had Christ both in heaven and in earth; and though we have the true body in the sacrament, yet he would not go about so to confound him, as to say that Christ was truly in the sacrament: for that heretic would have thereat rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he showed him, that it was the figure of

Christ: and a figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

"To the text of Augustine, the church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the sacrament, which sometimes hath sundry names; for it may be called a figure in this declaration: That body which is in the sacrament is a figure of Christ dwelling in heaven.

"To the third: that which is brought by Augustine, for example, about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood; as tending to a general manner of eating: so 'To eat the flesh and drink the blood,' may be a figurative speech to exclude 'The eating of man's flesh.' The which is, when we eat man's flesh, cut in morsels, as we eat common meat; so as we neither have, nor eat Christ in the sacrament."

Weston.—"I understand your short and learned answer, which doth sufficiently content me. But now to the second question, which is of transubstantiation.

"The Scripture calleth it bread:

"Ergo, it is bread."

Harpsfield.—"In the name of bread all is signified which we do eat."

Weston.—"Theodoret, an ancient writer, in his first dialogue, saith, that Christ changed not the nature, but called it his body."

Harpsfield.—"He doth there speak *de symbolo*, which is, 'The outward form of the sacrament.' He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own nature."

[Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his answer Augustine.]

Weston.—"Theodoret also, in his second dialogue of those kinds of bread and wine, saith, 'They go not out of their own nature, but they tarry in their own substance.'"

Harpsfield.—"They are understood to be of the same substance wherein they are turned."

Weston.—"But what say you to this? 'They remain in their former substance.'"

Harpsfield.—"The outward signs do tarry."

Weston.—"But what is meant here by this word *symbolum*?"

Harpsfield.—"The outward form or shape only of the nature."

Weston.—"Then you cannot call them a substance."

Harpsfield.—"Yes, sir, every thing hath a certain substance in his kind."

Weston.—"That is true; but accidents are not substances in their kind."

Harpsfield.—"They are substance in their own kind."

[Of this they contended much.]

Weston.—"Chrysostom saith, 'Like as before it is consecrated, it is bread: so after it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is endued with the name of the Lord's body; whereas the nature doth remain.'"

Harpfield.—"Where read you this place, I pray you?"

Weston.—"Here, in Peter Martyr I find it; I have his book in my hand."

Harpfield.—"The author shall be of more credit, before that I make so much of him, as to frame an answer unto it."

Weston.—"Indeed I know not well where he findeth it. But Gelasius saith, that the nature of bread and wine do tarry."

Harpfield.—"What is that Gelasius?"

Weston.—"A bishop of Rome."

Harpfield.—"Then he allowed the mass?"

Weston.—"Yea, and oftentimes said it: and purgatory he also allowed, and so prayer for the dead, relics, and invocation to saints."

Harpfield.—"Belike, then, he meant nothing against transubstantiation."

Weston.—"It doth appear so indeed. But Origen saith, that the material bread doth tarry, and is conveyed into the privy, and is eaten of worms."

Harpfield.—"Tush, tush! this place appertaineth unto holy bread."

Weston.—"What! doth it appertain to holy bread?"

Harpfield.—"Yea, unto holy bread."

Weston.—"By what means can you show how this miraculous work bringeth Christ into the sacrament?"

Harpfield.—"By the Scripture I prove that, which saith, This is my body."

Weston.—"It doth rejoice all us not a little, that you have so well maintained the sound doctrine of the sacrament of the altar, wherein you have faithfully cleaved to the catholic church, as an only stay of our religion: by the which means you have proved yourself meet to be authorized further towards the practising of the Scripture."

"And here I do openly witness, that I do thoroughly consent with you; and have, for disputation's sake only, brought these arguments against you, which you have right learnedly satisfied: and now all things being done, after our form and manner, we will end this disputation, saying, Sacred theology is against it."

Certain observations or censures given to the reader, upon the disputations of the bishops and doctors above mentioned: declaring what judgment is to be given, as well touching the arguments of the adversaries, and also to the answers of the martyrs.

HUS ye have heard, in these aforesaid disputations about the holy supper of the Lord, the reasons and arguments of the doctors, the answers and resolutions of the

bishops, and the triumph of the prolocutor triumphing before the victory with *Vicit veritas*: who rather in my mind should have exclaimed *Vicit potestas*: as it happeneth always *ubi pars major vincit meliorem*. For else if *potestas* had not helped the prolocutor more than *veritas*, there had been a small *victoria*. But so it is, where judgments be partial and parties addicted, there all things turn to victory, though it be never so mean and simple: but, contrariwise, all partiality set apart, if censure should be given upon these disputations with upright and indifferent judgment, weighing with the arguments on the one side, the answers on the other, we shall see victory there falsely bragged, where no victory was.

If in these disputations it had so been, that the distinction of the answers had been wiped away or removed by the opposers; or if the arguments, of the opponents' side, had been so strong that they could not be dissolved of the answerer, then would I confess victory gotten. But seeing now all the arguments, brought against the bishops, to be taken away by a plain distinction of Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally: and this distinction so to stand in force, that the contrary arguments were not able to infringe the same, we must say, *Vicit non veritas, sed potestas*, that is, He conquered not by truth, but by force.

And, for the reader's sake, to make the matter more largely and evidently to appear, concerning the distinction made of the bishops in this disputation, (whereby they did both repeat the arguments objected, and manfully maintain the verity,) here have we, as in a brief sum or table, expressed, as well their arguments, as the distinctions and answers of the other part to the same.

In these disputations the controversy is of the

body of Christ, either to be present with us, or to be eaten of us, or to be united to us; which presence, eating, and uniting of him to us, standeth three manner of ways, Really, Spiritually, and Sacramentally. And these three things must be considered after three divers respects; for the lack of the knowledge and consideration whereof, the papists, who take upon them most to maintain this matter, are much deceived and deceive many; of whom I cannot marvel enough, that they, being so full of distinctions in all their other questions, in this one matter neither will make distinction themselves, nor abide it in others. For who seeth not that the presence of Christ's body is one, to the faith and spirit of man—which is spiritual; and another to the body of man—which is bodily.

Besides these two, there is also another presence differing from them both, which is "sacramental." Of things diverse and differing in themselves we must speak diversely, except we will confound things together which nature hath distincted asunder. Now they of the catholic part, as they call themselves, (other men call them papists,) whether for rudeness they cannot, or for wilfulness they will not see, speaking of the real presence of Christ, think there is no other presence of Christ real but in the sacrament; being deceived therein two manner of ways. First, that they consider not the nature of a sacrament; which is, not to exhibit the thing in deed which it doth represent, but to represent effectually one thing by another: for that is the property of a sacrament, to bear a similitude of one thing by another thing; of the which two things the one is represented, the other in deed exhibited. Secondly, that they consider not the operation of faith, which, penetrating up to heaven, there apprehendeth the real body of Christ, no less, yea, and more effectually, than if he were here bodily present to the eye.

To these two, the third error also of these men may be added: in that they seem either not to weigh the operation of Christ's passion enough, or else, not to feel the heavy torment of sin and miserable hunger of man's soul; which, if they did feel, they would easily perceive what a necessary and opportune nourishment to man's conscience, were the body of Christ on the cross broken, and his blood shed.

Wherefore these are to be distincted after their right terms. For that which is sacramental, by and by is not real; and, like as the real presence of Christ's body is to be distincted from the spiritual presence, so is it to be said of the eating, and also of the co-uniting or conjunction, betwixt his body and us: for as there is a real eating, so there is a spiritual eating, and also a sacramental eating.

Now the papists, whensoever they speak or read of the eating of Christ's body, conceive no other eating of him but only of that in the sacrament, and no otherwise; which is false and the cause of great error, in that they see not, neither do consider, how Christ is eaten, not only with the symbols or sacrament, but also without the sacrament: which eating standeth inwardly by faith, and pertaineth to the spirit of man, in apprehending or digesting with the stomach of faith those things which, by the outward sacrament, are represented. And of the spiritual eating of Christ speaketh the sixth chapter of St. John.

Besides this spiritual eating there is also a sacramental manducation of Christ's body, under, and with, the elements of bread and wine; that is, when both the mouth and spirit of man receive both the bread and the body together, in divers and sundry respects, bread substantially, the body sacramentally. The spirit receiveth the body only and not the bread.

The like distinction also is to be made of the uniting or conjunction betwixt Christ and us, which is both real, spiritual, and sacramental.

Further, here is to be noted, that to this sacramentally uniting, eating, and presence of Christ, in or under the sacrament, belong two things. Mutation and Operation, which the doctors much speak of. This "Mutation" is double, substantial and accidental.

Mutation is called *substantial*, when one substance is changed into another, as water into wine, the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c.; and this mutation, which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the Lord's supper.

The other mutation, which is *accidental*, (whereof the doctors entreat,) standeth in three points: that is, where the use, the name, and the honour of the sacramental elements be changed. In use: as, when the use of common bread is changed to a mystical and heavenly use, the name of bread and wine is changed to the name of the body and blood of Christ; the honour, from a not reverent, to a reverent receiving of the same, &c.

About "Operation" the Romish clergy make much ado; thinking there is no other operation but only transubstantiation. And this operation they ascribe to the five words of the priest: saying, that Christ, in calling a thing, maketh the thing so to be.

We affirm also that the words of Christ do work, but not as they do say; to wit, they work effectually in the material bread and wine: not in altering or trans-elementing the substance there, as Harding saith, page 1057, but in sanctifying the *afore*said

creatures to be a sacrament, which cannot be but only by the virtue of the word and of the Holy Ghost, as St. Augustine saith ; for else no priest or creature hath any such power to make a sacrament.

Of these aforesaid distinctions here followeth a brief Table to make the contents hereof more plain.

A Table declaring divers and sundry respects how the holy real body of Christ our Saviour, both in the sacrament and beside the sacrament, is present, eaten, and united to us.

The body of Christ is, really, spiritually, and sacramentally, *present, eaten, and united.*

FIRST.

The body of Christ is *really present.*

So was the body of Christ once present here on earth with us, and shall be again at the day of his coming. Otherwise it is not here really present, but only to our faith, really, that is to say truly, apprehending his body in heaven, and here feeding upon the same in earth. And thus is he present only to good men, whether with the symbols or without the symbols.

The body of Christ is *really eaten.*

Really, not with our bodily mouth, but with the mouth of faith ; apprehending the real body of Christ, who suffered for us, and worketh to us nourishment of life and grace, &c.

The body of Christ is *really united.*

Really and corporally the body of Christ is united to us, by his incarnation, and the partaking of our flesh.

SECONDLY.

The body of Christ is *spiritually present.*

Spiritually we say his body to be present, when either the body of Christ is present to our spirit and faith ; or when the virtue of his body is present and redoundeth to our bodies and spirits by grace. And this differeth from the other real presence above, in this : that the one hath respect to the body apprehended, the other to the thing that doth apprehend.

The body of Christ is *spiritually eaten.*

Spiritually we eat the body and blood of Christ, not with mouth and teeth, but with faith only, whensoever we believe on the passion of Christ, being the true bread of life and the only food of man's soul. And thus is he eaten, but only of good men, as well *besides* the sacrament as *with* the sacrament ; and of this eating speaketh the sixth chapter of John. And so was he eaten in the time also of the old law.

The body of Christ is *spiritually united.*

Spiritually he is united unto us, when the properties of his holy body, as his innocence, power, glorification, eternity, beatitude, &c., are united to our bodies and spirits, which cometh by our faith in him, according to his words in John xvii. 23, I in them, and thou in me, &c. And this uniting, standing by grace, cometh as well *besides* the sacrament, as *with* the sacrament ; only to the godly.

THIRDLY.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally present.*

Sacramentally his body is present, by representation of another thing which beareth a similitude or a memorial of his body ; and his sacramental presence, pertaining to the outward mouth of the receiver, is common as well to the good as to the evil. And this sacramental presence ought not to be alone, but to be joined with the spiritual presence, &c.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally eaten.*

Sacramentally we eat with our bodily mouth the mysteries of bread and wine, not being the real body indeed, but representing the real body indeed ; *id est, Non panem Dominum, sed panem Domini* ; that is, not the Lord as bread, but the bread of the Lord. And this eating, if it be not joined with the other two above, profiteth nothing ; and, so, is eaten only of the evil. If it be adjoined, then is it eaten of the good, and them it profiteth.

The body of Christ is *sacramentally united.*

The sacrament, as it is not the real body itself of the Lord, so it causeth not itself any real conjunction betwixt Christ's real body and ours, but representeth the same ; declaring that as the material bread, digested in our bodies, is united to the same, so the body of Christ, being received by faith, changeth our spirits and bodies to the nature of him.

To the sacramental presence, and eating of Christ, pertain two things chiefly to be considered : *Mutation* and *Operation*.

MUTATION.

First, Mutation *substantial.*

Whereby one substance is changed into another : as, water into wine ; the rod of Aaron into a serpent, &c. And this "mutation," which they call "transubstantiation," belongeth nothing to the sacrament ; for, then, accidents of bread should also be changed, as the accidents of Aaron's rod were changed, with the substance, into a serpent.

Secondly, Mutation *accidental*.

Of this "mutation" speak the doctors, meaning not of the change of substance but of accidents, which standeth in three things, in the *use*, in *name*, and in *honour*.

First, *In use*.

As when the use of common bread is changed into a mystical and heavenly use.

Secondly, *In name*.

When the name of bread and wine passeth away, and is changed into the name of the body and blood of the Lord, and, so, is the name changed.

Thirdly, *In honour*.

As when the bread and wine which before were received not with honour, are now received with honour and reverence: not that we honour the bread and wine, but the things represented in them, as, in a king's letter and seal, we honour the king and not the seal.

OPERATION.

First, Operation *in* the sacraments.

The operation of the word in the sacraments is this: to change, not the substance of the sacrament, but that the substance thereof remaining may be made the body of Christ, that is, the *sacrament* of the body of Christ. And this operation cannot come but by the Holy Ghost. Whereof Augustine saith: *Panis non sanctificatur in sacramentum tam magnum, nisi operante invisibiliter Spiritu Dei*.

Secondly, Operation *of* the sacraments.

The operation of the sacraments is thought by the papists to give grace, which, in very deed, give not grace of their own work; but only serve as instruments and means of that grace and life which cometh from God. So Peter calleth it the word of life; and St. Paul calleth the gospel of Christ, the power of God unto salvation. Not that they themselves give life and salvation, but that they are certain means and instruments of that life and salvation which cometh to us from God.

To the spiritual presence and manducation of Christ, principally belongeth the sixth chapter of St. John; albeit two sorts of bread are there specified, namely, *bodily or sacramental*, and *spiritual* bread.

First, Bodily or sacramental, of the *Old Testament*; and also of the *New Testament*.

The bodily or sacramental bread of the *Old Tes-*

tament signifying Christ to come, as manna, the rock, &c.; and the bodily or sacramental bread of the *New Testament* signifying Christ being already come, as the holy eucharist.

Secondly, Spiritual bread.

Spiritual bread, which is Christ himself, born for us, and given for the life of the world. John vi. My flesh is meat indeed, &c.

Thus hast thou, gentle reader, in this *aforem* table set forth unto thee the diverse respects how the real body of the Saviour is eaten *in* the sacrament, and *out* of the sacrament, &c. By which table, if thou mark it well, thou mayest answer easily to the most part of the arguments which the papists bring. And now these things being premised, let us see and examine the arguments of the *aforesaid* doctors, here in brief sum repeated again, and, afterwards, annex the resolution of the same.

A Table of the principal arguments brought against Doctor Cranmer.

I. *Chedsey*.—"That thing which was given for us, is here contained; from the words of Christ.

"The substance of bread was not given for us: Ergo, the substance of bread is not contained in the sacrament."

II. *Oglethorpe*.—"This word *body*, being *prædicatum*, doth signify substance.

"But one substance is not predicated, or affirmed, denominatively, upon another: Ergo, it is an essential predication, and, so, it is his true body, and not a figure of his body."

III. *Oglethorpe*.—"Christ hath no less care for his spouse than a father for his household.

"No father maketh his will with tropes for deceiving his household: Ergo, Christ used no tropes in making his Will or Testament."

IV. *Weston*.—"A good heir will not say that the testator did lie.

"Whoso saith, that the testator 'spake by figures,' saith that the testator did lie: Ergo, he that saith that Christ our testator spake by figures is no good heir."

V. *Cole*.—"If it be bread it cannot be the body; a *disparitis*.

"But Christ saith it is his body: Ergo, it cannot be bread."

VI. *Weston*.—"The same flesh is given us to be eaten, by which he is made our brother and kinsman.

"By his true, natural, and organical flesh, he is made our brother and kinsman: Ergo, he gave us his true and organical flesh to eat."

VII. *Weston*.—"He gave us the same flesh, which he took of the Virgin.

"He took his flesh of the Virgin not spiritually: Ergo, he gave his true flesh, and not [his flesh] spiritually.

VIII. *Weston*.—"As mothers nourish their children with their milk, so Christ nourished us with his body.

"Mothers nourish not their infants spiritually with their milk: Ergo, Christ nourisheth us not spiritually with his body."

IX. *Weston*.—"If Christ gave wine for his blood, then he gave less than mothers to their infants.

"Chrysostom saith, 'Christ gave more to us than mothers to their infants:' Ergo, he gave not wine for his blood."

X. *Weston*.—"That thing which is worthy the highest honour, is showed forth in earth.

"Christ's body is worthy the highest honour: Ergo, Christ's body is showed forth in earth."

XI. *Chedsey*.—"The soul is fed by that which the body eateth.

"The soul is fed by the body of Christ: Ergo, the body eateth the body of Christ."

XII. *Chedsey*.—"The flesh eateth Christ's body that the soul may be fed therewith.

"The soul is not fed with the sacrament, but with Christ's body: Ergo, the flesh eateth the body of Christ."

XIII. *Tresham*.—"As Christ liveth by his Father, so we live by his flesh eaten of us.

"Christ liveth by his Father naturally, not by unity of will: Ergo, we live by eating Christ's flesh naturally, not by faith only and will."

XIV. *Young*.—"A figurative speech is no working thing; Christ's speech is a working thing: Ergo, Christ's speech is not figurative in this sacrament."

XV. *Pie*.—"The words of Christ work that, there, which redeemed the people.

"The natural blood of Christ redeemed the people: Ergo, the words of Christ make, there, the natural blood of Christ."

XVI. *Chedsey*.—"As Christ is truly and really incarnate, so is he truly and really in the sacrament.

"But Christ is truly and really incarnate: Ergo, Christ is truly and really in the sacrament."

XVII. *Weston*.—"The substance of our flesh could not be increased thereby, except it were the true body and blood of Christ.

"But the substance of our body is increased thereby, which we receive in the sacrament: Ergo, it is the true body and blood, which we receive in the sacrament."

A Table of the principal arguments objected against Dr. Ridley.

XVIII. *Smith*.—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth: Ergo, notwithstanding his ascension, and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on earth.

"Or thus; Christ's ascension into heaven letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, seen on the earth: Ergo, his ascension letteth not, but that he may be, really and corporally, in the sacrament."

XIX. *Weston*.—"We offer one thing at all times. There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete: Ergo, by Chrysostom, there is one body both in heaven and earth."

XX. *Smith*.—"He was seen of Paul as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven, [1 Cor. xv.]

"But his vision was a corporal vision: Ergo, he was seen corporally on earth, after his ascension."

XXI. *Tresham*.—"He was seen after such sort that he might be heard: Ergo, he was corporally on the earth, or else how could he be heard."

XXII. *Smith*.—"He was seen so of him as of others.

"But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visible to them on earth: Ergo, he was seen of Paul on earth."

XXIII. *Weston*.—"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him: Ergo, he is present here with us."

XXIV. *Ward*.—"He delivered that which he bade them take.

"But he bade them not take material bread, but his own body: Ergo, he gave not material bread, but his own body."

XXV. *Weston*.—"That which Christ gave we do give.

"But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body: Ergo, we give no figure, but his body."

XXVI. *Ward*.—"My sheep hear my voice and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear this voice, This is my body, without a figure: Ergo, the voice of Christ, here, hath no figure."

XXVII. *Ward*.—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten.

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper and in the sacrament of the altar: Ergo, there is the very true flesh of Christ."

XXVIII. *Ward*.—"He desired to eat his pass-over.

"But the Judaical passover was not his: Ergo, he meant not of the Judaical passover."

XXIX. *Ward*.—"He gave us his flesh to be eaten, which he took of the earth, in which, also, he here walked, &c.

"But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, This is my body: Ergo, in the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

XXX. *Curtop*.—"That which is in the cup is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

"But his true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ: Ergo, his true and pure blood is in the cup."

XXXI. *Watson*.—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it.

"But bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto it: Ergo, the bread and wine are not sacraments."

XXXII. *Smith*.—"Every man may bear, in his own hands, a figure of his body.

"But Augustine denied that David could carry himself in his hands: Ergo, Augustine speaketh of no figure of his body."

XXXIII. *Tresham*.—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ: Ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is in the sacrament of the altar."

XXXIV. *Weston*.—"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist, which the wise men did worship in the manger.

"But that was his natural real body, not spiritual: Ergo, the real body of Christ is in the eucharist."

Arguments objected against Master Latimer.

Seton's arguments, formed by Weston.—"You say, That which was forbidden in the Old Testament is commanded in the New.

"To drink blood was forbidden in the Old Testament and commanded in the New: Ergo, by your own saying, it is the very blood that we drink in the New."

Cartwright.—"If the true body of Christ be not really in the sacrament, all the whole church hath erred from the apostles' time.

"But Christ would not suffer his church to err: Ergo, it is the true body of Christ."

The argument of Doctor Cranmer objecting against Harpsfield.

Doctor Cranmer.—"Christ's body, in heaven, hath quantity.

"The papists say, Christ's body in earth hath no quantity: Ergo, by the papists Christ hath two bodies, one in heaven, another in earth."

Doctor Cranmer.—"They that do eat the flesh of Christ, do dwell in him, and he in them.

"The wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them: Ergo, the wicked eat not his flesh, nor drink his blood."

Here follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments above mentioned, by number and order of the same:

And first to the arguments objected against Doctor Cranmer.

I. First, to answer to Chedsey's first argument: Cranmer denieth the argument, and may well so do, for the form thereof is faulty; which, being in the first figure, hath his minor negative. Again, he answereth to the major by a distinction, being two ways: How the body may be contained Really,—and so it is false; Sacramentally,—and so it is true.

II. One substance or *disparatum* cannot be affirmed of another properly; but figuratively it may: and therefore we say this is a figurative locution: Bread is the body of Christ (meaning bread to be a figure of the body).

III. The minor is false; for, though equivocation of one word sometimes, peradventure, may deceive, yet the whole sense or locution, being tropicall doth not deceive, but rather serveth for beautifying of the oration, and for the better help of the hearers. And if the trope be not perceived of all, the fault is not in the trope, but in their ignorance.

IV. The authority of St. Augustine, *De unitate Ecclesiæ*, proveth the major, which we also do allow. For who knoweth not that a man, at his death, will commonly speak the truth? But we deny the minor, That he which speaketh by figure or trope doth lie: that St. Augustine yet hath not proved, nor Dr. Weston either. Christ, after his supper, being more near his death, saith, Let this cup pass from me; calling his passion "the cup," by a metaphor; yet he lied not.

V. Cole saith, "This argument cannot be dissolved." But Cranmer's answer cannot be infringed; for, if one *disparatum* cannot be affirmed of another by any way than by that rule, "Christ is not the rock;" "Bread cannot be the body" (being disparate one from the other) I grant, speaking properly; but figuratively, or sacramentally, it may.

VI. and VII. Cranmer answereth to the major by a distinction: "The same body is given which was born of the Virgin, but not after the same manner." Of the Virgin, his body was born really: in the sacrament, it is eaten sacramentally and figuratively.

VIII. The nourishment of mothers and of Christ agree in this, wherein they are compared: that is, that they both do nourish their children with their own bodies, but not after one way of nourishing. The mother feedeth her infant by putting her milk into his mouth and body, really; Christ likewise feedeth us with his body broken for us; not in putting his flesh, broken, into our bodies, but in offering the passion of his body to our faith, spiritually; and, in the bread, sacramentally.

IX. The major is false: Christ giveth not only wine for his blood, but giveth both wine and his blood. Wine as a holy sacrament of his blood, to be taken with mouth, wherein, not the wine, but his blood, is to be considered; and also, besides the wine, he giveth his blood to be received with faith, and these two be more than mothers give to their infants.

X. In this argument is a point of false packing; for where Chrysostom hath, *Ostenditur in terrâ*, the prolocutor thrusteth in *est in terrâ*. And so is the argument answered—the body of Christ is showed here on earth in a sacrament, and the same body, so showed, is worthy highest honour.

XI. and XII. This argument is to be denied for lack of form, except Chedsey would thus form it: “The soul of man is fed, there, with what the body eateth; The soul of man is fed with Christ’s body, and not with sacraments: ergo, the body of man eateth the body of Christ, and not the sacrament,” &c.—First, the major is false as it standeth. And here note the deceit of Chedsey in putting in “therewith,” which Tertullian hath not: his words be these, “The flesh feeds on the body and blood of Christ, that the soul may be nourished by God.”—Here Chedsey, for “by God,” hath “by it;” which corrupteth the meaning of Tertullian, who saith “by God:” meaning that the soul is fed spiritually, and the body sacramentally. Secondly, to the minor: if the soul be not fed with the sacraments, how is it true then that the papists say the sacraments give grace?

XIII. The major is false and to be denied: for the similitude of Christ’s living by his Father, and our living by eating the body of Christ, is not like. For if Christ live, naturally, by his Father, so do not we eat the body of Christ naturally in the sacrament, nor live naturally by eating the same; but naturally we live by Christ, in that he took our natural body—not that we eat his natural body.

XIV. To the minor it is answered by a distinction: “For the speech of Christ worketh two manner of ways, by making, and by instituting.” The speech of Christ, at the supper, worketh, not by making any new substance or by changing the

old, but by instituting a sacrament by the power of the word and of the Holy Spirit; of which instituting St. Augustine speaketh: “The bread is not consecrated to so great a sacrament, unless by the unseen work of the Spirit of God.”

XV. To the major, being grounded upon the words of Ambrose, the archbishop answereth, That there is the same blood which redeemed the people, but not after the same manner; for, on the cross, the blood of Christ was there, simply and really: at the supper and in the cup, it is sacramentally and by a similitude. As Ambrose saith himself in another place, “As thou hast received the similitude of his death, so also thou drinkest the similitude of his precious blood.”

XVI. As concerning this argument here is to be noted, that the archbishop found fault with Chedsey for false translating of Justin, *Cibum illum consecratum per sermonem*; whereas the Greek text of Justin hath not *ἱερουργεῖν*, but *εὐχαριστῆσαι*; that is *non consecratum*, meat not consecrated; but meat only over which thanks be given. Then to the argument; If Christ be so truly in the sacrament, as he was truly incarnate of the Virgin, then can there be no transubstantiation; for, as the Word was made flesh, not by changing the substance of the Word into the substance of flesh, so is not the substance of bread changed into the body.

XVII. To the XVIIth, the major, as it standeth, is not to be granted: “The substance of our flesh may be nourished and increased with that which is received, though it be not the true and real body of Christ; for the bread, being a sacrament of Christ’s real body, may feed the body of man, and so doth the real body of Christ properly feed the soul and not the body; as Tertullian saith, ‘The body is nourished by the symbolical bread, the soul by the body of Christ.’”

Next follow the answers and resolutions to the arguments objected against Dr. Ridley; wherein the less labour shall need to be taken, because he, being more practised in the schools, hath sufficiently and fully answered the same before.

XVIII. Argument: This argument doth not hold; and that for three causes, as Dr. Ridley in his answers seemeth to infer. First, that the presence of Christ may be upon earth according to any thing which belongs to the body of Christ, and not according to his real or corporal substance; and so he granteth his ascension not to let his presence to be in the sacrament. Secondly, if Christ, after his ascension, was seen here in earth, as to Paul, Stephen, and Peter, &c., yet, whether he appeared from heaven to them on earth, or whether their eyes from

earth were rapt up to him in heaven, it is doubtful; and of things doubtful no certain judgment can be given. Thirdly, though he had so manifested himself at certain times to be seen as pleased him, yet by that is proved that he *was*, and not that he *is* present here now in earth; and therefore, as this, his abiding in heaven, is no let but that he may be in the sacrament if he list, so this his appearing sometimes on the earth, is no proof that he list now to be in the sacrament when he may.

XIX. To the antecedent: "One Christ is complete at all times, and in all places;" but Chrysostom saith not, that *one body* of Christ is in all places.

XX. and XXI. It may be that Christ might appear to Paul, not he coming down from heaven—but that the eyes of Paul, rising up to heaven, there might apprehend him. Again it may be, that the power and glory of Christ might appear to Paul, and yet the body of Christ remain still in heaven; but, if his body was then really present on earth, yet his body was not at one time both in heaven and earth together. But what should we say then to the *pix*? If the body of Christ be so often on the altar and so long in the *pix* as they make him, then, by this reason, Christ's body is either seldom, or never, lightly, in heaven.

XXII. He answereth to the minor by a distinction: If the being or appearing of Christ here on the earth be referred as to a place, so he denieth that Paul or others did see him corporally being here on earth; but if it be referred as to the verity of his person, so he granteth it may be. And yet, as is said, whether he descended down, or their spirits ascended up, it is doubtful: certes, to whomsoever he appeared, yet his appearing was in the air above, and not on the earth.

XXIII. The force of this argument is grounded upon Chrysostom, "Christ both left his flesh to us, and ascended having it with him." To the which it is thus answered: That Christ both took his flesh and left the same with us; but not after the same manner: for he took up his flesh really, and left the same behind sacramentally. And therein he did more than Elias, for he, as he left his mantle behind him really, so he took the same with him no manner of way.

XXIV. This argument of Master Ward, as the terms stand, is neither a right figure nor mode. Again, there is a *fallax a dicto secundum quid ad id quod simpliciter*: and therefore the minor is well denied. For Christ, in giving them his body to eat, did not give his body *simpliciter* to be eaten, but after a certain manner, that is, sacramentally his body, and materially his bread; and so both bread and his body, in sundry respects.

XXV. The minor of this argument standeth upon Theophylact, "He did not not say it is a figure of my flesh, but it is my body;" which author, as he is not to be numbered among the most ancient, so neither among the most sound of writers. He was about that time, when this controversy about transubstantiation began first to grow, and when the contention was between the Greek church and the Latin about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, &c. But, to let authority stand: this place upon St. Mark is answered by another place of the said author upon St. John, cap. vi.: *Attende quod panis in mysteriis non est tantum figuratio quedam carnis Domini, sed ipsa caro Domini*, &c.; meaning that here, which he speaketh above: That the sacrament is not only a figure, (that is, no bare and void figure,) but a reverend sacrament of the body, and, after a manner, the body itself, of Christ.

XXVI. The minor hereof is untrue, if it stand universally for all the true sheep of Christ.

XXVII. The major of this argument, taken out of Justin, may be taken two ways: for the giving of the body of Christ, may be understood either really, and so the major is false; or spiritually, and so the minor faileth: for he gave his flesh, not only in the supper, but also on the cross.

XXVIII. The major is false: The Judaical passover is *not* strange from Christ, for that he is the Lord of all.

XXIX. The minor is denied: for he gave his flesh to be eaten, both in the eucharist and also otherwise; as is before declared: In the eucharist, sacramentally to be eaten; on the cross, and also in the world, spiritually.

XXX. To the major he answereth: The true blood, and the same blood which issued out of his side, is in the cup; but not after the same manner. From his side it streamed, really and substantially. In the cup it is sacramentally, that is, by way and condition of representation, so by him ordained. The question is not of being, for that is granted on both parties, but of the manner of being, which now in heaven is really; in the receivers is spiritually; in the eucharist is sacramentally.

XXXI. The minor is thus to be understood: Bread and wine, as it is common bread and common wine, have no promise; but, as they be sanctified into a sacrament of the Lord's body and blood, they have promise of grace annexed; but so annexed, that not they themselves have or give the grace, but they are only as instruments whereby the grace cometh, not for their sake, but for that thing which they represent.

XXXII. This argument of Dr. Smith lacketh its right shape and form, having four terms, &c.

Further, to the sequel, which he inferreth upon this argument: "But Christ bare himself in his *own* hands: ergo, he bare no figure of his body," &c. To this is answered by a distinction really and sacramentally. Really, neither David nor Christ did bear himself in his own hands; sacramentally, David could not bear himself, but Christ so did at the supper; and *that* Augustine meaneth, adding this word, *quodam modo*, after a certain manner; expounding thereby his words before. And this Dr. Smith, falsely and craftily, leaveth out, in alleging the doctor's words.

XXXIII. Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ, he granteth, but only sacramentally; that is, that thing which beareth a sacrament of the natural body of Christ: but good men eat the same, both sacramentally and spiritually.

XXXIV. To the major he answereth: We worship the same natural body of Christ, which the wise men did worship, but not after the same manner; that is, not really here present to our bodies, as he was to theirs, but spiritually or sacramentally; and, so we worship Christ spiritually in his word and Scriptures, and yet we say not that he is really present in the Scriptures.

Resolutions to the arguments objected against Master Latimer.

XXXV. To the major of this argument, Master Latimer answereth himself sufficiently before, in page 1069. As touching drinking of blood, it is forbidden in the Old Testament; and commanded in the New, as touching the matter, but not as touching the manner of the thing, &c.

XXXVI. First he denieth the major; secondly he distincteth the word "church" in the minor; for as there is the true church of Christ which he never suffereth to err, in the whole, from the apostles' time, (although it may, in part, sometime,) so there is the popish church, and that erreth and hath erred; which first begat the error of transubstantiation in the time of Pope Innocent the Third about the year 1215.

Here followeth a copy of the letter of warrant, sent from the queen to Richard Atkinson, mayor of Oxford; Richard Ivery, and William Jony, bailiffs; and the rest of the aldermen and inhabitants of the same city, concerning the custody and bringing forth of the said bishops to the disputations.

A letter of Warrant, &c.

"To our trusty and well-beloved the mayor, aldermen, and other inhabitants, of the city of Oxford.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas Dr. Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Hugh Latimer, clerk, now remaining in your custody, by your appointment, have, besides other their great crimes, maintained and openly set forth divers heresies and erroneous and most pernicious opinions, contrary to the catholic faith of Christ's church, to the great offence of Almighty God, and evil and dangerous example of all our faithful and loving subjects:—like as it hath been wisely considered in the convocation of the bishops, prelates, and other the clergy of our realm, that the heresies, moved and nourished by the fore-said persons and other their adherents, being no less perilous for the state of our realm than hurtful to the setting-forth of God's glory and the furtherance of the catholic religion, are meet to be, by learning, convinced and overthrown in time:—so have they, for that purpose, appointed certain grave and well learned doctors and others, as well of that our university of Oxford as of our university of Cambridge, to hear, in open disputation, the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; so as their erroneous opinions, being by the word of God justly and truly convinced, the residue of our subjects may be thereby the better established in the true catholic faith: We therefore, minding to have the truth of Christ's catholic religion set forth and justly established among our loving subjects, to his glory and benefit of this our realm, do let you wit, that our will and pleasure is, that when, and as often as, the said learned persons appointed for that purpose shall require you to cause the said Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer (every or any of them) to be brought to the place of open disputation, you shall not only give order for the same conveying thither of them, or any one or two of them, at the hours to them to be appointed, but also to receive them again into your custody, to be kept all together or separately as the commissioners shall appoint from time to time, until further order shall be taken in this behalf accordingly. Given under our signet, at our manor of St. James, the sixth of April, and in the first year of our reign."

The report and narration of Master Ridley, concerning the misordered disputation had against him and his fellow prisoners at Oxford.

"I never yet, since I was born, saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was with me in the schools at Oxford. Yea verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to have found amongst men recounted to be of knowledge and

learning in this realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like to stage-players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than to grave divines in schools to dispute. The Sorbonical clamours—which at Paris I have seen in times past, when popery most reigned—might be worthily thought (in comparison of this Thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no great marvel, seeing they which should have been moderators and overseers of others, and which should have given good examples in words and gravity; they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trump to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. By reason whereof (good Christian reader) manifestly it may appear, that they never sought for any truth or verity, but only for the glory of the world, and their own bragging victory. But lest, by the innumerable railings and reproachful taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, our cause—yea, rather God's cause and his church's—should be evil spoken of, and slandered to the world, through false reports and untrue examples given out of our disputation, and so the verity might sustain some damage, I thought it no less than my duty to write mine answers; to the intent that whosoever is desirous to know the truth thereof, may by this perceive, as well those things which were chiefly objected, as summarily that which was answered of me unto every of them. Howbeit (good reader) I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously and confusedly objected of their parts, being so many; speaking many times all together so thick, that one could not well hear another, neither all that was answered on my behalf to them so sundry and divers opponents.

“Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly consumed in opprobrious checks and reviling taunts, (with hissing and clapping of hands,) and that in the English tongue, to procure the people's favour withal. All which things, when I with great grief of heart did behold, protesting openly, that such excessive and outrageous disorder was unseemly for those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and that they which were the doers and stirrers of such things, did nothing else but betray the slenderness of their cause, and their own vanities: I was so far off, by this my humble complaint, from doing any good at all, that I was enforced to hear such rebukes, checks, and taunts for my labour, as no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear the like spoken of a most vile varlet, against a most wretched ruffian.

“At the first beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words (and that after the manner and law of schools); afore I could make an end of my first probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, ‘He speaketh blasphemies! he speaketh blasphemies!’ And when I on my knees besought them, and that heartily, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end (whereat the prolocutor, being moved, cried out a high, ‘Let him read it! let him read it!’): yet when I began to read again, there followed immediately such shouting, such a noise and tumult, and confusion of voices, crying, ‘Blasphemies! blasphemies!’ as I, to my remembrance, never heard or read the like; except it be that one, which was in the Acts of the Apostles, stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying out against Paul, ‘Great is Diana of the Ephesians! great is Diana of the Ephesians!’ And except it be a certain disputation which the Arians had against the orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa; where, it is said, that such as the president and rulers of the disputation were, such was the end of the disputations: all were in a hurly-burly; and so great were the slanders which the Arians cast out, that nothing could quietly be heard. This writeth Victor, in the second book of his history.

“The which cries and tumults of them against me so prevailed, that, will I, nill I, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were short. If any man doubt of the truth hereof, let the same ask any one that was there, and not utterly perverted in popery; and I am assured he will say, I spake the least. But, to complain of these things further, I will cease.”

And further, speaking of this disputation, he concludeth with these words:

“And thus was ended this most glorious disputation of the most holy fathers, sacrificers, doctors, and masters; which fought most manfully, as ye may see, for their God and goods, for their faith and felicity, for their country and kitchen, for their beauty and belly, with triumphant applauses, and favour of the whole university.”

After the disputation of Master Latimer ended, which was the eighteenth of April; the Friday following, which was the twentieth of the said month, the commissioners sat in St. Mary's church, as they did the Saturday before, and Dr. Weston used particularly dissuasions with every one of them, and would not suffer them to answer in any

wise, but directly and peremptorily, as his words were, to say whether they would subscribe, or no. And first to the archbishop of Canterbury, he said, he was overcome in disputations. To whom the archbishop answered, that whereas Dr. Weston said, he hath answered and opposed, and could neither maintain his own errors, nor impugn the verity; all that he said was false. For he was not suffered to oppose as he would, nor could answer as he was required, unless he would have brawled with them; so thick their reasons came one after another. Ever four or five did interrupt him, that he could not speak. Master Ridley and Master Latimer were asked what they would do: they replied, that they would stand to that they had said. Then were they all called together, and sentence read over them, that they were no members of the church: and therefore they, their supporters and patrons, were condemned as heretics. And in reading of it, they were asked, whether they would turn or no: and they bade them read on in the name of God; for they were not minded to turn. So they were condemned all three.

After which, sentence of condemnation being awarded against them, they answered again every one in his turn, in manner and effect of words, as followeth: the archbishop first beginning thus:

The archbishop of Canterbury.—"From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of God Almighty; trusting to be present with him in heaven, for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned."

Dr. Ridley.—"Although I be not of your company, yet doubt I not but my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner, than we should by the course of nature have come."

Master Latimer.—"I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end, that I may in this case glorify God by that kind of death."

Dr. Weston to Latimer.—"If you go to heaven in this faith, then I will never come thither, as I am thus persuaded."

After the sentence pronounced, they were separated one from another; videlicet, the archbishop was returned to Bocardo, Dr. Ridley was carried to the sheriff's house, Master Latimer to the bailiff's.

On Saturday following, they had a mass with a general procession and great solemnity. Dr. Cranmer was caused to behold the procession out of Bocardo; Dr. Ridley out of the sheriff's house; Latimer also, being brought to see it from the bailiff's house, thought that he should have gone to burning, and

spake to one Augustine Cooper, a catchpole, to make a quick fire. But when he came to Carfax, and saw the matter, he ran as fast as his old bones would carry him, to one Spenser's shop, and would not look towards it. Last of all, Dr. Weston carried the sacrament, and four doctors carried the canopy over him. Immediately after the sentence was given, Dr. Ridley writeth to the prolocutor in manner as followeth.

"Master Prolocutor, you remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries whom ye appointed (*me fateor neminem recusare*) to write what should be said, and to have had licence to have added unto them, or to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted me also at the delivery of my answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same:—these promises are not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promise is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands. Now I send you here my answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same; and I shall, by God's grace, procure the pains of the writer to be paid for, and satisfied accordingly. Master Prolocutor, in the time of my answering in the schools, when I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities and reasons, ye said then openly, that I should have time and place, to say and bring whatsoever I could, another time, and the same your saying was then and there confirmed of other of the commissioners: yea, and (I dare say) the audience also thought then, that I should have had another day, to have brought and said what I could, for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given, before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel at it all; and the due reformation of all things which are amiss, I commit to Almighty God my heavenly Father, who, by his dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he hath made the universal judge of all flesh, shall truly and righteously judge both you and me."

On Monday next ensuing, after these things done and past, being the twenty-third of the said month of April, Dr. Weston, prolocutor, took his journey up to London, with the letters certificatory from the university unto the queen, by whom the archbishop of Canterbury directed his letters supplicatory unto the council. The which letters, after the prolocutor had received, and had carried them well-near half way to London, by the way he opened the

same, and seeing the contents thereof, sent them back again, refusing to carry them, &c. Likewise Bishop Ridley, hearing of the prolocutor's going to London, writeth to him his letters, wherein he desireth him to carry his answers up to certain bishops in London, the form of which letters, first of Dr. Ridley, then of the archbishop, and lastly, another letter of Dr. Ridley to the archbishop, here in order followeth.

Another letter of Bishop Ridley to the prolocutor.

"Master Prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and show all mine answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and especially to my lord chancellor, my lords of Durham, Ely, Worcester, Norwich, and Chichester; and also to show and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines here I write unto you. And that I did make this request unto you by this my writing, know ye that I did take witness of them by whom I send you this writing, and also of those which were then with them present; videlicet, the two bailiffs of Oxford—and of Master Irish, alderman, then there called to be a witness.

"By me Nicholas Ridley, the 13th of April, anno 1554."

The copy of the archbishop of Canterbury's letter to the council, sent by Dr. Weston, who refused to deliver it.

"In right humble wise sheweth unto your honourable Lordships Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, beseeching the same to be a means for me unto the queen's Highness for her mercy and pardon. Some of you know by what means I was brought and trained unto the will of our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, and what I spake against the same; wherein I refer me to the reports of your honours and worship. Furthermore, this is to signify unto your Lordships, that upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday last past, were open disputations here in Oxford against me, Master Ridley, and Master Latimer, in three matters concerning the sacrament: first, of the real presence: secondly, of transubstantiation: and thirdly, of the sacrifice of the mass. Upon Monday, against me; upon Tuesday, against Dr. Ridley; and upon Wednesday, against Master Latimer. How the other two were ordered, I know not; for we were separated, so that none of us knoweth what the other said, nor how they were ordered. But as concerning myself, I can report. Dr. Chedsey was appointed to dis-

pute against me, but the disputation was so confused, that I never knew the like; every man bringing forth what him liked without order: and such haste was made, that no answer could be offered to be taken fully to any argument, before another brought a new argument. And in such weighty matters the disputation must needs be ended in one day, which can scantily be ended in three months. And when we had answered them, they would not appoint us one day to bring forth our proofs, that they might answer us, being required by me thereunto; whereas I myself have more to say, than can be well discussed, as I suppose, in twenty days. The means to resolve the truth, had been to have suffered us to answer fully to all that they could say; and then they again to answer us fully to all that we can say. But why they would not answer us, what other cause can there be, but that either they feared their matter, that they were not able to answer us, or else for some consideration they made such haste, not to seek the truth, but to condemn us, that it must be done in post-haste before the matters could be thoroughly heard—for in haste we were all three condemned of heresy. Thus much I thought good to signify unto your Lordships, that you may know the indifferent handling of matters, leaving the judgment thereof unto your wisdoms. And I beseech your Lordships, to remember me, a poor prisoner, unto the queen's Majesty; and I shall pray, as I do daily unto God, for the long preservation of your good Lordships in all godliness and felicity.

"April 23, 1554."

Bishop Ridley to Archbishop Cranmer.

"I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But, I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is reported, that Serjeant Morgan, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that Justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Dr. Moreman. Item, that Master Rogers, Dr. Crome, and Master Bradford shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with, as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When ye have read mine answers, send them again to Austin, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and into perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh: the Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace!

"If you have not to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded; so he may, and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty, but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I pray for you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England!—Turn, or burn."

Other things which happened in this realm, in this tumultuous time.

These disputations being thus discussed and ended, which were at Oxford in the month of April, as is aforesaid: now let us return again to the prosecuting of our story, touching other things likewise that happened in other parts of the realm, in this tumultuous time of Queen Mary. And because things that happened in that time were so many and divers, that it is hard to keep a perfect order in reciting them all—to the intent therefore to insert things left out before, or else to prosecute the same more at full, we have thought here a little to interrupt the order of time, (albeit not much,) returning again to the month of July the year before, viz. 1553. In the which month of July, I showed before, how the duke of Northumberland was apprehended by the guard, and brought to London by the earl of Arundel, and other lords and gentlemen appointed for that purpose, on St. James's day, (being the twenty-fifth of July,) and so to the Tower, where he remained.

These be the names of them that were committed to the Tower with the duke. First, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Huntingdon, Lord Ambrose Dudley and Lord Henry Dudley, Lord Hastings, who was delivered again the same night; Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Dr. Sands, chancellor of Cambridge.

The twenty-sixth of July, the lord marquis of Northampton, the bishop of London, Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Richard Corbet, were brought and committed to the Tower.

The twenty-seventh of July, the lord chief justice of England, and the Lord Mountacute, chief justice of the Common Pleas, were committed to the Tower.

On the Friday, being the twenty-eighth of July,

the duke of Suffolk and Sir John Cheke were committed to the Tower.

The thirtieth of July, the Lord Russel was committed to the sheriff of London's custody.

The thirty-first of July, the earl of Rutland was committed to the Fleet.

On the same day, being Monday, the duke of Suffolk was delivered out of the Tower again.

On Thursday the third of August, the queen entered into the city of London at Aldgate, and so to the Tower, where she remained seven days, and then removed to Richmond.

On Friday the fourth of August, Dr. Day was delivered out of the Fleet.

On Saturday the fifth of August, the Lord Ferrers was committed to the Tower, and the same day Dr. Bonner was delivered out of the Marshalsea. The same day at night, Dr. Coxe was committed to the Marshalsea, and one Master Edward Underhill to Newgate. Also the same day Dr. Tonstal and Stephen Gardiner were delivered out of the Tower, and Gardiner received into the queen's privy council, and made lord chancellor.

On Sunday the sixth of August, Henry Dudley, captain of the guard at Guines, who before had been sent to the French king by his cousin the duke of Northumberland, after the despatch of his ambassage with the French king, returned to Guines, and so was taken, and this day brought to the Tower.

On Monday the seventh of August, *Dirige* in Latin was sung within the Tower, by all the king's chapel, and the bishop of Winchester was chief minister; whereat was present the queen, with most part of the council.

On Tuesday the eighth of August, the king's body was brought to Westminster, and there buried; where Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, preached. The same day a mass of *Requiem* was sung within the Tower, by the bishop of Winchester, who had on his mitre, and did all things as in times past was done; at which mass the queen was present.

On Thursday the duke of Norfolk came forth of the Tower, with whom the duchess of Somerset was also delivered this Thursday.

On Sunday the thirteenth of August, Dr. Bourn preached at Paul's Cross: of the which sermon read before.

In the week following, commandment was given throughout the city, that no apprentices should come to the sermon, nor bear any knife or dagger.

On the Wednesday, being the sixteenth of August, Master Bradford, Master Beacon, and Master Veron, were committed to the Tower: with whom

also Master Sampson should have been committed, and was sought for the same time at Master Elsing's house in Fleet Street, where Master Bradford was taken; and because he was not found, the bishop of Winchester fumed like a prelate, with the messenger.

On the Friday, being the eighteenth of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Warwick, were arraigned at Westminster, and there the same day condemned; the duke of Norfolk that day being the high judge.

On Saturday the nineteenth of August, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were arraigned at Westminster, and condemned the same day; the lord marquis of Winchester being high judge.

On that day a letter was sent unto Sir Henry Tirril, Anthony Brown and Edmund Brown, esquires, praying them to commit to ward all such as should condemn the queen's order of religion, or should keep themselves from church, there to remain until they be conformable, and to signify their names to the council.

On Sunday the twentieth of August, Dr. Watson, the bishop of Winchester's chaplain, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Pembroke, the Lord Rich, and two hundred of the guard with their halberts, lest the people should have made any stir against the preacher.

On Monday the twenty-first of August, the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a mass within the Tower, and after mass they all five received the sacrament in one kind only, as in the popish time was used. On the which day also Queen Mary set forth a proclamation, signifying to the people, that she could not hide any longer the religion which she from her infancy had professed, &c.: inhibiting in the said proclamation, printing and preaching. The tenor thereof read before.

On the Tuesday, being the twenty-second of August, the duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded at the Tower Hill, as before is said. The same day certain noble personages heard mass within the Tower, and likewise after mass, received the sacrament in one kind.

On Sunday the twenty-seventh of August, Dr. Chedsey preached at Paul's Cross; and the same day the bishop of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Smith, and the dean of Paul's, were cited to appear the week following before the queen's commissioners, in the bishop's consistory within Paul's.

In this mean time it was noised abroad by running rumours falsely and craftily devised; either to establish the credit of the mass, or else to bring Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, out of credit, that he, to curry favour with Queen Mary, should promise to say "Dirige mass," after the old custom, for King Edward, and that he had already said mass at Canterbury, &c. Wherefore, to stop the noise and slanders of those rumours, on the seventh of September, 1553, he set forth a letter which was also printed, in purgation of himself, the copy of which letter here ensueth:

"As the devil, Christ's ancient adversary, is a liar, and the father of lies, even so hath he stirred up his servants and members to persecute Christ, and his true word and religion, with lying: which he ceaseth not to do most earnestly at this present time. For whereas the prince of famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, seeing the great abuses of the Latin mass, reformed some things therein in his lifetime, and after, our late sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, took the same wholly away, for the manifold and great errors and abuses of the same, and restored in the place thereof Christ's holy supper, according to Christ's own institution, and as the apostles used the same in the primitive church: the devil goeth about now, by lying, to overthrow the Lord's supper again, and to restore his Latin satisfactory mass, a thing of his own invention and device. And to bring the same more easily to pass, some have abused the name of me, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, bruiting abroad, that I have set up the mass at Canterbury, and that I offered to say mass at the burial of our late sovereign prince King Edward the Sixth, and that I offered also to say mass before the queen's Highness, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. And although I have been well exercised these twenty years to suffer and bear evil reports and lies, and have not been much grieved thereat, but have borne all things quietly; yet, when untrue reports and lies turn to the hinderance of God's truth, they are in no wise to be suffered. Wherefore, these be to signify unto the world, that it was not I that set up the mass at Canterbury, but it was a false, flattering, lying, and dissembling monk, which caused mass to be set up there without mine advice or counsel. And as for offering myself to say mass before the queen's Highness, or in any other place, I never did it; as her Grace well knoweth. But if her Grace will give me leave, I shall be ready to prove, against all that will say the contrary, that all that is contained in the Holy Communion, set out by the most innocent and godly prince King Edward the Sixth.

in his high court of parliament, is conformable to that order which our Saviour Christ did both observe, and command to be observed; and which his apostles and the primitive church used many years:—whereas the mass, in many things, not only hath no foundation of Christ, his apostles, nor the primitive church, but is manifestly contrary to the same, and containeth many horrible abuses in it. And although many, either unlearned or malicious, do report, that Master Peter Martyr is unlearned, yet, if the queen's Highness will grant thereunto, I, with the said Master Peter Martyr, and other four or five, which I shall choose, will, by God's grace, take upon us to defend, not only the common prayers of the church, the ministration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, but also all the doctrine and religion set out by our sovereign lord King Edward the Sixth, to be more pure, and according to God's word, than any other that hath been used in England these one thousand years: so that God's word may be judge, and that the reasons and proofs of both parties may be set out in writing, to the intent, as well that all the world may examine and judge thereon, as that no man shall start back from his writing. And whereas they boast of the faith, that hath been in the church these fifteen hundred years, we will join with them in this point; and that the same doctrine and usage is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hundred years past: and we shall prove, that the order of the church, set out at this present in this realm by act of parliament, is the same that was used in the church fifteen hundred years past—and so shall they be never able to prove theirs."

The same Thursday, being the seventh of September, 1553, Lord Mountacute, chief justice, and the lord chief baron, were delivered out of the Tower.

The thirteenth of September, the reverend father, Master Hugh Latimer, was committed to the Tower.

The fourteenth of September, the archbishop of Canterbury was committed to the Tower.

The twenty-sixth of September, one Master Gray of Cambridge, called before him one Master Garth, for that he would not suffer a boy of Peterhouse to help him say mass in Pembroke hall; which was before any law was established for that behalf.

The queen came to the Tower of London upon the Thursday, the twenty-eighth of September. And, upon the Saturday following, she rode from the Tower through the city of London, where

were made many pageants to receive her; and so she was triumphantly brought to Westminster to Whitehall.

Upon the Sunday, being the first of October, 1553, the queen's Highness went from Whitehall to Westminster Abbey, accompanied with the most part of the nobility of this realm, namely these: the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Shrewsbury, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Derby, Bedford, Worcester, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Oxford, Sussex, Devonshire, Pembroke, the Lord Dacres of the north, Lord Ferrers, Lord Cobham, Lord Abergavenny, Lord Wentworth, Lord Scrope, Lord Riche, Lord Vaux, Lord Howard, Lord Connyers, Lord Morley, Lord Paget, and the Lord Willoughby, with other nobles, and all the ambassadors of divers countries, and the mayor of London, with all the aldermen. Also out of the Abbey, to receive her coming, came three silver crosses, and to the number of fourscore, or near upon, of singing men, all in very rich and gorgeous copes. Amongst whom was the dean of Westminster, and divers of her chaplains, which bare every one some ensign in their hands, and after them followed ten bishops, mitred all, and their crosier staves in their hands, and rich copes upon them every one. And in this order they returned from Westminster Hall before the queen to the Abbey, where she was crowned by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester and lord chancellor of England. At the time of the coronation Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, made a sermon to the queen's Majesty, and to the rest of the nobility.

Also there was a general pardon proclaimed within the Abbey at the same time of her coronation, out of which proclamation all the prisoners of the Tower and the Fleet were excepted, and sixty-two more; whereof Master Whitchurch and Master Grafton were two.

The third of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did challenge one Master Pierson, for that he ministered still the communion in his own parish, and did receive strangers of other parishes to the same, and would not say mass. Whereupon, within two days after, he was clean discharged from further ministering in his cure.

On the Wednesday following, the archbishop of York was committed to the Tower.

On Thursday, being the fifth of October, the queen rode to the parliament in her robes, and all the nobility with her, and when they were set in the parliament house, the bishop of Winchester made to them a solemn oration, and Serjeant Pol-lard was chosen speaker of the parliament. The

same day the bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, and Chester, were discharged from the parliament and convocation.

Also, the tenth of October, the earl of Huntingdon was delivered out of the Tower.

On the Sunday after, being the fifteenth of October, Master Laurence Saunders preached at All-hallows in Bread Street in the morning; where he declared the abomination of the mass, with divers other matters, very notably and godly: whereof more shall be heard (by the Lord's leave) hereafter, when we come to his story. In which his doing, as he showed himself to be God's faithful minister, so is he sure not to be defrauded of God's faithful promise, who saith, Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father in heaven. But about noon of the same day, he was sent for by the bishop of London, and from thence committed to the Marshalsea.

On the Sunday following, being the twentieth of October, Dr. Weston preached at Paul's Cross: who, in the beginning of his sermon, willed the people to pray for the souls departed, on this wise: "You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers." He named the Lord's table an oyster-board. He said, that the catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable heresy, and likened the setters-out of

the same catechism to Julian the apostate, and the book to a dialogue set out by the said John the apostate, wherein Christ and Pilate were the speakers; with many other things. Which sermon, with all the points thereof, Master Coverdale the same time learnedly confuted by writing; which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

In the week following began the disputations in the Convocation-house in Paul's church, whereof sufficient hath been before declared.

The twenty-sixth of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge went to Clare hall, and in the presence of Dr. Walker, displaced Dr. Madew, and placed Master Swynbourne in the mastership there, by force of the lord chancellor's letters; for that he was (as they termed it) *uxoratus*, that is married.

The twenty-eighth of October, the papists in the King's college in Cambridge (not tarrying the making of any law, but of their blind zeal) had their whole service again in the Latin tongue; contrary to the law then in force.

The last day of October, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge did sharply reprove and threaten our Master Thrackold, for that he challenged the said vice-chancellor, who had suffered Master Bovel (contrary to the statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the supremacy of the queen, and the abrogation of the bishop of Rome.

The third of November the vice-chancellor sent for the curate of the Round church in Cambridge, commanding him not to minister any more in the English tongue; saying, he would have one uniform order of service throughout the town, and that in Latin, with mass: which was established the twelfth day of this month.

The sixth of November, Master Pollard preached at St. Michael's, and in his sermon approved purgatory.

The twenty-eighth of November, the archdeacon's official visited Hinton, where he gave in charge to present all such as did disturb the queen's proceedings, in letting the Latin service, the setting up of their altars, and saying of mass, or any part thereof: whereby it was easy to see, how these good fellows meant to proceed, having the law once on their side; that thus readily, against a manifest law, would attempt the punishment of any man.

The fifteenth of December there were two proclamations at London; the one for the repealing of certain acts made by King Edward, and for the setting up of the mass, for the twentieth of December then next following: the other was, that no man should interrupt any of those that would say mass.

The parliament beginning about the fifth of October, continued till the fifth of December. In the which parliament were dissolved as well all the statutes made of præmunire, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, &c., as also other laws and statutes concerning religion and administration of sacraments, decreed under King Edward the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which parliament moreover was appointed, the twentieth of December next ensuing, the same year 1553, that all the old form and manner of church service, used in the last year of King Henry, should now again be restored.

On new-year's even, being the last day of December, the lord marquis of Northampton was delivered out of the Tower.

About this time a priest of Canterbury said mass on the one day, and the next day after he came into the pulpit, and desired all the people to forgive him; for he said, he had betrayed Christ, not as Judas did, but as Peter did: and there made a long sermon against the mass.

The day after new-year's day, being the second of January, A. D. 1554, four ambassadors came into London from the emperor, and were honourably received. Their names were these: the counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry.

About this time a great number of new bishops, deans, &c., were chosen; more than were made at

one time since the Conquest. Their names are these:

Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Cotes, bishop of Chester; Hopton, bishop of Norwich; Bourn, bishop of Bath; White, bishop of Lincoln; Mores, bishop of Rochester; Morgan, bishop of St. David's; Poole, bishop of St. Asaph; Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; Moreman, coadjutor to the bishop of Exeter, and, after his decease, bishop of Exeter; Glyn, bishop of Bangor; Master Fecknam, dean of Paul's; Rainolds, dean of Bristol, with others.

The twelfth of January, the vice-chancellor of Cambridge called a congregation general, wherein amongst other things he showed, that the queen would have there a mass of the Holy Ghost upon the eighteenth of February then next following, for that it was her birthday; which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

On the Saturday, being the thirteenth of January, Dr. Crome was committed to the Fleet. Also upon the Sunday following, one Master Addington was committed to the Tower. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the court openly by the bishop of Winchester, that the marriage between the queen's Majesty and the king of Spain was concluded; and the day following, being Monday, and the fifteenth of January, the mayor with the aldermen and certain commons were at the court; and there they were commanded by the lord chancellor to prepare the city ready to receive the said king of Spain; who declared unto them what a catholic, mighty, prudent, and wise prince the said king was, with many other commendations of him.



On the Saturday following, being the twentieth of January, the court of the first-fruits and tenths was dissolved.

On the Thursday at night following, the twenty-fifth of January, the lord marquis of Northampton was again committed to the Tower, and Sir Edward Warner with him; who were brought to the Tower by the mayor.

On the Saturday following, being the twenty-seventh of January, Justice Hales was committed to the Marshalsea, and the same day Master Rogers was committed to Newgate. On this Saturday, and the Sunday and Monday following, the Londoners prepared a number of soldiers (by the queen's commandment) to go into Kent against the commons: whereof were chief captains the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, Sir Henry Jerningham, Sir George Hayward, and ten other captains. Which soldiers when they came to Rochester bridge, where they should have set upon their enemies, most of them (as it is said) left their own captains, and came wholly to the Kentish men; and so the afore-

said captains returned to the court both void of men and victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of ordnance and treasure.

About the latter end of January, the duke of Suffolk with his brethren departed from his house at Shene, and took his voyage into Leicestershire. After whom was sent the earl of Huntingdon to take him and bring him to London, who proclaimed the said duke traitor, by the way as he rode.

. And thus passing to the month of February, here is to be noted by way of story, that upon the fifteenth day of the said month, being Thursday, there were seen within the city of London, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, strange sights. There were seen two suns both shining at once, the one a pretty good way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a rainbow turned contrary, and a great deal higher than hath been accustomed. The common standing of the rainbow is thus , but this stood thus , with the head downward, and the feet as it were upward. Both these sights were seen as well at Westminster, in Cheapside, and on the south side of Paul's, as in very many other places; and that by a great number of honest men. Also certain aldermen went out of the Guildhall, to behold the sight.

As touching the rising of Master Wyat, with Sir William Cobham and others, in Kent, and their coming to London in the month of February; also of the queen's coming to Guildhall, and her oration there made; and after of the taking of the said Wyat and his company; likewise of the apprehension of the duke of Suffolk with his brother Lord John Gray; and, the next day after, of the beheading of the Lord Guildford and Lady Jane, which was the twelfth of February, and how the day before, which was the eleventh of the said month, Lord William Howard and Sir Edward Hastings were sent for the Lady Elizabeth; and how the same Sunday, Sir Henry Iseley, Master Culpepper, and Master Winter were committed to the Tower, the bishop of Winchester the same day (being the eleventh of February) preaching before the queen, and persuading her to use no mercy toward these Kentish men, but severe execution—all which was in the month of February; because most of these matters have been briefly touched before, or else may be found in other chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having somewhat, notwithstanding, to declare touching the arraignment and death of the duke of Suffolk.

On Saturday, the seventeenth of February, the duke of Suffolk was arraigned at Westminster, and the same day condemned to die by his peers: the earl of Arundel was chief judge for this day.

On the Sunday following, the eighteenth of February, sessions was kept in London, which hath not before been kept on the Sunday.

On Monday, the nineteenth of February, the Lord Cobham's three sons, and four other men, were arraigned at Westminster: of which sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was Thomas, and the other two came not at the bar; and the other four were condemned.

On Tuesday, the twentieth of February, the Lord John Gray was arraigned at Westminster, and there condemned the same day; and other three men, whereof one was named Nailer.

On Wednesday, the twenty-first of February, the Lord Thomas Gray and Sir James Croft were brought through London to the Tower, with a number of horsemen.

On Thursday, the twenty-second of February, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton was committed to the Tower.

On Friday, the twenty-third of February, the duke of Suffolk was beheaded at the Tower Hill, the order of whose death here followeth.

The godly end and death of the duke of Suffolk, beheaded at Tower Hill.

On Friday the twenty-third of February, 1554, about nine of the clock in the forenoon, the Lord Henry Gray, duke of Suffolk, was brought forth of the Tower of London unto the scaffold on the Tower Hill, with a great company, &c.; and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. Weston, as his ghostly father: notwithstanding, as it should seem, against the will of the said duke—for when the duke went up to the scaffold, the said Weston being on the left hand, pressed to go up with him. The duke with his hand put him down again off the stairs; and Weston, taking hold of the duke, forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the second time, the duke again put him down.

Then Weston said, that it was the queen's pleasure he should so do. Wherewith the duke casting his hands abroad, ascended up the scaffold, and paused a pretty while after. And then he said:

"Masters, I have offended the queen and her laws, and thereby am justly condemned to die, and am willing to die, desiring all men to be obedient. And I pray God that this my death may be an example to all men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I die in the faith of Christ, trusting to be saved by *his* blood only, and by no other trumpery, the which died for me, and for all them that truly repent, and stedfastly trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray to God for me; and that when you see my breath depart from

me, you will pray to God that he may receive my soul."

And then he desired all men to forgive him, saying, that the queen had forgiven him.

Then Master Weston declared with a loud voice, that the queen's Majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the standers-by said, with meetly good and audible voice: "Such forgiveness God send thee" (meaning Dr. Weston). Then the duke kneeled down upon his knees, and said the psalm, *Miserere mei Deus*, unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to heaven. And when he had ended the psalm, he said, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum*, &c. Then he arose and stood up, and delivered his cap and his scarf unto the executioner.

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I do: and when thou dost thine office, I pray thee do it well, and bring me out of this world quickly; and God have mercy to thee." Then stood there a man, and said, "My Lord, how shall I do for the money that you do owe me?" And the duke said, "Alas, good fellow! I pray thee trouble me not now; but go thy way to my officers." Then he knit a kercher about his face, and kneeled down and said, "Our Father which art in

about their necks. There were in number about two hundred.

On Saturday, the twenty-fourth of February, Sir William Sentlow was committed as prisoner to the master of the horse, to be kept. This Sir William was at this time one of the Lady Elizabeth's gentlemen.

On Sunday, the twenty-fifth of February, Sir John Rogers was committed to the Tower.

In this week, all such priests within the diocess

of London as were married, were divorced from their livings, and commanded to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be likewise divorced from them.—This the bishop did of his own power.

On the Tuesday in the same week, being the twenty-seventh of February, certain gentlemen of Kent were sent into Kent, to be executed there: their names were these, the two Mantels, two Knevelts, and Bret. With these Master Rudston, also, and certain others were condemned, and should have been executed, but they had their pardon.

As touching the aforesaid Master Mantel the elder, here by the way is to be noted, that as he was led to execution, and at his first casting under the gallows, the rope brake. Then they would have had him recant the truth, and receive the sacrament of the altar (as they term it): and then, they said, he should have the queen's pardon. But Master Mantel, like a worthy gentleman, refused their serpentine counsel, and chose rather to die, than to have life for dishonouring of God.

Moreover, as touching the said Master Mantel, for that he was reported falsely to have fallen from the constancy of his profession; to clear himself thereof, and to reprove the sinister surmise of his recantation, he wrote this brief apology in purgation of himself, the copy whereof you shall hear.

The apology of Master Mantel the elder.

"Perceiving that already certain false reports are raised of me, concerning my answer in the behalf of my belief, while I was prisoner in the Tower of London, and considering how sore a matter it is to be an occasion of offence to any of those little ones that believe in Christ: I have thought it the duty of a Christian man, as near as I can, (with the truth,) to take away this offence. It pleased the queen's Majesty to send unto me Master Doctor Bourn, unto whom at the first meeting I acknowledged my faith in all points to agree with the four creeds, that is, the common creed, the creed of Nicene, *Quicumque vult*, and *Te Deum laudamus*.

"Further, as concerning confession and penance, I declare that I could be content to show unto any learned minister of Christ's church, any thing that troubled my conscience; and of such a man I would most willingly hear absolution pronounced.

"Touching the sacrament of the altar, (as he termed it,) I said that I believed Christ to be there present as the Holy Ghost meant, when these words were written, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

"Further, when this word would not satisfy, I desired him to consider, that I was a condemned man to die by a law, and that it was more meet for me to seek a readiness and preparation to death. And

insomuch as I dissented not from him in any article of the Christian faith necessary to salvation, I desired him, for God's sake, no more to trouble me with such matters, as which to believe, is neither salvation; nor not to believe, damnation. He answered, that if I dissented but in the least matter from the catholic church, my soul was in great danger; therefore much more in this great matter—alleging this text, He that offendeth in the least of these, is guilty of them all.—Yea, quoth I, 'It is true of these commandments of God.' To this I desired him to consider, it was not my matter, nor could I in these matters keep disputation, nor minded so to do. And therefore, to take these few words for a full answer, that I not only in the matter of the sacrament, but also in all other matters of religion, believe as the holy catholic church of Christ (grounded upon the prophets and apostles) believeth. But upon this word 'church' we agreed not; for I took exception at the antichristian, popish church.

"Then fell we in talk of the mass, wherein we agreed not; for I, both for the occasion of idolatry, and also the clear subversion of Christ's institution, thought it naught; and he, *à contra*, upon certain considerations supposed it good. I found fault that it was accounted a sacrifice propitiatory for sin, and at certain other applications of it. But he said, that it was not a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, (for the death of Christ only was that sacrifice,) and this but a commemoration of the same. 'Then, if ye think so, (certain blasphemous collects left out,) I could be content (were it not for offending my poor brethren that believe in Christ, which know not so much) to hear your mass.' 'See,' quoth he, 'how vain-glory toucheth you.' 'Not so, sir,' quoth I, 'I am not now, I thank God, in case to be vain-glorious.'

"Then I found further fault with it, that it was not a communion. 'Yea,' saith he, 'one priest saying mass here, and another there, and the third in another place, &c., is a communion.' 'This agreeth scarcely with these words of Paul,' said I, 'Ye come not after a better manner, but after a worse.' 'Yea, and it is a communion too,' said he, 'when they come together. Now draweth on the time,' quoth he, 'that I must depart from you to the court, to say mass before the queen, and must signify unto her in what case I find you, and methinks I find you sore seduced.' Then I said, 'I pray you report the best; for I trust you find me not obstinate.' 'What shall I say? are ye content to hear mass, and to receive the sacrament in the mass?' 'I beseech you,' said I, 'signify unto her Majesty, that I am neither obstinate nor stubborn; for time and

time and persuasion may alter me, but as yet my conscience is such, that I can neither hear mass, nor receive the sacrament after that sort.—Thus, after certain requests made to the queen's Majesty concerning other matters, he departed.

“The next day he came to me again, and brought with him St. Cyprian's works; for so I had required him to do the day before, because I would see his sermon *De Mortalitate*.' He had in this book turned and interlined certain places, both concerning the church and the sacrament, which he willed me to read. I read as much as my time would serve, and at his next coming I said, that I was wholly of Cyprian's mind in the matter of the sacrament. Dr. Weston and Dr. Mallet came after to me, whom I answered much after that sort as I did the other. Dr. Weston brought in the place of St. Cyprian, *Panis iste non effigie sed natura mutatus*, &c. I asked of him how *natura* was taken in the Convocation-house, in the disputation upon the place of Theodoret.

“To be short, Dr. Bourn came often unto me, and I always said unto him, that I was not minded nor able to dispute in matters of religion: but I believed as the holy catholic church of Christ, grounded upon the prophets and apostles, doth believe: and namely in the matter of the sacrament, as the holy fathers, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine, do write and believed. And this answer, and none other, they had of me in effect: what words soever have been spread abroad of me, that I should be conformable to all things, &c. The truth is, I never heard mass nor received the sacrament during the time of my imprisonment.

“One time he willed me to be confessed. I said, ‘I am content.’ We kneeled down to pray together in a window. I began without ‘Benedicite,’ desiring him not to look, at my hand, for any superstitious particular enumeration of my sins. Therewith he was called away to the council; *et ego liberatus*. Thus much I bare only for my life, as God knoweth. If in this I have offended any Christian, from the bottom of my heart I ask them forgiveness. I trust God hath forgiven me, who knoweth that I durst never deny him before men, lest he should deny me before his heavenly Father.

“Thus I have left behind me, written with mine own hand, the effect of all the talk, especially of the worst that ever I granted unto, to the uttermost I can remember, as God knoweth. All the whole communication I have not written; for it were both too long, and too foolish, so to do. Now I beseech the living God, which hath received me to his mercy, and brought to pass that I die steadfast and undefiled in his truth, at utter defiance and detesta-

tion of all papistical and antichristian doctrine—I beseech him (I say) to keep and defend all his chosen, for his name's sake, from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, (that antichrist,) and from the assault of all his satellites. God's indignation is known: he will try and prove who be his. Amend your lives. Deny not Christ before men, lest he deny you before his heavenly Father. Fear not to lose your lives for him; for ye shall find them again. God hold his merciful hand over this realm, and avert the plagues imminent from the same! God save the queen, and send her knowledge in his truth, Amen! Pray, pray, pray, ye Christians, and comfort yourselves with the Scriptures.

“Written the second of March, anno 1554, by me Walter Mantel, prisoner, whom both God and the world have forgiven his offences. Amen.”

And thus much concerning the purgation of Master Walter Mantel, who, if he had consented unto the queen, what time she sent Dr. Bourn unto him to deny his faith, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he had had his pardon, and escaped with life.

On Saturday, the third of March, Sir Gawen Carew and Master Gibbs were brought through London to the Tower with a company of horsemen.

In London, the seventeenth of March, every householder was commanded to appear before the alderman of his ward, and there were commanded, that they, their wives and servants, should prepare themselves to shrift, and receive the sacrament at Easter; and that neither they, nor any of them, should depart out of the city, until Easter was past.

On the Sunday following, being the eighteenth of March, the Lady Elizabeth, of whom mention was made before, the queen's sister, was brought to the Tower.

On Easter even, being the twenty-fourth of March, the lord marquis of Northampton, the Lord Cobham, and Sir William Cobham, were delivered out of the Tower.

The twenty-fifth day, (being Easter day,) in the morning, at St. Pancras in Cheap, the crucifix with the pix were taken out of the sepulchre, before the priest rose to the resurrection: so that when, after his accustomed manner, he put his hand into the sepulchre, and said very devoutly, *Surrexit: non est hic*,—he found his words true, for he was not there indeed. Whereupon, being half dismayed, they consulted amongst themselves whom they thought to be likeliest to do this thing. In which debatement they remembered one Marsh, who, a

little before, had been put from that parsonage because he was married, to whose charge they laid it. But when they could not prove it, being brought before the mayor, they then burdened him to have kept company with his wife, since that they were by commandment divorced. Whereunto he answered, "that he thought the queen had done him wrong,

to take from him both his living and his wife;"—which words were then noted, and taken very grievously, and he and his wife were both committed to several compters, notwithstanding that he had been very sick.

The eighth of April, there was a cat hanged upon a gallows at the cross in Cheap, apparelled

like a priest ready to say mass, with a shaven crown. Her two fore-feet were tied over her head, with a round paper like a wafer-cake put between them: whereon arose great evil-will against the city of London; for the queen and the bishops were very angry withal. And therefore the same afternoon there was a proclamation, that whosoever could bring forth the party that did hang up the cat, should have twenty nobles, which reward was afterwards increased to twenty marks; but none could or would earn it.

As touching the first occasion of setting up this gallows in Cheapside, here is to be understood, that after the sermon of the bishop of Winchester, (above mentioned,) made before the queen for the strait execution of Wyat's soldiers; immediately upon the same, the thirteenth of February, were set up a great number of gallowses in divers places of the city; namely, two in Cheapside, one at Leadenhall, one at Billingsgate, one at St. Magnus church,

one in Smithfield, one in Fleet Street, four in Southwark, one at Aldgate, one at Bishopsgate, one at Aldersgate, one at Newgate, one at Ludgate, one at St. James's park corner, one at Cripplegate: all which gibbets and gallowses, to the number of twenty, there remained for terror of others, from the thirteenth of February till the fourth of June, and then, at the coming in of King Philip, were taken down.

The eleventh of April was Sir Thomas Wyat beheaded and quartered at the Tower Hill, where he uttered these words touching the Lady Elizabeth and the earl of Devonshire. "Concerning," said he, "what I have said of others in my examination, to charge any others as partakers of my doings, I accuse neither my Lady Elizabeth's Grace, nor my Lord of Devonshire. I cannot accuse them, neither am I able to say, that to my knowledge they knew any thing of my rising." And when Dr. Weston told him, that his confession was otherwise before

the council, he answered: "That which I said then, I said; but that which I say now, is true!"

On Tuesday, the seventeenth of April, Sir James Croft and Master Winter were brought to the Guildhall, with whom also, the same time, and to the same place, was brought Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, and there arraigned of treason, for that he was suspected to be of the conspiracy with the Duke of Suffolk and the rest, against the queen: where he so learnedly and wisely behaved himself, (as well in clearing his own case, as also in opening such laws of the realm as were then alleged against him,) that the quest which was charged with this matter, could not in conscience but find him "not guilty:" for the which, the said twelve persons of the quest, being also substantial men of the city, were bound in the sum of five hundred pounds apiece to appear before the queen's council at a day appointed; there to answer such things as should be laid against them for his acquittal. This quest appeared accordingly before the council in the Star-chamber on Wednesday, being the twenty-fifth of April, and St. Mark's day. From whence, after certain questioning, they were committed to prison: Emanuel Lucas and Thomas Whetstone were committed to the Tower, and the other ten to the Fleet.

As concerning the condemnation of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury, of Doctor Ridley, and Master Latimer, which was the twentieth of this month of April, and also of their disputations, because we have said enough before, it shall not need now to bestow any further rehearsal thereof.

The Friday next following after the condemnation of them, (the twenty-seventh of April,) Lord Thomas Gray, the late duke of Suffolk's brother, was beheaded at Tower Hill.

On Saturday, the twenty-eighth of April, Sir James Croft and Master Winter were again brought to the Guildhall, where Sir James Croft was arraigned and condemned; and because the day was far spent, Master Winter was not arraigned.

On Thursday, the seventeenth of May, William Thomas was arraigned at the Guildhall, and there the same day condemned, who, the next day after, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His accusation was, for conspiring the queen's death: which how true it was, I have not to say. This is certain, that he made a right godly end, and wrote many fruitful exhortations, letters, and sonnets, in the prison before his death.

In the month of May it was given out, and bruited abroad, that a solemn disputation should be holden at Cambridge, (as ye heard before in Master Ridley's letter,) between Master Bradford, Master Saunders, Master Rogers, and others of that side,

and the doctors of both universities on the other side, like as had been in Oxford before, as you have heard. Whereupon the godly preachers who were in prison, having word thereof, albeit they were destitute of their books, neither were ignorant of the purpose of the adversaries, and how the cause was prejudiced before; also how the disputations were confusedly handled at Oxford: nevertheless, they thought not to refuse the offer of disputation, so that they might be quietly and indifferently heard. And therefore, wisely pondering the matter with themselves, by a public consent they directed out of prison a declaration of their mind by writing, the eighth of May. Wherein first, as touching the disputation, although they knew that they should do no good, where all things were so predetermined before; yet, nevertheless, they would not deny to dispute, so that the disputation might be either before the queen, or before the council, or before the parliament houses, or else if they might dispute by writing: for else, if the matter were brought to the doctors' handling in their own schools, they had sufficient proof they said, by the experience of Oxford, what little good would be done at Cambridge. And so consequently declaring the faith and doctrine of their religion, and exhorting the people withal to submit themselves with all patience and humility, either to the will or punishment of the higher powers, they appealed in the end from them to be their judges in this behalf; and so ended their protestation, the copy and contents whereof I thought not unfit here to be inserted.

A copy of a certain declaration drawn and sent abroad out of prison by Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and divers other godly preachers, concerning their disputation, and doctrine of their religion, as followeth:

"Because we hear that it is determined of the magistrates, and such as be in authority, especially of the clergy, to send us speedily out of the prisons of the King's Bench, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and Newgate, where at this present we are, and of long time some of us have been, not as rebels, traitors, seditious persons, thieves, or transgressors of any laws of this realm, inhibitions, proclamations, or commandments of the queen's Highness, or of any of the council's, (God's name be praised therefore,) but alonely for the conscience we have to God, and his most holy word and truth, upon most certain knowledge:—because, we say, we hear that it is determined, we shall be sent to one of the universities of Cambridge or Oxford, there to dispute with such as are appointed in that behalf: in that we purpose not to dispute otherwise than by writing,

except it may be before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses; and therefore perchance it will be bruited abroad, that we are not able to maintain by the truth of God's word, and the consent of the true and catholic church of Christ, the doctrine we have generally and severally taught, and some of us have written and set forth; through which the godly and simple may be offended, and somewhat weakened: we have thought it our bounden duty now, while we may, by writing to publish and notify the causes why we will not dispute otherwise than is above-said, to prevent the offences which might come thereby:—

“First, Because it is evidently known unto the whole world; that the determinations of both the universities in matters of religion, especially wherein we should dispute, are directly against God's word, yea, against their own determinations in the time of our late sovereign lord and most godly prince, King Edward: and further it is known they be our open enemies, and have already condemned our causes, before any disputation had of the same.

“Secondly, Because the prelates and clergy do not seek either us or the verity, but our destruction and their glory. For if they had sought us, (as charity requireth,) then would they have called us forth hereabouts before their laws were so made, that frankly and without peril we might have spoken our consciences. Again, if they had sought for the verity, they would not have concluded of controversies before they had been disputed: so that it easily appeareth, that they seek their own glory and our destruction, and not us and the verity: and therefore we have good cause to refuse disputation, as a thing which shall not further prevail than to the setting forth of their glory, and the suppression of the verity.

“Thirdly, Because the censors and judges (as we hear who they be) are manifest enemies to the truth, and that which worse is, obstinate enemies, before whom pearls are not to be cast, by the commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and by his own example. That they be such, their doings of late at Oxford, and in the Convocation-house in October last past, do most evidently declare.

“Fourthly, Because some of us have been in prison these eight or nine months, where we have had no books, no paper, no pen, no ink, or convenient place for study, we think we should do evil thus suddenly to descend into disputation with them, who may allege, as they list, the fathers and their testimonies; because our memories have not that which we have read so readily, as to reprove, when they shall report and wrest the authors to their purpose, or to

bring forth that we may have there for our advantage.

“Fifthly, Because in disputation we shall not be permitted to prosecute our arguments, but be stopped when we should speak; one saying this, another that, the third his mind, &c. As was done to the godly learned fathers, especially Dr. Ridley, at Oxford, who could not be permitted to declare his mind and meaning of the propositions, and his oftentimes half a dozen at once speaking against him, always letting him to prosecute his argument, and to answer accordingly: we will not speak of the hissing, scoffing, and taunting, which woefully then was used. If on this sort, and much worse, they handled these fathers, much more will they be shamelessly bold with us, if we should enter into disputation with them.

“Sixthly, Because the notaries, that shall receive and write the disputations, shall be of their appointment, and such as either do not or dare not favour the truth, and therefore must write either to please them, or else they themselves (the censors and judges we mean) at their pleasure will put to, and take from, that which is written by the notaries: who cannot, or must not, have in their custody that which they write, longer than the disputation endureth; as their doings at Oxford declare. No copy nor scroll could any man have, by their good will: for the censors and judges will have all delivered into their hands. Yea, if any man was sent there to write, as the report is, the same man was sent for, and his writings taken from him: so must the disputation serve only for the glory, not of God, but of the enemies of his truth.

“For these causes we all think it so necessary not to dispute with them, as, if we did dispute, we should do that which they desire and purpose to seek, to promote the kingdom of antichrist, and to suppress (as much as may be) the truth. We will not speak of the offence that might come to the godly, when they should hear, by the report of our enemies, our answers and arguments framed (you may be sure) for their fantasies, to the slandering of the verity.

“Therefore we publish, and by this writing notify, unto the whole congregation and church of England, that for these aforesaid causes we will not dispute with them, otherwise than with the peers, unless it be before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the houses of the parliament, as is above-said. If they will write, we will answer, and by writing confirm and prove out of the infallible verity, even the very word of God, and by the testimony of the good and most ancient fathers in Christ's church, this our faith and every piece thereof, which here-

after we, in a sum, do write and send abroad purposely, that our good brethren and sisters in the Lord may know it. And, to seal up the same, we are ready, through God's help and grace, to give our lives to the halter or fire; or otherwise, as God shall appoint: humbly requiring, and in the bowels of our Saviour Jesus Christ beseeching, all that fear God, to behave themselves as obedient subjects to the queen's Highness and the superior powers, which are ordained of God under her; rather, after our example, to give their heads to the block, than in any point to rebel, or once to mutter against the Lord's anointed; we mean our sovereign lady Queen Mary: into whose heart we beseech the Lord of mercy plentifully to pour the wisdom and grace of his Holy Spirit, now and for ever. Amen!

"First, We confess and believe all the canonical books of the Old Testament, and all the books of the New Testament, to be the very true word of God, and to be written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and are therefore to be heard accordingly, as the judge in all controversies and matters of religion.

"Secondly, We confess and believe, that the catholic church, which is the spouse of Christ, as a most obedient and loving wife, doth embrace and follow the doctrine of these books in all matters of religion; and therefore is she to be heard accordingly: so that those which will not hear this church thus following and obeying the word of her Husband, we account as heretics and schismatics, according to this saying, If he will not hear the church, let him be to thee as a heathen.

"Thirdly, we believe and confess all the articles of faith and doctrine set forth in the symbol of the apostles, which we commonly call the creed, and in the symbols of the councils of Nice, kept A. D. 324; of Constantinople, A. D. 384; of Ephesus, kept A. D. 432; of Chalcedon, kept A. D. 454; of Toledo, the first and fourth. Also in the symbols of Athanasius, Irenæus, Tertullian, and of Damasus, (which was about the year of our Lord 376,) we confess and believe (we say) the doctrine of the symbols generally and particularly; so that whosoever doth otherwise, we hold the same to err from the truth.

"Fourthly, We believe and confess concerning justification, that as it cometh only from God's mercy through Christ, so it is perceived and had of none which be of years of discretion, otherwise than by faith only: which faith is not an opinion, but a certain persuasion wrought by the Holy Ghost in the mind and heart of man, through whom as the mind is illuminated, so the heart is supplied to submit itself to the will of God unfeignedly; and

so sheweth forth an inherent righteousness, which is to be discerned, in the article of justification, from the righteousness which God endueth us withal, justifying us; although inseparably they go together. And this we do, not for curiosity or contention's sake, but for conscience' sake, that it might be quiet; which it can never be, if we confound without distinction forgiveness of sins, and Christ's justice imputed to us, with regeneration and inherent righteousness. By this we disallow the papistical doctrine of free-will, of works of supererogation, of merits, of the necessity of auricular confession, and satisfaction to God-ward.

"Fifthly, We confess and believe concerning the exterior service of God, that it ought to be according to the word of God: and therefore, in the congregation, all things public ought to be done in such a tongue as may be most to edify; and not in Latin, where the people understand not the same.

"Sixthly, We confess and believe that God only by Christ Jesus is to be prayed unto and called upon; and therefore we disallow invocation or prayer to saints departed this life.

"Seventhly, we confess and believe, that as a man departeth this life, so shall he be judged in the last day generally, and in the mean season is entered either into the state of the blessed for ever, or damned for ever; and therefore is either past all help, or else needs no help of any in this life. By reason whereof we affirm purgatory, masses of *Scala cœli*, trentals, and such suffrages as the popish church doth obtrude as necessary, to be the doctrine of antichrist.

"Eighthly, We confess and believe the sacraments of Christ, which be baptism and the Lord's supper, that they ought to be ministered according to the institution of Christ, concerning the substantial parts of them: and that they be no longer sacraments, than they be had in use, and used, to the end for which they were instituted.

"And here we plainly confess, that the mutilation of the Lord's supper, and the subtraction of the one kind from the lay people, is antichristian. And so is the doctrine of transubstantiation of the sacramental bread and wine after the words of consecration, as they be called. Item, the adoration of the sacrament with honour due unto God. [Item,] the reservation and carrying about of the same. Item, the mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, or a work that pleaseth God.

"All these we believe and confess to be antichrist's doctrine: as is the inhibition of marriage as unlawful to any state. And we doubt not, by God's grace, but we shall be able to prove all our confessions here to be most true by the verity of

God's word, and consent of the catholic church, which followeth, and hath followed, the governance of God's Spirit, and the judgment of his word.

"And this, through the Lord's help, we will do, either in disputation by word, before the queen's Highness and her council, or before the parliament houses, of whom we doubt not but to be indifferently heard, or else with our pens, whensoever we shall be thereto, by them that have authority, required and commanded.

"In the mean season, as obedient subjects, we shall behave ourselves towards all that be in authority, and not cease to pray to God for them, that he would govern them all, generally and particularly, with the Spirit of wisdom and grace. And so we heartily desire and humbly pray all men to do, in no point consenting to any kind of rebellion or sedition against our sovereign lady the queen's Highness: but where they cannot obey, but they must disobey God, there to submit themselves with all patience and humility to suffer as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge: as we are ready, through the goodness of the Lord, to suffer whatsoever they shall adjudge us unto, rather than we will consent to any doctrine contrary to this which we here confess; unless we shall be justly convinced thereof, either by writing or by word, before such judges as the queen's Highness and her council, or the parliament houses, shall appoint. For the universities and clergy have condemned our causes already by the bigger, but not by the better part, without all disputation of the same: and therefore most justly we may, and do, appeal from them to be our judges in this behalf, except it may be in writing; that to all men the matter may appear. The Lord of mercy endue us all with the Spirit of his truth, and grace of perseverance therein unto the end! Amen.

"The eighth day of May, A. D. 1554.

Robert St. David's:	Glouc. Episcopus;
alias Robert Ferrar.	alias John Hooper.
Rowland Taylor.	Edward Crome.
John Philpot.	John Rogers.
John Bradford.	Laurence Saunders.
John Wigorn, and	Edmund Laurence.
	J. P., and T. M."

"To these things abovesaid, do I, Miles Coverdale, late of Exon, consent and agree, with these mine afflicted brethren being prisoners (mine own hand)."

And thus much concerning this present declaration subscribed by these preachers; which was on the eighth of May.

Furthermore, the nineteenth of the said month, the Lady Elizabeth, sister to the queen, was brought to

the Tower, and committed to the custody of Sir John Williams, after Lord Williams of Thame; whom her Highness was gently and courteously treated; who afterward was had to Woodstock and there committed to the keeping of Sir Henry Benifield, knight, of Oxborough in Norfolk; who on the other side, both forgetting her estate, and his own duty, (as it is reported,) showed himself more hard and strait unto her, than either cause given of her part, or reason of his own part, would have led him, if either grace or wisdom in him might have seen before, what danger afterward might have ensued thereof. But herein have we to see and note, not so much the uncivil nature and disposition of that man, as the singular lenity and gracious mansuetude of that princess, who, after coming to her crown, showed herself so far from revenge of injuries taken, that whereas other monarchs have oftentimes requited less offences with loss of life, she hath scarce impaired any piece of his liberty or estimation, save only that he was restrained from coming to the court. And whereas some peradventure, of her estate would here have used the bloody sword, her Majesty was contented with scarce a nipping word; only bidding him to repair home, and saying, "If we have any prisoner, whom we would have sharply and straitly kept, then we will send for you."

This virtuous and noble lady, in what fear she was the mean time, and in what peril greater than her fear, the Lord only best doth know: and, next, it is not unknown to herself, to whose secret intelligence I leave this matter further to be considered. This I may say, which every man may see; that it was not without a singular miracle of God that she could or did escape, in such a multitude of enemies and grudge of minds so greatly exasperated against her; especially Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whose head and devices were chiefly bent as a bow, against that only person, to make her away: and no doubt would have brought it by some means to pass, had not the Lord prevented him with death; to preserve her life, to the preservation of this realm. Wherefore that is false which Dr. Story said in the parliament house, lamenting, as I heard say, "that when they went so much about the branches, they had not shot at the root herself." For why? They neither lacked their darts, or no good will, to shoot at the root, all they possibly might; but, what God's providence will have kept, it shall be kept, when all Dr. Story have shot all their artillery in vain. But of this matter it is sufficient at this present, for of it we have to entreat more at large (the Lord willing) hereafter, in the story and life of Queen Elizabeth.

into Southwark park, and so to the
called Suffolk Place, where the
being the seventeenth of August.

And the next day, being Saturday the fourteenth of August, the king and queen rode from Suffolk Place (accompanied by a great number, as well of noblemen as gentlemen) to the city of London to Whitehall, where, as he entered at the draw-bridge, a great spectacle set up, two image-giants, the one named Chorinea, and the other Gogmagog, holding between them a shield with the arms of the city of London upon it, and verses, which for the vain ostentation of the city were there set up, to be seen of all that overpass.

And as they passed over the bridge, the number of ordnance shot off at the bridge by old men's report the like hath been seen these one hundred years.

From London bridge they pass
Gracious Street, which was first
among other things, the nine
King Henry the Eighth was one.
in harness, having in one hand a
other hand a book, whereupon
bum Dei ; delivering the same
to his son King Edward, who
corner by him.

But hereupon was no small man-
 bishop of Winchester, lord chan-
 cery, and not only called him
 a book in King Henry's hand,
 writing thereupon Verbum Dei, b
 and villain; saying to him that
 have put the book into the queen
 also painted there,) for that she
 church and religion, with other th
 the pure and sincere word of God

The painter answered and said, "I am well known that had been the matter with your ship sent for him, he could have come, but I could not have troubled his Lordship."

The bishop answered and said, "I will do the queen's Majesty's will and commandment, and I should send for him : and so, he should wipe out the book and Verbum Dei from the house. So the painter departed, and he should leave some other part of the book or of Verbum Dei, in King Henry's house, and away a piece of his fingers withal."

Here I pass over and cut off pageants of pastime showed through London, with the flattering Latin; wherein were blazed out in Philips, as the five worthies of the Macedonia, Philip the emperor

Philip the good, Philip prince of Spain and king of England.

In another poetry King Philip was resembled by an image representing Orpheus, and all English people resembled to brute and savage beasts following after Orpheus's harp, and dancing after King Philip's pipe—not that I reprehend the art of the Latin verses, which was fine and cunning, but that I pass over the matter, having other graver things in hand: and therefore pass over, also, the sight at Paul's church-side, of him that came down upon a rope tied to the battlements with his head before, neither staying himself with his hand nor foot; which shortly after cost him his life.

But one thing by the way I cannot let pass, touching the young flourishing rood, newly set up against this present time to welcome King Philip into Paul's church. The setting up of which rood was this, and may make as good a pageant as the best:—

In the second year of Mary, Bonner in his royalty, and all his prebendaries about him in Paul's choir, the rood laid along upon the pavements, and also, the doors of Paul's being shut—the bishop with others said and sung divers prayers by the rood. That being done, they anointed the rood with oil in divers places; and, after the anointing, crept unto it, and kissed it.

After that, they took the said rood, and weighed him up, and set him in his old accustomed place; and all the while they were doing thereof, the whole choir sang *Te Deum*: and when that was ended, they rang the bells, not only for joy, but also for the notable and great fact they had done therein.

Not long after this, a merry fellow came into Paul's, and spied the rood with Mary and John new set up; whereto, among a great sort of people, he made a low courtesy, and said: "Sir, your Mastership is welcome to town. I had thought to have talked further with your Mastership, but that ye be here clothed in the queen's colours. I hope that ye be but a summer's bird, in that ye be dressed in white and green."

The prince thus being in the church of Paul's, after Dr. Harpsfield had finished his oration in Latin, set forward through Fleet Street, and so came to Whitehall, where he with the queen remained four days after; and from thence removed unto Richmond.

After this, all the lords had leave to depart into their countries, with strait commandment to bring all their harness and artillery into the Tower of London with all speed. Now remained there no English lord at the court but the bishop of Winchester. From Richmond they removed to Hampton Court, where the hall door within the court was

continually shut, so that no man might enter, ~~when~~ his errand were first known; which seemed strange to Englishmen that had not been used thereto.

About the eighth of September Bishop Bonner began his visitation, who charged six men in every parish to inquire, (according their oaths,) and to present before him the day after St. Matthew's day being the twenty-second of September, all such persons as either had or should offend in any of the articles, which he had set forth to the number of thirty-seven; of the which visitation of Bonner I have somewhat more largely to entreat, after that first I shall overpass a few other things following in course of this present story.

The seventeenth of September was a proclamation in London, that all vagabonds and masterless men, as well strangers as Englishmen, should depart the city within five days; and straitly charging all innholders, victuallers, taverners, and alehouse-keepers, with all others that sell victuals, that they (after the said five days) should not sell any meat, drink, or any kind of victual to any servingmen whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial from his master to declare whose servant he was, and were in continual household with his said master: upon pain to run in danger of the law, if they offended herein.

On the Sunday following, being the thirtieth of September, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at whose sermon were present all the council that were at the court: namely, the marquis of Winchester, the earl of Arundel, Lord North, Sir Anthony Brown, Master Rochester, Master Walgrave, Master Englefield, Lord Fitzwater, and Secretary Peter; and the bishops of London, Durham, and Ely; which three sat under the bishop's arms. The gospel whereof he made his sermon, is written in Matt. xxii., where the Pharisees came unto Christ; and amongst them one asked Christ which was the greatest commandment. Christ answered, Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy heart, &c., and thy neighbour as thyself; in these two are comprehended the law and the prophets.

After his long declaration of these words, speaking very much of love and charity, at last he had occasion, upon St. James's words, to speak of the true teachers, and of the false teachers; saying, that all the preachers almost in King Edward's time, preached nothing but voluptuousness, and filthy and blasphemous lies; affirming their doctrine to be that false doctrine whereof St. James speaketh; saying, that it was full of perverse zeal, earthly, full of discord and dissension, that the preachers aforementioned would report nothing truly, and that they taught

that it was lawful for a man to put away his wife for adultery, and marry another; and that if a man vowed to-day, he might break it to-morrow at his pleasure; with many other things which I omit. And when he spake of the sacrament, he said, that all the church from the beginning have confessed Christ's natural body to be in heaven, and here to be in the sacrament; and so concluded that matter. And then willed all men to say with Joseph's brethren, "We have all sinned against our brother:"—"and so," said he, "have I too." Then he declared what a noble king and queen we have, saying, that if he should go about to show that the king came hither for no necessity or need, and what he had brought with him, it should be superfluous, seeing it is evidently known, that he hath ten times as much as we are in hope and possession of; affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate a prince, as ever was in England; and if it were not so proved, then to take him for a false liar for his so saying: exhorting all men to make much of him, and to win him whilst we had him; and so should we also win all such as he hath brought with him. And so made an end.

On the Tuesday following, being the second of October, twenty carts came from Westminster, laden (as it was noised) with gold and silver, and certain of the guard with them through the city to the Tower, and there it was received in by a Spaniard, who was the king's treasurer, and had custody of it within the Tower. It was matted about with mats, and mailed in little bundles about two feet long, and almost half a foot thick; and in every cart were six of those bundles. What it was indeed, God knoweth; for it is to us uncertain.

About the same time, or a little before, upon Corpus Christi day, the procession being made in Smithfield, where, after the manner, the priest with his box went under the canopy, by chance there came by the way a certain simple man, named John Street, a joiner of Coleman Street, who, having some haste in his business, and finding no other way to pass through, by chance went under the canopy by the priest. The priest, seeing the man so to presume to come under the canopy, being belike afraid, and worse feared than hurt, for fear let his pix fall down. The poor man, being straightways apprehended, was had to the Compter, the priest accusing him unto the council as though he had come to slay him; whereas the poor man (as himself hath since declared unto us) had no such thought ever in his mind. Then from the Compter he was had unto Newgate, where he was cast into the dungeon, there chained to a post; where he was cruelly and miserably handled, and

so extremely dealt withal, that being but simple before, he was now feared out of his wits altogether, and so upon the same had to Bedlam. Whereupon the brief chronicle of London in this point is not to be credited, which untruly reported that he feigned himself in Newgate to be mad; which thing we, in writing of this history, by due inquiry of the party, have found to be contrary.

About the fifth of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and apprentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter: among whom was Master Brown a goldsmith, Master Spark a draper, Randal Tiler a stationer, Master Beston a merchant, with many others.

On the Sunday, the fourteenth of October, the old bishop of Durham preached in the Shrouds.

On St. Luke's day following, being the eighteenth of October, the king's Majesty came from Westminster to Paul's church along the streets, accompanied with a great number of noblemen; and there he was received under a canopy at the west door, and so came in to the chancel, where he heard mass, which a Spanish bishop and his own chaplain sung: and that done, he returned to Westminster to dinner again.

On Friday, the twenty-sixth of October, certain men, whereof I spake before, who were of Master Throgmorton's quest, being in number eight (for the other four were delivered out of prison, for that they submitted themselves, and said they had offended—like weaklings, not considering truth to be truth; but of force for fear said so): these eight men, I say, whereof Master Emanuel Lucas and Master Whetstone were chief, were called before the council of the Star-chamber; where they all affirmed, that they had done all things in that matter according to their knowledge, and with good consciences; even as they should answer before God at the day of judgment. Where Master Lucas said openly before all the lords, that they had done in the matter like honest men, and true and faithful subjects; and therefore they humbly besought the lord chancellor, and the other lords, to be means to the king and queen's Majesties that they might be discharged and set at liberty: and said, that they were all contented humbly to submit themselves to their Majesties, saving and reserving their truth, consciences, and honesty.—Some of the lords said, that they were worthy to pay a thousand

pounds apiece; and others said, that Master Lucas and Master Whetstone were worthy to pay a thousand marks apiece, and the rest five hundred pounds apiece. In conclusion, sentence was given by the lord chancellor, that they should pay a thousand marks apiece; and that they should go to prison

again, and there remain, till further order was taken for their punishment.

On Tuesday, being the thirtieth of October, the Lord John Gray was delivered out of the Tower and set at liberty.

On Sunday, the fourth of November, five priests

did penance at Paul's Cross, who were content to put away their wives, and take upon them again to minister. Every of them had a taper in his hand, and a rod, wherewith the preacher did discipline them.

On Wednesday, the seventh of November, the Lord Paget, and Sir Edward Hastings, master of the horse, were sent as ambassadors, I know not whither; but, as it was adjudged, to Cardinal Pole, who lay all that summer before at Brussels: and it was thought they were sent to accompany and conduct him into England, whereas at that time he was nominated and appointed bishop of Canterbury.

On the Friday following, being the ninth of November, Master Barlow, late bishop of Bath, and Master Cardmaker, were brought before the council in the Star-chamber, where, after communication, they were commanded to the Fleet.

On the Saturday, the tenth of November, the sheriffs of London had commandment to take an inventory of every one of their goods who were of Master Throgmorton's quest, and to seal up their doors; which was done the same day. Master Whetstone, Master Lucas, and Master Kytely, were

judged to pay a thousand pounds apiece, and to rest a thousand marks apiece, to be paid within fortnight after. From this payment were exempted those four who confessed a fault, and submitted themselves; whose names are these, Master Lee, Master Poynter, Master Beswike, and Master Carter.

Mention was made a little before, of the visitation of Edmund Bonner bishop of London, which began (as is said) about the month of September: for the better preparation whereof were set forth certain articles to the number of thirty-seven. These articles, partly for the tediousness of them, partly for that Master Bale in a certain treatise hath sufficiently painted out the same in their colours, partly also because I will not infect this book with them, I skip over, proceeding in the progress of this bishop's visitation in the county of Essex; who, passing through the said county of Essex, being attended with diverse worshipful of the shire, (for so they were commanded,) arrived at Stortford in Hertfordshire, where he rested certain days; solacing himself after that painful peregrination with no small feasting and banqueting with his attendants aforesaid, &c.

the house of one Parsons his nephew, whose wife he commonly called his fair niece (and fair she was indeed). He took there great pleasure to hear her play upon the virginals, wherein she excelled; inasmuch that every dinner (sitting by his sweet side) she arose and played three several times at his request, of his good and spiritual devotion towards her. These certain days thus passed in this bishoplike fashion, he proceeded in his popish visitation towards Hadham, his own house and parish, not past two miles from Stortford, being there most solemnly rung out, as in all other places where he passed. At length drawing near unto Hadham, when he heard no bells stirring there in honour of his holiness, he grew into some choler; and the nearer he approached, the hotter was his fit; and the quieter the bells were, the unquieter was his mood. Thus he rode on, chafing and fuming with himself. "What meaneth," saith he, "that knave the clerk, that he ringeth not? and the parson, that he meeteth me not?" with sundry other furious words of fiery element. There this patient prelate, coming to the town, alighted, calling for the key of the church, which was then all unready, for that (as they then pretended) he had prevented his time by two hours; whereupon he grew from choler to plain melancholy, so as no man willingly would deal with him to qualify the raging humour so far incorporated in his breast. At last, the church door being opened, the bishop entered, and finding no sacrament hanged up, nor rood-loft decked after the popish precept, (which had commanded about the same time a well-favoured rood, and of tall stature, universally in all churches to be set up,) curtailed his small devotions, and fell from all choler and melancholy to flat madness in the uttermost degree, swearing and raging with a hunting oath or two, and by no beggars, that in his own church, where he hoped to have seen best order, he found most disorder, to his Honour's most heavy discomfort, as he said; calling the parson (whose name was Dr. Bricket) knave, and heretic. Who there humbled himself, and yielded, as it were, to his fault, saying: He was sorry his Lordship was come before that he and his parish looked for him; and therefore could not do their duties to receive him accordingly. And as for those things lacking, he trusted in short time hereafter he should compass that, which hitherto he could not bring about. Therefore if it pleased his Lordship to come to his poor house, (where his dinner was prepared,) he would satisfy him in those things which his Lordship thought amiss. Yet this so reasonable an answer nothing could satisfy or assuage his passion unreasonable: for the catholic prelate utterly defied him and his cheer, command-

ing him out of his sight; saying, as his by-word was, "Before God, thou art a knave: avaunt, heretic!" and therewithal, whether thrusting or striking at him, so it was, that with his hand he gave Sir Thomas Jocelyn, knight, (who was then amongst the rest, and stood next the bishop,) a good flewet upon the upper part of the neck—even under his ear, as some say which stood by; but, as he himself said, he hit him full upon the ear: whereat he was somewhat astonished at the suddenness of the quarrel for that time. At last he spake and said, "What meaneth your Lordship? have you been trained in Will Sommers's school, to strike him that standeth next you?" The bishop still in rage either heard not, or would not hear.

Then Master Fecknam, dean of Paul's, seeing the bishop still in this bitter rage, said, "O Master Jocelyn! you must bear with my Lord; for truly his long imprisonment in the Marshalsea, and the misusing of him there, hath altered him, that in these passions he is not ruler of himself, nor it booteth any man to give him counsel until his heat be past; and then, assure yourself, Master Jocelyn, my Lord will be sorry for those abuses that now he cannot see in himself." Whereunto he merrily replied and said, "So it seems, Master Fecknam; for now that he is come forth of the Marshalsea, he is ready to go to Bedlam." At which merry conceit some laughed, and more smiled; because the nail was so truly hit upon the head. The bishop, nothing abashed at his own folly, gave a deaf ear; as no marvel it was that he shamed little to strike a stranger, who spared not the burning of so many good men.

After this worthy combat thus finished and achieved, this martial prelate presently taketh him to his horse again, notwithstanding he was minded to tarry at Hadham three or four days, and so had made provision in his own house; and, leaving his dinner, rode that night with a small company of his household to Ware, where he was not looked for till three days after, to the great wonder of all the country, why he so prevented his day aforeset.

At this hasty posting-away of this bishop, his whole train of attendants there left him. Also his doctors and chaplains (a few excepted) tarried behind and dined at Dr. Bricket's as merrily, as he rode towards Ware all chafingly: which dinner was prepared for the bishop himself. Now, whether the bishop were offended at which he wanted, and was accustomed withal in other places where he journeyed to that, that his "great god" was ground over the altar, nor his "set seemly in the rood-loft to en-

and thereupon took occasion to quarrel with Dr. Bricket, (whose religion perchance he somewhat suspected,) I have not perfectly to say : but so it was supposed of divers the cause thereof to rise, which drove the bishop so hastily from such a dinner.

A story of a rood set up in Lancashire.

N this visitation of Bishop Bonner above mentioned, ye see how the bishop took on for not setting up the rood, and ringing the bells at Hadham. Ye heard also of the precept which commanded in every parish a rood to be erected, both well favoured and of a tall stature. By the occasion whereof it cometh in mind (and not out of place) to story, likewise, what happened in a certain town in Lancashire near to Lancaster, called Cockram, where the parishioners and churchwardens, having the same time a like charge for the erecting of a rood in their parish church, had made their bargain, and were at a price with one that could cunningly carve and paint such idols, for the framing of their rood : who, according to his promise, made them one, and set it up in their church. This done, he demanded his money : but they, misliking his workmanship, refused to pay him ; whereupon he arrested them, and the matter was brought before the mayor of Lancaster, who was a very meet man for such a purpose, and an old favourer of the gospel ; which is rare in that country. Then the carver began to declare how they covenanted with him for the making of a rood with the appurtenances, ready carved and set up in their church, which he, according to his promise, had done ; and now, demanding his money, they refused to pay him. "Is this true?" quoth the mayor to the wardens. "Yea, sir," said they. "And why do you not pay the poor man his due?" quoth he. "And it please you, Master Mayor," quoth they, "because the rood we had before was a well-favoured man ; and he promised to make us such another : but this that he hath set us up now, is the worst-favoured thing that ever you set your eyes on ; gaping and grinning in such sort, that none of our children dare once look him in the face, or come near him !" The mayor, thinking that it was good enough for that purpose if it had been worse—"My masters," quoth he, "howsoever the rood like you, the poor man's labour hath been never the less ; and it is pity that he should have

any hinderance or loss thereby : therefore I will tell you what you shall do. Pay him the money ye promised him, and go your ways home and look on it, and if it will not serve for a god, make no more ado, but clap a pair of horns on his head, and so he will make an excellent devil." This the parishioners took well in worth ; the poor man had his money ; and divers laughed well thereat—but so did not the Babylonish priests.

This mayor above-mentioned continued a protestant almost fifty years, and was the only reliever of Marsh the martyr (whose story followeth hereafter) with meat, drink, and lodging, while he lay in Lancaster castle, the space of three quarters of a year, before he was had to Chester to be burned.

About this time, or the month next before, which was October, there came a precept or mandate from Bonner, bishop of London, to all parsons and curates within his diocese, for the abolishing of such Scriptures and writings as had been painted upon church walls before, in King Edward's days. The copy of which precept or mandate here we thought good to express in their own style and words, that the world might see the wicked proceedings of their impious zeal, or rather their malicious rage against the Lord and his word, and against the edifying of Christian people : whereby it might appear, by this blotting out of Scriptures, not only how blasphemously they spake against the Holy Scriptures of God, but also how studiously they sought, by all manner of means, to keep the people still in ignorance.

A mandate of Bonner, bishop of London, to abolish the Scriptures and writings painted upon the church walls.

"Edmund, by God's permission bishop of London—to all and every parsons, vicars, clerks, and lettered, within the parish of Hadham, or within the precinct of our diocese of London, wheresoever being—sendeth greeting, grace, and benediction.

"Because some children of iniquity, given up to carnal desires and novelties, have by many ways enterprised to banish the ancient manner and order of the church, and to bring in and establish sects and heresies ; taking from thence the picture of Christ, and many things besides instituted and observed of ancient time laudably in the same ; placing in the room thereof such things, as in such a place it behoved them not to do ; and also have procured, as a stay to their heresies, (as they thought,) certain Scriptures wrongly applied to be painted upon the church walls ; all which persons tend chiefly to this end—that they might uphold the liberty of the flesh, and marriage of priests, and destroy, as much as lay in them, the reverent sacrament of the

altar, and might extinguish and enervate holy-days, fasting days, and other laudable discipline of the catholic church; opening a window to all vices, and utterly closing up the way unto virtue: Wherefore we, being moved with a Christian zeal, judging that the premises are not to be longer suffered, do, for discharge of our duty, commit unto you jointly and severally, and by the tenor hereof do straitly charge and command you, that at the receipt hereof, with all speed convenient, you do warn, or cause to be warned, first, second, and third time, and peremptorily, all and singular churchwardens and parishioners whosoever, within our aforesaid diocese of London, (wheresoever any such Scriptures or paintings have been attempted,) that they abolish and extinguish such manner of Scriptures, so that by no means they be either read or seen; and therein to proceed, moreover, as they shall see good and laudable in this behalf. And if, after the said monition, the said churchwardens and parishioners shall be found remiss and negligent, or culpable, then you, jointly and severally, shall see the foresaid Scriptures to be rased, abolished, and extinguished forthwith; citing all and singular those churchwardens and parishioners, (whom we, also, for the same do cite here, by the tenor hereof,) that all and singular the churchwardens and parishioners, being slack and negligent, or culpable therein, shall appear before us, our vicar-general and principal official, or our commissary special, in our cathedral church of St. Paul at London, in the consistory there, at the hour appointed for the same, the sixth day next after their citation, if it be a court day, or else at the next court day after ensuing, where either we or our official or commissary shall sit: there to say and allege for themselves some reasonable cause, if they have or can tell of any, why they ought not to be excommunicated, or otherwise punished, for their such negligence, slackness, and fault; to say and to allege, and further to do and receive, as the law and reason requireth. And what you have done in the premises, do you certify us, or our vicar, principal official, and such our commissary, diligently and duly in all things, and through all things; or let him among you thus certify us, which hath taken upon him to execute this mandate: In witness whereof we have set our seals to these presents.

“Dated in the bishop's palace at London, the twenty-fifth day of the month of October, in the year of our Lord 1554, and of our translation the sixteenth.”

About this time the lord chancellor sent Master Christopherson unto the university of Cambridge,

with these three articles, which he enjoined them to observe.

The first, that every scholar should wear his apparel according to his degree in the schools.

The second was touching the pronunciation of the Greek tongue.

The third, that every preacher there should declare the whole style of the king and queen in their sermons.

In this university of Cambridge, and also of Oxford, by reason of the bringing of these things, and especially for the alteration of religion, many good wits and learned men departed the universities: of whom, some of their own accord gave over, some were thrust out of their fellowships, some were miserably handled: insomuch that in Cambridge, in the college of St. John, there were four-and-twenty places void together, in whose rooms were taken in four-and-twenty others, who, neither in virtue nor in religion, seemed to answer to them before. And no less miserable was the state of Oxford, by reason of the time, and the strait dealing of the visitors, that, for setting forward their papistical proceedings, had no regard or respect to the forwardness of good wits, and the maintenance of good letters, beginning then more and more to flourish in that university.

And forasmuch as we have entered into the mention of Oxford, we may not pass over in silence the famous exhortation of Dr. Tresham, who, supplying the room of the sub-dean in Christ-church, after he had called all the students of the college together, with great eloquence and art perswasory, began to commend the dignity of the mass unto them; declaring, that there was stuff enough in the Scripture to prove the mass good. Then, to allure them to the catholic service of the church, he used these reasons—declaring that there were a company of goodly copes, that were appointed to Windsor; but he had found the queen so gracious unto him, that they should come to Christ-church. Now if they, like honest men, would come to church, they should wear them on holy-days. And besides all this, he would get them the lady bells of Bampton, and that should make the sweetest ring in all England. And as for a holy-water-sprinkle, he had already the fairest that was within the realm. Wherefore he thought that no man would be so mad, to forego these commodities, &c.

These things I rehearse, that it may appear what want of discretion is in the fathers of popery, and into what idle follies such men do fall; whom, I beseech the Lord, if it be his pleasure, to reduce to a better truth, and to open their eyes to see their own blindness.

To proceed now further in the course and race

our story where we left, being before in the month of November, it followeth more, that on the twelfth day of the same month of November, being Monday, began the parliament holden at Westminster, to the beginning whereof both the king and queen rode in their parliament robes, having two swords borne before them. The earl of Pembroke bare his sword, and the earl of Westmoreland bare the queen's. They had two caps of maintenance borne before them, whereof the earl of Arundel bare one, and the earl of Shrewsbury the other.

Cardinal Pole landed at Dover on Wednesday, the twenty-first of November; on which day one act passed in the parliament for his restitution in blood, utterly repealing as false and most slanderous, that act made against him in King Henry the Eighth's time; and on the next day, being Thursday, and the twenty-second of November, the king and the queen came both to the parliament house, to give their royal assent, and to establish this act against his coming.

On Saturday, being the twenty-fourth of November, the said cardinal came by water to London, and so to Lambeth House, which was ready prepared against his coming.

On the Wednesday following, being the twenty-eighth of November, there was a general procession in Paul's, for joy that the queen was conceived and quick with child, as it was declared in a letter sent from the council to the bishop of London.

The same day were present at this procession ten bishops, with all the prebendaries of Paul's, and also the lord mayor with the aldermen, and a great number of commons of the city in their best array. The copy of the council's letter here followeth:—

“After our hearty commendations unto your good Lordship: whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, amongst other his infinite benefits of late most graciously poured upon us and this whole realm, to extend his benediction upon the queen's Majesty in such sort as she is conceived and quick of child: whereby (her Majesty being our natural liege lady, queen, and undoubted inheritor of this imperial crown) good hope of certain succession in the crown is given unto us, and consequently the great calamities, which, for want of such succession, might otherwise have fallen upon us and our posterity, shall, by God's grace, be well avoided, if we thankfully acknowledge this benefit of Almighty God, endeavouring ourselves with earnest repentance to thank, honour, and serve him, as we be most bounden: these be not only to advertise you of these good news, to be by you published in all

places within your diocese, but also to pray and require you, that both yourself do give God thanks with us for this his especial grace, and also give order that thanks may be openly given by singing of *Te Deum* in all the churches within your said diocese; and that likewise all priests and other ecclesiastical ministers, in their masses, and other Divine services, may continually pray to Almighty God, so to extend his holy hand over her Majesty, the king's Highness, and this whole realm, as that this thing, being by his omnipotent power graciously thus begun, may by the same be well continued and brought to good effect, to the glory of his name. Whereunto, albeit we doubt not ye would of yourself have had special regard without these our letters, yet, for the earnest desire we have to have this thing done out of hand, and diligently continued, we have also written these our letters, to put you in remembrance; and so bid your Lordship most heartily well to fare.

“From Westminster the twenty-seventh of November, 1554.

“Your assured loving friends,

Stephen Winton. Cancel. John Bathon.

Arundel. R. Riche.

F. Shrewsbury. Thomas Wharton.

Edward Darby. John Huddilstone.

Henry Sussex. R. Southwell.”

Also the same day in the afternoon, Cardinal Pole came to the parliament house, which, at that present, was kept in the great chamber of the court at Whitehall, for that the queen was then sick, and could not go abroad; where the king and queen's Majesties, sitting under the cloth of state, and the cardinal sitting on the right hand, with all the other estates of the parliament being present, the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor, began in this manner:

“My Lords of the upper house, and you my Masters of the nether house, here is present the right reverend father in God my Lord Cardinal Pole, come from the apostolic see of Rome, as ambassador to the king and queen's Majesties, upon one of the weightiest causes that ever happened in this realm, and which pertaineth to the glory of God, and your universal benefit. The which ambassador, it is their Majesties' pleasure, that it be signified unto you all by his own mouth: trusting that you will receive and accept it in as benevolent and thankful wise, as their Highnesses have done, and that you will give an attent and inclinable ear unto him.”

When the lord chancellor had thus ended his talk, the cardinal, taking the time then offered, be-

gan his oration, wherein he declared the causes of his coming, and what were his desires and requests. In the mean time the court gate was kept shut until he had made an end of his oration.

The tenor of Cardinal Pole's oration, made in the parliament house.

"My Lords all, and you that are the commons of this present parliament assembled, (which, in effect, is nothing else but the state and body of the whole realm,) as the cause of my repair hither hath been most wisely and gravely declared by my Lord Chancellor, so, before that I enter to the particularities of my commission, I have somewhat touching myself, and to give most humble and hearty thanks to the king and queen's Majesties, and after them to you all, which of a man exiled and banished from this commonwealth, have restored me to be a member of the same, and of a man having no place either here, or elsewhere within this realm, have admitted me in a place, where to speak and to be heard. This I protest unto you all, that though I was exiled my native country without just cause, as God knoweth, yet the ingratitude could not pull from me the affection and desire that I had to profit and do you good. If the offer of my service might have been received, it was never to seek, and where that could not be taken, you never failed of my prayer, nor ever shall.

"But leaving the rehearsal thereof, and coming more near to the matter of my commission, I signify unto you all, that my principal travail is, for the restitution of this noble realm to the ancient nobility, and to declare unto you, that the see apostolic, from whence I come, hath a special respect to this realm above all others; and not without cause, seeing that God himself, as it were by providence, hath given this realm prerogative of nobility above all others; which to make more plain unto you, it is to be considered that this island, first of all islands, received the light of Christ's religion. For as stories testify, it was *prima provinciarum quæ amplexa est fidem Christi*.

"For the Britons, being first inhabitants of this realm, (notwithstanding the subjection of the emperors and heathen princes,) did receive Christ's faith from the apostolic see universally: and not in parts, as other countries; nor by one and one, as clocks increase their hours by distinction of times; but altogether at once, as it were in a moment. But after that their ill merits, or forgetfulness of God, had deserved expulsion, and that strangers, being infidels, had possessed this land, yet God of his goodness, not leaving where he once loved, so illuminated the hearts of the Saxons, being heathen

men, that they forsook the darkness of heathen errors, and embraced the light of Christ's religion: so that within a small space idolatry and heathen superstition were utterly abandoned in this island.

"This was a great prerogative of nobility; the benefit whereof, though it be to be ascribed to God, yet the mean occasion of the same came from the Church of Rome, in the faith of which church we have ever since continued and consented with the rest of the world in unity of religion. And to show further the fervent devotion of the inhabitants of this island towards the Church of Rome, we read that divers princes in the Saxons' time, with great travail and expenses went personally to Rome, as Offa and Adulphus, who thought it not enough to show themselves obedient to the said see, unless that in their own persons they had gone to that same place from whence they had received so great a grace and benefit.

"In the time of Charlemagne, who first founded the university of Paris, he sent into England for Alcuinus, a great learned man, which first brought learning to that university; whereby it seemeth that the greatest part of the world fetched the light of religion from England.

"Adrian the Fourth, being an Englishman, converted Norway from infidelity; which Adrian afterwards, upon great affection and love that he bare to this realm, being his native country, gave to Henry the Second, king of England, the right and seigniory of the dominion of Ireland, which pertained to the see of Rome.

"I will not rehearse the manifold benefit that this realm hath received from the apostolic see, nor how ready the same hath been to relieve us in all our necessities. Nor will I rehearse the manifold miseries and calamities that this realm hath suffered by swerving from that unity. And even as in this realm, so also in all other countries which, refusing the unity of the catholic faith, have followed fantastical doctrine, the like plagues have happened. Let Asia and the empire of Greece be a spectacle unto the world, which, by swerving from the unity of the Church of Rome, are brought into captivity and subjection of the Turk. All stories be full of like examples. And to come unto the later time, look upon our neighbours in Germany, who, by swerving from this unity, are miserably afflicted with diversity of sects, and divided into factions.

"What shall I rehearse unto you the tumults and effusion of blood that hath happened there of late days; or trouble you with the rehearsal of those plagues that have happened since this innovation of religion, whereof you have felt the bitterness, and I have heard the report? of all which matters I can

say no more but—such was the misery of the time. And see how far forth this fury went. For those that live under the Turk, may freely live after their conscience; and so was it not lawful here.

“If men examine well upon what grounds these innovations began, they shall well find that the root of this, as of many other mischiefs, was avarice; and that the lust and carnal affection of one man confounded all laws, both Divine and human. And notwithstanding all these devices and policies practised within this realm against the Church of Rome, they needed not to have lost you, but that they thought rather as friends to reconcile you, than as enemies to infest you: for they wanted not great offers of the most mighty potentates in all Europe to have aided the church in that quarrel. Then mark the sequel: there seemed by these changes to rise a great face of riches and gain, which, in proof, came to great misery and lack. See how God then can confound the wisdom of the wise, and turn unjust policy to mere folly; and that thing which seemed to be done for relief, was cause of plain ruin and decay. Yet see that goodness of God, which at no time failed us, but most benignly offered his grace, when it was of our parts least sought and worse deserved.

“And when all light of true religion seemed utterly extinct, the churches defaced, the altars overthrown, the ministers corrupted—even like as in a lamp, the light being covered, yet it is not quenched—even so, in a few remained the confession of Christ’s faith; namely, in the breast of the queen’s Excellency, of whom, to speak without adulation, the saying of the prophet may be verified, *Ecce quasi derelicta!*

“And see how miraculously God of his goodness preserved her Highness, contrary to the expectation of man, that when numbers conspired against her, and policies were devised to disinherit her, and armed power prepared to destroy her; yet she, being a virgin helpless, naked, and unarmed, prevailed, and had the victory of tyrants; which is not to be ascribed to any policy of man, but to the almighty great goodness and providence of God, to whom the honour is to be given: and therefore it may be said, *Da gloriam Deo*. For in man’s judgment, on her Grace’s part was nothing in appearance but despair.

“And yet for all these practices and devices of ill men, here you see her Grace established in her estate, being your lawful queen and governess, born among you; whom God hath appointed to reign over you for the restitution of true religion, and extirpation of all errors and sects. And to confirm her Grace the more strongly in this enterprise, lo! how the providence of God hath joined her in mar-

riage with a prince of like religion, who, being a king of great might, armour, and force, yet went towards you neither armour nor force, but sought you by the way of love and amity: in which respect great cause you have to give thanks to Al-mighty God, that hath sent you such a catholic sovereign. It shall be, therefore, your part again to love, obey, and serve them.

“And as it was a singular favour of God to conjoin them in marriage, so it is not to be doubted but that he shall send them issue, for the comfort and surety of this commonwealth.

“Of all princes in Europe, the emperor hath travailed most in the cause of religion, as it appeareth by his acts in Germany; yet haply, by some secret judgment of God, he hath not achieved the end: with whom in my journey hitherwards, I had conference touching my legation; whereof when he had understanding, he showed a great appearance of most earnest joy and gladness, saying, that it rejoiced him no less of the reconciliation of this realm unto Christian unity, than that his son was placed by marriage in the kingdom,—and most glad he was of all, that the occasion thereof should come by me, being an Englishman born, which is (as it were), to call home ourselves. I can well compare him to David, which, though he were a man elect of God, yet, for that he was contaminate with blood and war, he could not build the temple of Jerusalem, but left the finishing thereof to Solomon, who was *rex pacificus*. So may it be thought, that the appeasing of controversies of religion in Christianity, is not appointed to this emperor, but rather to his son, who shall perform the building that his father had begun. Which church cannot be perfectly builded, unless universally in all realms we adhere to one head, and do acknowledge him to be the vicar of God, and to have power from above: for all power is of God, according to the saying, *Nam est potestas, nisi a Deo*. And therefore I consider that all power being in God, yet, for the conservation of quiet and godly life in the world, he hath derived that power from above into two parts here in earth; which is into the powers imperial and ecclesiastical. And these two powers, as they be several and distinct, so have they two several effects and operations: for secular princes, to whom the temporal sword is committed, be ministers of God to execute vengeance upon transgressors and evil livers, and to preserve the well-doers and innocents from injury and violence. Which power is represented in these two most excellent persons, the king and queen’s Majesties here present, who have this power committed unto them immediately from God, without any superior in that behalf.

"The other power is of ministration, which is the power of the keys, and order in the ecclesiastical state, which is, by the authority of God's word, and examples of the apostles, and of all old holy fathers from Christ hitherto, attributed and given to the apostolic see of Rome by special prerogative: from which see, I am here deputed legate and ambassador, having full and ample commission from thence, and have the keys committed to my hands. I confess to you that I have the keys, not as mine own keys, but as the keys of him that sent me, and yet cannot open: not for want of power in me to give, but for certain impediments in you to receive, which must be taken away before my commission can take effect. This I protest before you, my commission is not of prejudice to any person. I come not to destroy, but to build: I come to reconcile, not to condemn: I am not come to compel, but to call again: I am not come to call any thing in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency, to such as will receive it. For touching all matters that be past, they shall be as things cast into the sea of forgetfulness.

"But the mean whereby you shall receive this benefit, is to revoke and repeal those laws and statutes, which be impediments, blocks, and bars, to the execution of my commission. For, like as I myself had neither place nor voice to speak here among you, but was in all respects a banished man, till such time as ye had repealed those laws that lay in my way; even so cannot you receive the benefit and grace offered from the apostolic see, until the abrogation of such laws, whereby you have disjoined and dissevered yourselves from the unity of Christ's church.

"It remaineth therefore that you, like true Christians and provident men, for the weal of your souls and bodies, ponder what is to be done in this so weighty a cause; and so to frame your acts and proceedings, as they may first tend to the glory of God, and next to the conservation of your commonwealth, surety, and quietness."

The next day after, the three estates assembled again in the great chamber of the court at Westminster; where the king and the queen's Majesties and the cardinal being present, they did exhibit (all kneeling on their knees) a supplication to their Highnesses, the tenor whereof ensueth.

"We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of this present parliament assembled—representing the whole body of the realm of England and dominions of the same, in our own names particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this supplication directed to your Majesties with

most humble suit, that it may, by your gracious intercession and means, be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, legate, sent especially hither from our most holy father Pope Julius the Third, and the see apostolic of Rome—do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant for the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions of the same, against the said see apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments, against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking what might impugn the same: offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication, that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance, we be, and shall be alway, ready, under and with the authority of your Majesties, to the uttermost of our power, to do that which shall be in us for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament; as well for ourselves, as for the whole body whom we represent.

"Whereupon we most humbly beseech your Majesties, as persons undefiled in the offence of this body towards the said see, which nevertheless God, by his providence, hath made subject unto your Majesties, so to set forth this our most humble suit, that we may obtain from the see apostolic, by the said most reverend father, as well particularly as universally, absolution, release, and discharge from all danger of such censures and sentences, as by the laws of the church we be fallen in; and that we may, as children repentant, be received into the bosom and unity of Christ's church, so as this noble realm, with all the members thereof, may, in unity and perfect obedience to the see apostolic, and pope for the time being, serve God and your Majesties, to the furtherance and advancement of his honour and glory. Amen."

The supplication being read, the king and queen delivered the same unto the cardinal, who (perceiving the effects thereof to answer his expectation) did receive the same most gladly from their Majesties: and after he had in few words given thanks to God, and declared what great cause he had to rejoice above all others, that his coming from Rome into England had taken most happy success; he, by the pope's authority, did give them this absolution following.

"Our Lord Jesus Christ, which with his most precious blood hath redeemed and washed us from all our sins and iniquities, that he might purchase unto himself a glorious spouse without spot or wrinkle, and whom the Father hath appointed Head over all his church, he by his mercy absolve you! And we, by apostolic authority, (given unto us by the most

holy lord Pope Julius the Third, his vicegerent in earth,) do absolve and deliver you, and every of you, with the whole realm and dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and from all and every judgment, censure, and pain, for that cause incurred; and also we do restore you again unto the unity of our mother the holy church, (as in our letters more plainly it shall appear,) in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

When all this was done, they went into the chapel, and there, singing *Te Deum*, with great solemnity declared the joy and gladness that for this reconciliation was pretended.

The report of this was with great speed sent unto Rome; as well by the king and cardinal's letters, which hereafter follow, as also otherwise; whereupon the pope caused there at Rome processions to be made, and thanks to be given to God with great joy, for the conversion of England to his church; and therefore, (praising the cardinal's diligence, and the devotion of the king and queen,) on Christmas even, by his bulls he set forth a general pardon to all such as did truly rejoice for the same.

A copy of King Philip's letter, written with his own hand to Pope Julius, touching the restoring of the realm of England: translated out of Spanish into English.

"Most holy father, I wrote yesterday unto Don John Maurique, that he should declare by word of mouth, or else write to your Holiness, in what good state the matter of religion stood in this realm, and of the submission to your Holiness, as to the chief. As this day, which is the feast of St. Andrew, late in the evening, we have done God that service, (to whose only goodness we must impute it, and to your Holiness, who have taken so great pain to gain these souls,) that this realm, with full and general consent of all them that represent the state, being very penitent for that was past, and well bent to what they come to do, submitted themselves to your Holiness, and to that holy see; whom, at the request of the queen and me, your legate did absolve. And forasmuch as the said Don John shall signify unto your Holiness all that passed in this matter, I will write no more thereof; but only that the queen and I, as most faithful and devout children of your Holiness, have received the greatest joy and comfort thereof that may be expressed with tongue: considering that, besides the service done to God hereby, it hath chanced, in the time of your Holiness, to place as it were in the lap of the holy and catholic church such a kingdom as this is. And therefore I think I cannot be thankful enough for that is done this day. And I trust in him, that your Holiness

shall always understand, that the holy see hath not had a more obedient son than I, nor more desirous to preserve and increase the authority of the same. God guide and prosper the most holy personage of your Holiness, as I desire.

"From London, the thirtieth of November, 1554

"Your Holiness's most humble son, the king," &c.

Here followeth, likewise, the cardinal's letter to the said pope concerning the same matter.

"Those things which I wrote unto your Holiness of late, of that hope which I trusted would come to pass, that in short space this realm would be reduced to the unity of the church, and obedience of the apostolic see; though I did write then not without great cause, yet, nevertheless, I could not be void of all fear, not only for that difficulty which the minds of our countrymen did show, being so long alienated from the see apostolic, and for the old hatred which they had borne so many years to that name; but much more I feared, lest the first entry into the cause itself, should be put off by some other by-matter or convention coming betwixt. For the avoiding whereof, I made great means to the king and queen, which little needed: for their own godly forwardness, and earnest desire to bring the thing to pass, far surmounted my great and earnest expectation.

"This day in the evening, being St. Andrew's day, (who first brought his brother Peter to Christ,) it is come to pass by the providence of God, that this realm is reclaimed to give due obedience unto Peter's seat and your Holiness, by whose means it may be conjoined to Christ the Head, and to his body which is the church. The thing was done and concluded in parliament (the king and queen being present) with such full consent and great rejoicing, that incontinently after I had made my oration, and given the benediction, with a great joy and shout there was divers times said, "Amen. Amen." Which doth evidently declare, that that holy seed, although it hath been long oppressed, yet was not utterly quenched in them; which chiefly was declared in the nobility.

"Returning home to my house, these things I wrote unto your Holiness upon the sudden, rejoicing that I had so luckily brought to pass so weighty a matter by the Divine Providence, thinking to have sent my letters by the king's post, who (as it was said) should have departed shortly: but afterwards, changing my purpose, when I had determined to send one of my own men, I thought good to add thus much to my letters, for the ample gratulation and rejoicing at that good chance. Which thing, as it was right great gladness to me, through the

event of the same (being itself very great, and so holy, so profitable to the whole church, so healthful to this my country which brought me forth, so honourable to the same which received me): so likewise I took no less rejoicing of the princes themselves, through whose virtue and godliness the matter did take success and perfection.

“Of how many and how great things may the church (which is the spouse of Christ, and our mother) make her account through those her children! O notable zeal of godliness! O ancient faith! which undoubtedly doth so manifestly appear in them both, that whoso seeth them, must needs (whether he will or no) say the same which the prophet spake of the first children of the church: ‘These are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. This is the Lord’s planting to glory in.’ How holily did your Holiness with all your authority and earnest affection favour this marriage! which truly seemeth to express a great similitude of the highest King, which, being heir of the world, was sent down by his Father from the regal seat to be spouse and son of the Virgin, and by this means to comfort all mankind. For even so this king himself, the greatest heir of all men which are in the earth, leaving his father’s kingdoms that are most great, is come into this little kingdom, and is become both the spouse and son of this virgin, (for he so behaveth himself as though he were a son, whereas indeed he is a husband,) that he might, as he hath in effect already performed, show himself an aider and helper to reconcile this people to Christ, and to his body, which is the church. Which things, seeing they are so, what may not our mother the church herself look for at his hands, that hath brought this to pass, to convert the hearts of the fathers towards their sons, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous? which virtue, truly, doth wonderfully shine in him. But the queen, which at that time, when your Holiness sent me legate unto her, did rise up as a rod of incense springing out of the trees of myrrh, and as frankincense out of the desert—she, I say, which a little before was forsaken of all men, how wonderfully doth she now shine! What a savour of myrrh and frankincense doth she give forth unto her people, who (as the prophet saith of the mother of Christ) brought forth, before she laboured; before she was delivered, brought forth a man-child! Whoever heard of such a thing, and who hath seen the like of this? Shall the earth bring forth in one day, or shall a whole nation be brought forth together? But she now hath brought forth a whole nation before the time of that delivery, whereof we are in most great hope.

“How great cause is given to us to rejoice!

How great cause have we to give thanks to God’s mercy, your Holiness, and the emperor’s Majesty, which have been causers of so happy and so godly a marriage, by which we, being reconciled, are joined to God the Father, to Christ, and to the church! of the which although I cannot comprehend in words the joy that I have taken, yet I cannot keep silence of it. And to this my rejoicing, this was also joined, (which when I had perceived by the letters of the reverend archbishop of Copenhaugen, your Holiness’s nuncio with the emperor’s Majesty, brought me marvellous great gladness,) that your said Holiness began to restore to the ancient beauty those things, which, in the Church of Rome, through the corruption of times, were deformed; which truly, when it shall be finished, then indeed may we well cry out with the prophet, and speak unto your Holiness with these words: ‘Put off the stole of sorrow and vexation; and put on comeliness, which thou hast of God in everlasting glory. For thy name shall be named of God everlasting, peace of righteousness, and honour of godliness; and then it shall be said, Look about and see thy sons gathered together from the sun-rising to the going down of the same, rejoicing in the holy word.’ There is nothing truly (to speak of thy children gathered together in the west, which prepare themselves to meet their mother) which they had rather see, than her apparelled (that I may use the words of the prophet) in that garment of righteousness, wherewith God adorned her in times past. This one thing remaineth: that your Holiness’s joy, and the joy of all the universal church, may be perfected; which, together with us her unworthy children, ceaseth not to pray to God for it. The Almighty God preserve your Holiness long to continue in health, for the profit of his church!

“From London, the last of November, 1554.

“Your most humble servant,

REGINALD POLE, cardinal.”

A lamentable example of cruelty showed upon John Bolton, a man of Reading, imprisoned for the true testimony of a Christian conscience.

The Lent following the coronation of Queen Mary, which Lent was in the year 1554, there was a writing set upon the church-door at Reading in Berkshire, containing matter against the mass, but the author thereof then, and a long time after, was unknown; although now certainly known to be indeed one John Moyer, who afterwards confessed the fact, recanted, and is now made minister. Great inquisition was in every place thereabouts, but nothing, as I said, could be found certainly. Amongst

many others one John Bolton was suspected, who, being asked his mind of the mass, answered, that he took it to be against the word of God, and contumelious to Christ: upon which words, he was by the mayor, (whose name was Boyer, and by science a tanner,) with other officers, committed to the gaol about three weeks before Easter; where being kept by the space of a week or a fortnight, in the under prison or dungeon, afterwards he was had up to a chamber of the gaoler's, (whose name was Welch,) having his bed and other necessaries to help himself withal, and so continued until Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, came through the town with King Philip and Queen Mary, straight upon their marriage at Winchester.

Then the said bishop, hearing of the said John Bolton, sent for him to talk with him, persuading him, what he could, to relent from the truth. But he stood stedfast, and most boldly reproved the said bishop to his face, and replied most earnestly against his persuasions; whereby the bishop, being greatly moved, commanded that he should be had to prison again, there to be kept with bread and water, and nothing else: charging, further, that whosoever came to him should, in anywise, immediately be set by him. Well, John Bolton was, thereupon, carried again to the gaol and put into the dungeon, or under prison, where he was before; which is under the ground about twelve feet deep, compassed about with most thick walls, without any light saving only that which cometh down at the entry; but (which is the best) both above the head and under foot, it is boarded. And alas! to no purpose, (poor John Bolton might say,) for he was not suffered to walk any part therein, but was most cruelly stocked and chained, as hereafter followeth. In the same dungeon is a marvellous evil scent or odour, and the whole proportion most terrible to see. In the midst thereof is a huge pair of stocks, of a great height, wherein they did put both his hands and his feet; on the other side of the stocks, his legs were tied with a great chain of iron, being surely fastened to a great and mighty block unmovable. And hanging on this sort by the hands and feet, sometimes for a day and a night together, (his body not touching any part of the ground,) the gaoler often would ease him and loose his hands sometimes at night, but his feet he would keep in the stocks still, three or four whole days together. And, being in this woeful and most miserable case, the gaoler and his family would wickedly, in the night season, to trouble the good poor man, oftentimes cast squibs of fire into the dungeon, whereby his empty and careful head might be troubled with vain and fond fantasies; which came to pass, as hereafter shall be showed.

Now his honest good neighbours, hearing of his perplexity, were not a little careful for him, and sent their benevolence liberally to him; such as whole some meats and drinks to comfort his weak body, which always were either eaten up by the gaule and his household, or else brought to the grate of the prison, and there given to dogs before his face: so cruel and unmerciful was this wicked gaule. Whereby the said poor John Bolton was enforced (alas! the pity) to eat what cannot be named for hunger; some think for the space of six days, some think more, some less; but although how long the time is uncertain, yet, that he *did* it, is most true.

Thus was he in the lower prison just twelve months and ten weeks, having sometimes his hand and feet in the stocks; sometimes his feet only, sometimes neither; sometimes having checks, taunts, scourgings, threatenings, and mockings; otherwise having meat; otherwhiles in loathsome extremity: until at last, with terrible torments, solitary nightings, lack of liberty, meat, drink, with such like, and also with eating that which nature most abhorreth, and what never was heard of before in any tyrant's days, he began, I say, at the last, to be full of ravings and strange fantasies, in such sort, that men took him as one without reason and distracted of mind. This being once known to Sir Francis Englefield, he, with his blood-thirsty brother the parson of Englefield, thought good to rid the prison of him; and so he was discharged.

It is not to be forgotten, amongst so many troubles, that in prison was laid awhile, for fornication, a collar-maker by his science; who, being of nature very tender, and feeling not one quarter of John Bolton's troubles and miserable torments, fell mad. And, through friendship of them that were more mad than he, liberty was given him to sit at the grate of the dungeon, to work for his living and to have the benefit of the light; which is (as prisoners say) no small benefit. This madman having his tools, that is to say an awl and a stretcher, and his liberty therewith, used the same almost to the destruction of his own wife and the said John Bolton. For she, coming to visit him, being great with child and thinking of no danger (poor woman) towards her, the wretched madman, ungraciously, thrust his awl in her body, and slew the little babe within her. And yet, not content therewith, but to increase his mischief more and more, he also with the same instrument did, in divers places, hurt the said John Bolton sitting in the stocks, to the great peril of his life, and no less danger of the same continually, while the said collar-maker remained in prison; as it appeareth evidently at this present upon his body, for them that list to see.

By such cruelty, and so greatly, was truth handled and whoredom maintained by this wicked gaoler, that the evil person could have liberty to do his mischief when he would, while the poor simple John Bolton (laid in for conscience' sake to God-ward) might not once have so much favour as to be free from the stocks, and to walk a little for his comfort. This is the truth of this story, approved by sufficient and credible testimonies, as well of the inhabitants of the said town of Reading, (whose letters, at this present, for the certification thereof we have to show, dated to us the twelfth day of May,) as also by the confirmation of the party himself on whom this cruelty was showed, being, although, through the same their extreme handling, weak and feeble, yet, God be praised ! a man alive.

On the Sunday, the second of December, the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor of England, preached at Paul's Cross, at which sermon was present the king and Cardinal Pole. He took for his theme this part of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, This also we know, the season, brethren, that we should now awake out of sleep ; for now is our salvation nearer, than when we believed, &c. Some notes thereof, as they came to my hands, faithfully gathered, (as it appeareth by sundry copies,) I have here thought good to set forth.

First, he showed how the saying of St. Paul was verified upon the Gentiles, who had a long time slept in dark ignorance, not knowing God : " Therefore St. Paul," quoth he, " to stir up their heavy dullness, willed them to awake out of their long sleep, because their salvation was nearer, than when they believed."

In amplifying this matter, and comparing our times with theirs, he took occasion to declare what difference the Jewish sacraments had from those of the Christians, wherein he used these words :

" Even as the sacrament of the Jews did declare Christ to come, so do our sacraments declare Christ to be already come : but Christ to come, and Christ to be come, is not all one. For now that he is come, the Jews' sacraments be done away, and ours only remain, which declare that he is already come, and is nearer us, than he was to the fathers of the old law : for they had him but in signs, but we have him in the sacrament of the altar, even his very body. Wherefore now, also, it is time that we awake out of our sleep, who have slept, or rather dreamed, these twenty years past ; as shall more easily appear by declaring at large some of the properties and effects of a sleep or a dream. And first, as men intending to sleep do separate them-

selves from company, and desire to be alone ; even so have we separated ourselves from the see apostolic of Rome ; and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us.

" Secondly, as in sleep men dream sometimes of killing, sometimes of maiming, sometimes of drowning or burning, sometimes of such beastliness as I dare not name, but will spare your ears : so we have in this our sleep not only dreamed of beastliness, but we have done it indeed. For in this our sleep hath not one brother destroyed another ? hath not half our money been wiped away at one time ? — And again, those that would defend their conscience, were slain, and others also otherwise troubled ; besides infinite other things, which you all know as well as I, whereof I report me to your own consciences. Further, in a man's sleep all his senses are stopped, so that he can neither see, smell, nor hear : even so, whereas the ceremonies of the church were instituted to move and stir up our senses, they being taken away, were not our senses (as ye would say) stopped, and we fast asleep ? Moreover, when a man would gladly sleep, he will put out the candle, lest peradventure it may let his sleep, and awake him : so of late all such writers as did hold any thing with the apostolic see, were condemned, and forbidden to be read ; and images (which were laymen's books) were cast down and broken.

" This sleep hath continued with us these twenty years, and we all that while without a head : for when King Henry did first take upon him to be head of the church, it was then no church at all. After whose death, King Edward (having over him governors and protectors which ruled as them listed) could not be head of the church, but was only a shadow or sign of a head : and, at length, it came to pass that we had no head at all ; no, not so much as our two archbishops. For on the one side, the queen, being a woman, could not be head of the church ; and on the other side, they both were convicted of one crime, and so deposed. Thus, while we desired to have a supreme head among us, it came to pass that we had no head at all. When the tumult was in the north, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, I am sure the king was determined to have given over the supremacy again to the pope : but the hour was not then come, and therefore it went not forward, lest some would have said, that he did it for fear.

" After this, Master Knevet and I were sent ambassadors unto the emperor, to desire him that he would be a mean between the pope's Holiness and the king, to bring the king to the obedience of the see of Rome : but the time was not yet come ; for

it might have been said, that it had been done for a civil policy. Again, in the beginning of King Edward's reign the matter was moved, but the time was not yet; for it would have been said, that the king (being but a child) had been bought and sold. Neither in the beginning of the queen's reign was the hour come; for it would have been said, that it was done in a time of weakness. Likewise when the king first came, if it had been done, they might have said it had been by force and violence. But now, even now, *hora est*, the hour is come, when nothing can be objected, but that it is the mere mercy and providence of God. Now hath the pope's Holiness, Pope Julius the Third, sent unto us this most reverend father, Cardinal Pole, an ambassador from his side. What to do? Not to revenge the injuries done by us against his Holiness, *sed benedicere maledicentibus*, to give his benediction to those that defamed and persecuted him.

"And that we may be the more meet to receive the said benediction, I shall desire you that we may alway acknowledge ourselves offenders against his Holiness—I do not exclude myself forth of the number. I will weep with them that weep, and rejoice with them that rejoice. And I shall desire you that we may defer the matter no longer; for now, the hour is come. The king and queen's Majesties have already restored our holy father the pope to his supremacy, and the three estates assembled in the parliament, representing the whole body of the realm, have also submitted themselves to his Holiness, and his successors for ever; wherefore let us not any longer stay. And even as St. Paul said to the Corinthians, that he was their father, so may the pope say, that he is our father: for we received our doctrine first from Rome—therefore he may challenge us as his own. We have all cause to rejoice, for his Holiness hath sent hither and prevented us, before we sought him: such care hath he for us. Therefore let us say, *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea*: Rejoice in this day, which is of the Lord's working, that such a nobleman of birth is come, yea, such a holy father, (I mean, my Lord Cardinal Pole,) which can speak unto us as unto brethren, and not as unto strangers; who hath a long time been absent. And let us now awake, which so long have slept, and in our sleep have done so much naughtiness against the sacraments of Christ, denying the blessed sacrament of the altar, and pulled down the altar, which thing Luther himself would not do, but rather reproved them that did, examining them of their belief in Christ."

This was the sum of his sermon before his prayers,

wherein he prayed first for the pope, Pope Julius the Third, with all his college of cardinals; the bishop of London, with the rest of that order. Then for the king and queen, and the nobility of the realm; and last, for the commons of the same with the souls departed, lying in the pains of purgatory. This ended, the time being late, they began in Paul's to ring for their evening song, whereby the preacher could not be well heard, which caused him to make a short end of his clerical sermon.

About this very time a post or messenger was sent from the whole parliament to the pope, to desire him to confirm and establish the sale of abbey-lands and chantry-lands; for the lords and the parliament would grant nothing in the pope's behalf, before their purchases were fully confirmed.

On the Thursday following, being the sixth of December, and St. Nicholas's day, all the whole convocation, both bishops and others, were sent for to Lambeth to the cardinal, who the same day forgave them all their perjuries, schisms, and heresies, and they all there kneeled down and received his absolution; and after an exhortation and gratulation for their conversion to the catholic church made by the cardinal, they departed.

On Wednesday, the twelfth of December, six of the eight men which lay in the Fleet, that were of Master Throgmorton's quest, were discharged, and set at liberty upon their fine paid, which was two hundred and twenty pounds apiece; and the other three put up a supplication, therein declaring, that their goods did not amount to the sum that they were appointed to pay; and so, upon that declaration paying forty pounds apiece, they were delivered out of prison upon St. Thomas's day before Christmas, being the twenty-first of December.

On the Saturday following, being the twenty-second of December, all the whole parliament had strict commandment, that none of them should depart into their country this Christmas, nor before the parliament were ended: which commandment was wonderful contrary to their expectations; for as well many of the lords, as also many of the inferior sort, had sent for their horses, and had them brought hither.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-eighth of December, and Childermas-day, the prince of Piedmont came to the court at Westminster.

Master Rose with thirty persons taken at a communion in Bow Churchyard. Anno 1555.



ON new-year's day at night following, certain honest men and women of the city, to the number of thirty, and a minister with them named Master Rose, were taken as

they were in a house in Bow Churchyard at the communion, and the same night they were all committed to prison. And on the Thursday following, being the third of January, Master Rose was before the bishop of Winchester, being lord chancellor; and from thence the same day he was committed to the Tower, after certain communication had between the bishop and him.

The same day the act of supremacy passed in the parliament. Also the same day at night was a great tumult between Spaniards and Englishmen at Westminster, whereof was like to have ensued great mischief through a Spanish friar, which got into the church and rung alarum. The occasion was about two loose women which were in the cloister of Westminster, with a sort of Spaniards, whereof, whilst some played the knaves with them, others did keep the entry of the cloister with dags, in harness. In the mean time certain of the dean's men came into the cloister, and the Spaniards discharged their dags at them, and hurt some of them. By and by the noise of this doing came into the streets, so that the whole town was up almost; but never a stroke was stricken. Notwithstanding, the noise of this doing with the dean's men, and also the ringing of the alarum, made much ado; and a great number also to be sore afraid.

Ye heard a little before the council's letter sent to Bishop Bonner, signifying the good news of Queen Mary to be not only conceived, but also quick with child, which was in the month of November, the twenty-eighth day. Of this child great talk began at this time to rise in every man's mouth, with busy preparation, and much ado, especially amongst such as seemed in England to carry Spanish hearts in English bodies. In number of whom is here not to be forgotten, nor defrauded of his con-dign commendation for his worthy affection towards his prince and her issue, one Sir Richard Southwell, who, being the same time in the parliament house, when the lords were occupied in other affairs

and matters of importance, suddenly starting up, for fulness of joy burst out in these words following: "Tush, my masters," quoth he, "what talk ye of these matters? I would have you take some order for our young master that is now coming into the world apace, lest he find us unprovided," &c. By the which words both of him, and also by the aforesaid letters of the council, and the common talk abroad, it may appear what an assured opinion was then conceived in men's heads of Queen Mary to be conceived and quick with child: insomuch that at the same time, and in the same parliament, there was eftsoons a bill exhibited, and an act made upon the same, the words whereof, for the more evidence, I thought good here to exemplify, as followeth.

Extract of an Act for the government of Queen Mary's issue.

"Albeit we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, have firm hope and confidence in the goodness of Almighty God, that like as he hath hitherto miraculously preserved the queen's Majesty from many great imminent perils and dangers; even so he will, of his infinite goodness, give her Highness strength, the rather by our continual prayers, to pass well the danger of deliverance of child, wherewith it hath pleased him (to all our great comforts) to bless her: yet forasmuch as all things of this world be uncertain, and having before our eyes the dolorous experience of the inconstant government, during the time of the reign of the late King Edward the Sixth, do plainly see the manifold inconveniences, great dangers and perils, that may ensue in this whole realm, if foresight be not used to prevent all evil chances, if they should happen: for the eschewing hereof, we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, for and in consideration of a most special trust and confidence that we have and repose in the king's Majesty, for and concerning the politic government, order, and administration of this realm in the time of the young years of the issue or issues of her Majesty's body to be born (if it should please God to call the queen's Highness out of this present life, during the tender years of such issue or issues; which God forbid)—according to such order and manner, as hereafter, in this present act, his Highness's most gracious pleasure is, should be declared and set forth, have made our humble suit, by the assent of the queen's Highness, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to accept and take upon him the rule, order, education, and government of the said issue or issues to be born, as is aforesaid: upon which our suit being of his said Majesty most graciously

accepted, it hath pleased his Highness not only to declare, that like as for the most part his Majesty verily trusteth that Almighty God (who hath hitherto preserved the queen's Majesty, to give this realm so good a hope of certain succession in the blood royal of the same realm) will assist her Highness with his graces and benedictions, to see the fruit of her body well brought forth, live, and able to govern, (whereof neither all this realm, nay, all the world besides, should or could receive more comfort than his Majesty should and would,) yet, if such chance should happen, his Majesty at our humble desires is pleased and contented, not only to accept and take upon him the cure and charge of the education, rule, order, and government of such issues as of this most happy marriage shall be born between the queen's Highness and him; but also, during the time of such government, would, by all ways and means, study, travail, and employ himself to advance the weal both public and private of this realm and dominion thereunto belonging, according to the said trust in his Majesty reposed, with no less goodwill and affection, than if his Highness had been naturally born amongst us. In consideration whereof, be it enacted by the king and the queen's most excellent Majesties, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same," &c.

Thus much-out of the act and statute I thought to rehearse, to the intent the reader may understand, not so much how parliaments may sometimes be deceived, (as by this child of Queen Mary may appear,) as rather what cause we Englishmen have to render most earnest thanks unto Almighty God, who so mercifully, against the opinion, expectation, and working of our adversaries, hath helped and delivered us in this case; which otherwise might have opened such a window to the Spaniards, to have entered and replenished this land, that peradventure, by this time, Englishmen should have enjoyed no great quiet in their own country. The Lord therefore make us perpetually mindful of his benefits! Amen.

Thus we see then how man doth purpose, but God disposeth as pleaseth him. For all this great labour, provision, and order taken in the parliament house for their young master long looked for, coming so surely into the world, in the end appeared neither young master, nor young mistress, that any man yet to this day can hear of. Furthermore, as the labour of the lay sort was herein deluded; so no less ridiculous it was to behold, what little effect the prayers of the pope's churchmen had with Al-

mighty God, who travailed no less with their processions, masses, and collects, for the happy deliverance of this young master to come, as here followed to be seen.

A prayer made by Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, daily to be said for the queen's deliverance.—Out of Latin into English.

"O most righteous Lord God, which, for the offence of the first woman, has threatened unto all women, a common, sharp, and inevitable malediction, and hath enjoined them that they should conceive in sin, and, being conceived, should be subject to many and grievous torments; and finally, be delivered with the danger and jeopardy of their lives: we beseech thee for thine exceeding goodness and bottomless mercy, to mitigate the strictness of that law. Assuage thine anger for a while, and cherish in the bosom of thy favour and mercy our most gracious Queen Mary, being now at the point to be delivered. So help her, that without danger of her life she may overcome the sorrow, and in due season bring forth a child, in body beautiful and comely, in mind noble and valiant. So that afterward, she, forgetting the trouble, may, with joy, laud and praise the bountifulness of thy mercy, and, together with us, praise and bless both thee and thy holy name, world without end. This, O Lord, we desire thee, we beseech thee, and most heartily crave of thee. Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our petition: let not the enemies of thy faith and of thy church say, 'Where is their God?'"

A solemn prayer made for King Philip and Queen Mary's child, that it may be a male child, well-favoured, and witty, &c.

"O most mighty Lord God, which regardeth the prayer of the humble, and despiseth not their request; bow down from thine high habitation of the heavens, the eyes of thy mercy unto us wretched sinners, bowing the knees of our hearts, and with many and deep sighs bewailing our sins and offences: humbly, with eyes intent and hands displayed, praying and beseeching thee, with the shield of thy protection, to defend Mary thy servant, and our queen, who hath none other helper but thee, and whom, through thy grace, thou hast willed to be conceived with child: and at the time of her travail graciously, with the help of thy right hand, deliver her; and from all danger, with the child in her conceived, mercifully preserve.

"It hath seemed good in thy sight, merciful Father, by thy servant Mary, to work these wonders: that is to say, in her hands to vanquish and over-

throw the stout enemy, and to deliver us, thy people, out of the hands of heretics, infidels, enemies to thee and to the cross of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ; that of thy servant thou mightest speak in far countries. Therefore, for these wonderful works which thou dost to thy servants, thou art magnified, Lord God, for ever; and we thy people bless thee, the God of heaven, which hath wrought upon us this great mercy, and hath excluded from us the heretic, the enemy of truth, the persecutor of thy church. We know, we know, that we have grievously, Lord, sinned; that we have been deceived by vanity, and that we have forsaken thee our God. Our iniquities be multiplied on our head, and our sins be increased up to heaven: and we ourselves, having offended, and our princes and our priests, for these our sins have deserved a hypocrite to our prince; our sins have deserved a tyrant to our governor, that should bring our life to a bitterness. We be not worthy to have so gentle and merciful a queen, so godly a ruler, and finally, so virtuous a prince; at the very beginning of whose reign, a new light, as it were, of God's religion seemed to us for to spring and rise. The Jews did bless the widow Judith with one voice, saying, 'Thou art the glory of Jerusalem, thou art the joy of Israel, thou art the honour of our people, for that thou hast loved chastity; and thou shalt be blessed for ever.'

"And we, the English people, with one agreeable consent do cry: 'Thou Mary art the glory of England,' our joy, the honour of thy people; for that thou hast embraced chastity. Thine heart is strengthened, for the hand of our Lord hath comforted thee, and therefore thou shalt be blessed for ever. But bow down, O most merciful Father, thine ear, and open thine eyes, and behold our affliction, and our humble confession. Thou knowest, Lord, that against Philip, (not by human, but by thy ordinance, our king,) and against thy servant Mary, (by thy providence our queen,) the restorers and maintainers of thy testament of the faith, and most constant defenders of thy church: thou knowest, I say, that against these, our two governors, the enemies of thy holy Testament, and of the church thy spouse, be most rank rebels and spiteful murmurers, walking after their lusts; whose mouth speaketh words of pride, to the end they may set up the kingdom of heretics and schismatics. By the power of their hands they would change thy promises, and destroy thine inheritance, and stop and shut up the mouths of them that praise thee, and extinguish the glory of thy catholic church and altar.

"It is manifest and plain, how many contentions, how many conspiracies and seditions, how great wars, what tumults, how many and how great trouble-

some vexations, how many heresies and schisms, (for these be the most ready devices and evident tokens of heretics,) for our sins do hang over us, if thy servant be taken from this life: for we acknowledge that our Lord is omnipotent, who hath pitched his dwelling-place in the midst of his people, to the intent to deliver us out of the hands of our enemies. Turn therefore thy countenance unto us, show unto us, O Lord, thy face. Punish us for our sins according to thy will and pleasure; only now deliver us. We, bowing the knees of our heart, beseech thee, that thou wilt not reserve unto us punishment for ever; and we shall praise thee all the days of our life. Hear our cry, and the prayer of thy people, and open to them the treasure of thy mercy, thy gracious favour, the spring of lively water. Thou that hast begun, make in the hand of thy servant a perfect work. Suffer not, we pray thee, the faithless rebels to say of thy servant and her councillors, that they have devised matters which they cannot perform. And grant unto thy servant a happy and an easy travail: for it is not impossible to thy power, nor indecent to thy justice, nor unwonted to thy mercy.

"It is well known unto us, how marvellously thou didst work in Sarah of the age of ninety years, and in Elizabeth, the barren, and also far stricken in age: for thy counsel is not in the power of men. Thou, Lord, that art the searcher of hearts and thoughts, thou knowest that thy servant never lusted after man, never gave herself to wanton company, nor made herself partaker with them that walk in lightness: but she consented to take a husband with thy fear, and not with her lust. Thou knowest that thy servant took a husband not for carnal pleasure, but only for the desire and love of posterity, wherein thy name might be blessed for ever and ever.

"Give therefore unto thy servants Philip our king and Mary our queen, a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen thy servant a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent. Grant the same to be in obedience like Abraham, in hospitality like Lot, in chastity and brotherly love like Joseph, in meekness and mildness like Moses, in strength and valour like Samson. Let him be found faithful as David after thy heart. Let him be wise among kings as the most wise Solomon. Let him be like Job, a simple and an upright man, fearing God and eschewing evil. Let him, finally, be garnished with the comeliness of all virtuous conditions, and in the same let him wax old and live, that he may see his children's children to the third and fourth generation. And

give unto our sovereign lord and lady, King Philip and Queen Mary, thy blessings and long life upon earth; and grant that of them may come kings and queens, which may stedfastly continue in faith, love, and holiness. And blessed be their seed of our God, that all nations may know, thou art only God in all the earth, which art blessed for ever and ever: Amen!"

Another prayer for Queen Mary, and her conceived child.

"O Almighty Father, which didst sanctify the blessed Virgin and mother Mary in her conception, and in the birth of Christ our Saviour thine only Son; also, by thine omnipotent power, didst safely deliver the prophet Jonas out of the whale's belly: defend, O Lord, we beseech thee, thy servant Mary, our queen, with child conceived; and so visit her in and with thy godly gift of health, that not only the child thy creature, within her contained, may joyfully come from her into this world, and receive the blessed sacraments of baptism and confirmation, enjoying therewith daily increase of all princely and gracious gifts both of body and soul; but that also she, (the mother,) through thy special grace and mercy, may in time of her travail avoid all excessive dolour and pain, and abide perfect and sure from all peril and danger of death, with long and prosperous life, through Christ our Lord. Amen."

It followeth now further, in process of the story, that upon the Tuesday, being the tenth of January, nineteen of the lower house of the parliament, with the speaker, came to Whitehall to the king, and offered him the government of the realm and of the issue, if the queen should fail, which was confirmed by act of parliament within ten days after.

On Wednesday following, being the sixteenth of January, the parliament was clean dissolved. In this parliament, amongst other tidings, the bishop of Rome was established, and all such laws as were made against him since the twentieth year of King Henry the Eighth, were repealed, and also Cardinal Pole, Bishop Pates, Lilly, and others were restored to their blood. Also there was an act made for speaking of words; that whoever should speak any thing against the king or queen, or that might move any sedition or rebellion, at the first time to have one of his ears cut off, or to forfeit a hundred marks; and at the second time to have both his ears cut off, or else to forfeit a hundred pounds; and whosoever should write, cipher, or print any of the premises, to have their right hand cut off.

Also in this parliament three statutes were revived for trial of heresy; one made in the fifth year

of Richard the Second: another in the second year of Henry the Fourth: and the third in the second year of Henry the Fifth. Also the doing of Master Rose, and the others that were with him, was communed of in this parliament; and upon that occasion an act was made, that certain evil prayers should be treason against the queen's Highness. The prayers of these men were thus: "God turn the heart of Queen Mary from idolatry; or else shorten her days."

As touching the taking of Master Rose and his fellows, word was brought thereof to that godly man and dear martyr of God, Master Hooper, being then in the Fleet, in words as followeth.

A letter sent to Master Hooper, concerning the taking of a godly company in Bow Church-yard, at their prayer.

"My duty humbly remembered:—You hear I know, of a godly company imprisoned, which were taken upon new-year night. Yet notwithstanding, forasmuch, perhaps, as you know not perfectly how nor wherefore, you shall understand that being upon their knees in ending of prayer, (wherein they gave God thanks, prayed for the magistrates and estates of the realm, and required things necessary at his bountiful hands,) two of my Lord Chancellor's men, as I am informed, came first into the chamber where they were, in Bow Churchyard; and, immediately afterwards, followed Master Sheriff with others, who commanded them all to stay, in the king's and queen's Majesty's names: whereunto they humbly obeyed. For they came not thither weaponed, to conspire or make any tumult, but only like Christians, Christianly to pray, and to be instructed, in the vulgar tongue, by the reading and hearing of God's word; as their conscience did enforce them, without the displeasure of God, to do.

"For, as you well know, there is nothing so grievous to the patient in this world, as the gnawing and biting worm of a troubled conscience; being accused by God's law for the wilful transgression of the same. This, by experience, we know by Judge Hales: who, contrary to the knowledge of God's word, consented to the wicked traditions of the papists, who, although in name they would be of the holy church and preachers of the gospel of Christ, yet, in fact and deed, do dissent from the same, and most detest that godly society; as by the cruel handling of the Christians by the prelates, at this present time, it doth evidently appear. Therefore, I say, that they might, without the offence of God, quietly pray together, as they be taught by his word, there assembled a godly company together, to the number of thirty: divided and sent to

both the compters, where, at commandment, they yet remain. And with Master Chambers, Master Monger, and the rest in the compters at Bread Street, I was yesterday; who (God be thanked!) be strong, and do rejoice that for well-doing they are imprisoned: not doubting, but that as God hath vouchsafed to accept them worthy to sustain imprisonment for his sake, so he will strengthen them, rather to suffer death than to deny his truth; as the Lord knoweth, who assist you with his Holy Spirit, that unto the end you may persevere in his truth: unto whose tuition, in my poor prayer, I humbly commend you. January the third, 1555. Master Chambers, Master Monger, Master Sh***, and the rest in the compters do pray for you, and, in Christ, salute you most heartily."

Whereupon the said Master Hooper sendeth answer again, with a letter also of consolation sent to the said prisoners; the copy whereof I thought here not to overpass.

The answer of Master Hooper to a letter sent unto him concerning certain prisoners taken in Bow Churchyard.

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I perceive by your letter, how that upon new-year's day at night, there were taken a godly company of Christians, whilst they were praying. I do rejoice in that men can be so well occupied in this perilous time, and flee unto God for remedy by prayer, as well for their own lacks and necessities, as also charitably to pray for them that persecute them. So doth the word of God command all men to pray charitably for them that hate them, and not to revile any magistrate with words, or to mean him evil by force or violence. They also may rejoice, that in well-doing they were taken to the prison. Wherefore I have thought it good to send them this little writing of consolation; praying God to send them patience, charity, and constancy in the truth of his most holy word. Thus fare you well, and pray God to send his true word into this realm again amongst us, which the ungodly bishops have now banished.

"January 4, A. D. 1555."

A letter of consolation sent from Master Hooper, to the godly brethren taken in Bow Churchyard in prayer, and laid in the compters in Bread Street.

"The grace, favour, consolation, and aid of the Holy Ghost, be with you now and ever. So be it.

"Dearly beloved in the Lord, ever since your imprisonment I have been marvellously moved with great affections and passions, as well of mirth and

gladness, as of heaviness and sorrow. Of gladness in this, that I perceived how ye be bent and given to prayer and invocation of God's help in these dark and wicked proceedings of men against God's glory. I have been sorry to perceive the malice and wickedness of men to be so cruel, devilish, and tyrannical, to persecute the people of God for serving of God, saying and hearing of the holy Psalms, and the word of eternal life. These cruel doings do declare, that the papists' church is more bloody and tyrannical, than ever was the sword of the Ethnics and Gentiles.

"When I heard of your taking, and what ye were doing, wherefore, and by whom ye were taken, I remembered how the Christians, in the primitive church, were used by the cruelty of unchristened heathens, in the time of Trajan the emperor, about seventy-seven years after Christ's ascension into heaven; and how the Christians were persecuted very sore, as though they had been traitors and movers of sedition: whereupon the gentle emperor Trajan required to know the true cause of Christian men's trouble. A great learned man, called Pliny, wrote unto him, and said, It was because the Christians said certain Psalms before day unto one called Christ, whom they worshipped for God. When Trajan the emperor understood it was for nothing but for conscience and religion, he caused by his commandments every where, that no man should be persecuted for serving of God. Lo! a Gentile and heathen man would not have such as were of a contrary religion punished for serving of God: but the pope and his church hath cast you into prison, being taken even doing the work of God, and one of the excellentest works that is required of Christian men: that is to wit, whilst ye were in prayer, and not in such wicked and superstitious prayers as the papists use, but in the same prayer that Christ hath taught you to pray. And in his name only ye gave God thanks for that ye have received, and for his sake ye asked for such things as ye want. Oh! glad may ye be that ever ye were born, to be apprehended whilst ye were so virtuously occupied. Blessed be they that suffer for righteousness' sake: for if God had suffered them that took your bodies, then to have taken your life also, now had you been following the Lamb in perpetual joys, away from the company and assembly of wicked men. But the Lord would not have you suddenly so to depart, but reserveth you, gloriously to speak and maintain his truth to the world.

"Be ye not careful what ye shall say, for God will go out and in with you, and will be present in your hearts, and in your mouths to speak his wisdom, although it seemeth foolishness to the world. He that hath begun this good work in you, continue

you in the same unto the end ; and pray unto him that ye may fear him only, that hath power to kill both body and soul, and to cast them into hell-fire. Be of good comfort. All the hairs of your head are numbered, and there is not one of them can perish, except your heavenly Father suffer it to perish. Now ye be in the field, and placed in the fore-front of Christ's battle. Doubtless it is a singular favour of God, and a special love of him towards you, to give you this fore-ward and pre-eminence, as a sign that he trusteth you before others of his people. Wherefore, dear brethren and sisters, continually fight this fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly ; ye stand for the true Christ, (who is after the flesh in heaven,) and for his true religion and honour, which is amply, fully, sufficiently, and abundantly contained in the holy Testament, sealed with Christ's own blood. How much be ye bound to God, who puts you in trust with so holy and just a cause !

“Remember what lookers-on you have, to see and behold you in your fight : God and all his angels, who be ready always to take you up into heaven, if ye be slain in this fight. Also you have standing at your backs all the multitude of the faithful, who shall take courage, strength, and desire, to follow such noble and valiant Christians as you be. Be not afraid of your adversaries : for he that is in you, is stronger than he that is in them. Shrink not, although it be pain to you : your pains be not now so great, as hereafter your joys shall be. Read the comfortable eighth, tenth, and fifteenth chapters to the Romans, and the eleventh and twelfth to the Hebrews. And upon your knees thank God that ever ye were accounted worthy to suffer any thing for his name's sake. Read the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, and there you shall see how the shepherds that watched upon their sheep all night, as soon as they heard that Christ was born at Bethlehem, by and by went to see him. They did not reason nor debate with themselves, who should keep the wolf from the sheep in the mean time, but did as they were commanded, and committed their sheep unto him, whose pleasure they obeyed. So let us do, now we be called ; commit all other things to him that calleth us. He will take heed that all things shall be well. He will help the husband, he will comfort the wife, he will guide the servants, he will keep the house, he will preserve the goods ; yea, rather than it should be undone, he will wash the dishes, and rock the cradle. Cast therefore all your care upon God, for he careth for you.

“Besides this, you may perceive by your imprisonment, that your adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. For

if they were able, they would maintain their wicked religion by God's word : but, for lack of that, they would violently compel us, as they cannot by Holy Scripture persuade ; because the holy word of God, and all Christ's doings, be contrary unto them. I pray you, pray for me ; and I will pray for you. And although we be asunder after the world, yet is Christ (I trust) for ever joining in the Spirit : and so shall meet in the palace of the heavenly joys after this short and transitory life is ended. God's peace be with you. Amen.

“The 14th of January, 1555.”

On the Friday following, being the eighteenth of January, all the council went unto the Tower, and there the same day discharged and set at liberty all the prisoners of the Tower, or the most part of them, namely, the late duke of Northumberland's sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry ; Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Rogers, Sir James Crofts, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, Sir Nicholas Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward Warner, Sir William Scallow, Sir Gawin Carew, Master Gibbs, Cuthbert Vaughan, with many others.

On the Tuesday following, being the twenty-second of January, all the preachers that were in prison were called before the bishop of Winchester, lord chancellor, and certain others, at the bishop's house at St. Mary Overy's ; from whence (after communication, being asked whether they would convert and enjoy the queen's pardon, or else stand to that they had taught ; they all answering, that they would stand to that they had taught) they were committed to straiter prison than before they were, with charge that none should speak with them.

Among this number of prisoners, one James George the same time died in prison, being there in bands for religion and righteousness' sake ; who therefore was exempted to be buried in the popish churchyard, and was buried in the fields.

On the Wednesday following, being the twenty-third of January, all the bishops with the rest of the Convocation-house were before the cardinal at Lambeth, where he willed them to repair every man where his cure and charge lay, exhorting them to entreat the people and their flock with all gentleness, and to endeavour themselves, to win the people rather by gentleness, than by extremity and rigour : and so let them depart.

On the Friday following, being the twenty-fifth of January, and the day of the conversion of St. Paul, there was a general and solemn procession through London, to give God thanks for their conversion to the catholic church : wherein (to set out

their glorious pomp) there were fourscore and ten crosses, and one hundred and sixty priests and clerks, who had every one of them copes upon their backs, singing very lustily. There followed also, for the better estimation of the sight, eight bishops; and, last of all, came Bonner, the bishop of London, carrying the popish pix under a canopy.

Besides, there was also present the mayor, aldermen, and all the livery of every occupation. Moreover, the king also himself, and the cardinal, came to Paul's church the same day. From whence, after mass, they returned to Westminster again. As the king was entered the church at the steps going up to the choir, all the gentlemen that of late were set at liberty out of the Tower, kneeled before the king, and offered unto him themselves and their services.

After the procession there was also commandment given to make bonfires at night; whereupon did rise among the people a doubtful talk, why all this was done. Some said it was that the queen, being (as they said) with child, might have a safe delivery. Others thought that it was for joy that the realm was joined again to the see of Rome; which opinion, of both, seemed most true.

On the Monday following, being the twenty-eighth of January, the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops had commission from the cardinal to sit upon, and order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics (as they termed them) as were in prison; and according to this commission, the same day the bishop of Winchester and the other bishops, with certain of the council, sat in St. Mary Overy's church, and called before them these three, Master Hooper, Master Rogers, and Master Cardmaker, who were brought thither by the sheriffs; from whence after communication they were committed to prison till the next day, but Cardmaker this day submitted himself unto them.

On the Tuesday, being the twenty-ninth of January, Hooper, Rogers, Dr. Taylor, and Bradford were brought before them; where sentence of excommunication and judgment ecclesiastical was pronounced upon Master Hooper and Master Rogers, by the bishop of Winchester, who sat as judge in Caiaphas's seat; who drave them out of the church, according to their law and order. Dr. Taylor and Bradford were committed to prison till the next day.

On the Wednesday, being the thirtieth of January, Dr. Taylor, Dr. Crome, Master Bradford, Master Saunders, and Dr. Ferrar, sometime bishop of St. David's, were before the said bishops; where three of them, that is to say, Dr. Taylor, Master Saunders, and Master Bradford, were likewise ex-

communicated, and sentence pronounced upon them; and so committed to the sheriffs. Dr. Crome desired two months' respite, and it was granted him; and Master Ferrar was again committed to prison till another time. All these men showed themselves to be learned, as indeed they were no less: but what availeth either learning, reason, or truth itself, where *will* beareth rule?

After the examination and condemnation of these good men and preachers above recited, commissions and inquisitors were sent abroad likewise into all parts of the realm: by reason whereof, a great number of most godly and true Christians out of all the quarters of the realm (but especially Kent, Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk) were apprehended, brought up to London, cast into prison; and afterwards, most of them, either consumed cruelly by fire, or else through evil handling died in the prisons, and were buried on the dunghills abroad in the fields, or in some backside of the prison. Of all which matters, concerning the tragical handling of the blessed martyrs and witnesses of Jesus Christ—of all the bloody persecution of this time—now followeth (the Lord so granting) severally and more particularly in this next book in order to be declared: after that I shall first recite a general supplication, given up in the name of the preachers aforesaid lying in prison, unto the king and queen, during the time of the parliament, as followeth:—

“Unto the king and queen's most excellent Majesties, and to their most honourable and high court of parliament.

“In most humble and lamentable wise complain unto your Majesties, and to your high court of parliament, your poor desolate and obedient subjects, H. F. T. B., P. R. S., &c. That whereas your said subjects, living under the laws of God and of this realm, in the days of the late most noble King Edward the Sixth, did in all things show themselves true, faithful, and diligent subjects, according to their vocation, as well in the sincere ministering of God's most holy word, as in due obedience to the higher powers, and in the daily practice of such virtues and good demeanour, as the laws of God at all times, and the statutes of the realm did then, allow: your said subjects nevertheless, contrary to all laws of justice, equity, and right, are in very extreme manner not only cast into prison, (where they have remained now these fifteen or sixteen months,) but their livings also, their houses and possessions, their goods and books, taken from them, and they slandered to be most heinous heretics, their enemies themselves being both witnesses, accusers, and judges; belying, slandering, and misreporting

your said subjects at their pleasure, whereas your said subjects, being straitly kept in prison, cannot yet be suffered to come forth, and make answer accordingly.

“In consideration whereof, may it please your most excellent Majesties, and this your high court of parliament, graciously to tender the present calamity of your said poor subjects, and to call them before your presence, granting them liberty, either by mouth or writing, in the plain English tongue, to answer before you, or before indifferent arbiters to be appointed by your Majesties, unto such articles of controversy in religion as their said adversaries have already condemned them of, as of heinous heresies: provided that all things may be done with such moderation and quiet behaviour, as becometh subjects and children of peace, and that your said subjects may have the free use of all their own books, and conference together among themselves.

“Which thing being granted, your said subjects doubt not but it shall plainly appear, that your said subjects are true and faithful Christians, and neither heretics, neither teachers of heresy, nor cut off from the true catholic universal church of Christ: yea, that rather their adversaries themselves be unto your Majesties as were the charmers of Egypt to Pha-

raoh, Zedechias and his adherents unto the king of Israel, and Bar-Jesu to the proconsul Sergius Paulus. And if your said subjects be not able, by the testimony of Christ, his prophets, apostles, and godly fathers of his church, to prove that the doctrine of the church, homilies, and service taught and set forth in the time of our late most godly prince and king, Edward the Sixth, is the true doctrine of Christ's catholic church, and most agreeable to the articles of the Christian faith; your said subjects offer themselves then to the most heavy punishment that it shall please your Majesties to appoint.

“Wherefore, for the tender mercy of God in Christ, (which you look for at the day of judgment, your said poor subjects in bonds most humbly beseech your most excellent Majesties, and this your high court of parliament, benignly and graciously to hear and grant this their petition, tending so greatly to the glory of God, to the edifying of his church, to the honour of your Majesties, to the commendation and maintenance of justice, right, and equity both before God and man. And your said subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray unto Almighty God for the gracious preservation of your most excellent Majesties long to endure.”

END OF VOL. II.

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